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HENRY BARNARD,
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PROF. QUICK, author of *Educational Reformers*, in an article in the English Monthly Journal of Education for July, 1875, writes:

Those who know the wealth of German pædeutical literature often lament the poverty of our own. But many a man has hunted for his spectacles while they were on his forehead; and many a reader in this country has groped about in the twilight of a foreign language for what he might have seen in the broad daylight of his own. . . Indeed, the history of education and treatises upon everything connected with education may be read without having recourse to any foreign literature whatever. This will no doubt seem very startling; but we can assure our readers that we are not speaking without book, or indeed without the very books we are talking of. . . We have before us the chief educational works that have been published in the United States, and we find that we already have a large educational literature in our own language. A great deal of this literature owes its origin to the energy and educational zeal of one man, the Hon. Henry Barnard, who was the first "Commissioner of Education" in the United States. Many years ago he formed "a plan of a series of publications to be issued monthly or quarterly, and devoted exclusively to the History, Discussion, and Statistics of Systems, Institutions and Methods of Education in different countries." This plan he has carried out on a grand scale, and we now have his "American Journal of Education" in 24 volumes of seven or eight hundred pages each. An index to the whole work will be published shortly, and the title might then very fitly be changed to *Barnard's Cyclopædia of Education.*

This great work, however, can never be generally accessible to the majority of students. The price alone (£20) must exclude it from private libraries. But it may be consulted at public libraries, at the British Museum *e. g.*, and at South Kensington, and it is a mine which may be very profitably worked by the editors of Educational Journals in this country.

But it is now no longer necessary to purchase the whole of the "American Journal" in order to get particular papers in it. Dr. Barnard has lately issued a great number of these papers as separate publications. To show what stores of literature already exist in English we publish the list (600 titles) at the end of this number.

PROF. HODGSON, Edinburgh University, one of the most practical and vigorous educators of the age, in an Address before The Educational Institute of Scotland in September, 1875, spoke of the want of a History of Education in the English Language, but in a prefatory note to the pamphlet edition of the Address adds:

Since this Address was printed, my friend Mr. Quick has called my attention to Dr. Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, which really contains, though not in continuous form, a history, and, it may be said, an encyclopædia of education. Papers extracted from it, to the number of six or seven hundred, may now be purchased separately. A list of these is published at the end of the *Monthly Journal of Education* for July last. [Dr. Barnard, it is understood, will in 1876-7 issue a continuous and comprehensive History of Education, more complete so far as British and American Systems and Institutions are concerned than Raumer, Fritz, Schmid, or Palmer.]

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AMERICAN

Journal of Education.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY.

EDITED BY

HENRY BARNARD, LL. D.

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THE

American Journal of Education.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT—1878.

EXTRACT from a letter dated London, Jan. 9, 1878, of Rev. R. H. Quick, recently a teacher in Harrow School, and author of a valuable treatise on '*Educational Reformers*,' republished by R. Clark & Co., Cincinnati, and one of the soundest and most active educators of England—

"The new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* has a sketch of the history of Education, by Oscar Browning, [late of Eton]. I saw the proofs. In the account of authorities the article has the following:

"In English, though we have no investigators of the history of Education, we have a fairly large literature on the subject, but it belongs almost exclusively to the United States. The great work of Henry Barnard, *The American Journal of Education*, in 25 volumes, has valuable papers on almost every part of our subject—many of them translated from the German, but there are also original papers on our old English educational writers with extracts from their works. This is by far the most valuable work in our language on the history of education."

EXTRACT from a letter addressed to Rev. R. H. Quick, London, by the editor and publisher of the American Journal of Education, dated Jan. 24, 1878.

"I thank you for your continued interest in the American Journal and Library of Education. It was begun, and has been continued to supply deficiencies in our American Educational literature; and hence I have drawn largely on the best productions of the foreign press. Forty years ago (1838), I could not find a half dozen volumes on School Systems, or the Principles and Practice of Education, in New York and Boston; and I could not induce a publisher to issue an American edition of Dunn's excellent little work on *Principles of Teaching*, edited by Thomas H. Gallaudet (a friend of Mr. Dunn), until I gave a written guarantee that I would assume all the copies of the publication at the end of two years—and I did take the balance of the edition at that date, and placed them in the School Libraries established by me in Connecticut and Rhode Island. Ten years later (1848), I was puzzled to make up for the first edition of my School Architecture a list of books on education (occupying one octavo page), on schools and school systems for the use of school officers and parents; and on the theory and practice of teaching for the professional instruction of teachers. For a time I ordered from London copies of pamphlets and volumes on educational subjects, and disposed of them to teachers and educators at cost—but this involved trouble, loss, and misunderstanding; and after a pretty wide consultation among the prominent school men, and pledges of co-

After much of the copy of Number One was in type, a conference was held with the Rev. Absalom Peters, D. D., who contemplated the publication of a periodical under the title of the American College Review, and Educational Magazine or Journal. This conference led to the combination of the two periodicals, and a joint editorship of the American Journal of Education and College Review. The first number was published in type, style and matter as prepared by the undersigned with the adoption of the Prospectus already prepared by Dr. Peters for his magazine, modified, so as to merge the prominent feature of the College Review in the more comprehensive title of the American Journal of Education.

In the preparation of the second number, it became evident that two could not walk, or work together, unless they be agreed, and by mutual arrangement, and for mutual convenience, it was determined after the issue of that number, to discontinue the joint publication, leaving each party "the privilege of publishing an Educational Magazine, for which he was entitled to use the first and second number of the American Journal of Education and College Review, as number one and two of his work."

In the spirit and letter of this arrangement, as understood by him, the undersigned resumed the title and plan of his own Journal, and has completed the first volume by the publication of a number for March and for May, with this variation only, that he has given his subscribers more than he originally promised, and in the further prosecution of his work, shall include in the Journal much that he intended for chapters in some of the treatises which were to compose the Library of Education.

Should the Journal be sustained by a liberal subscription list, and should the health of the present editor admit of the requisite labor, it will be continued for a period of five years, or until the issue of ten volumes, conducted substantially on the plan of Volume I.

The editor will studiously avoid the insertion of all topics, or papers foreign to the great subject to which it is devoted, or of a single line or word calculated to injure intentionally the feelings of any faithful laborer in any allotment of the great field of American Education.

HENRY BARNARD.

HARTFORD, CONN.,
MAY 1, 1856.

I. THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY.

ORIGINAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

Issued as a Circular in May, 1855, and published in August following, with the first number, and again with a Postscript in January, 1856.

In the great educational movement now going forward on this Continent, and especially throughout all the states in which the English language prevails, there has seemed for many years to the undersigned to exist, if not a demand, at least the want, not only of an American association of the friends of universal education, but of a series of publications, which should, on the one hand, embody the matured views and varied experience of wise statesmen, educators and teachers in perfecting the organization, administration, instruction and discipline of schools, of every grade, through a succession of years, under widely varying circumstances of government, society and religion; and on the other, should harmonize conflicting views, expose real deficiencies, excite to prudent and efficient action, and serve as a medium of free and frequent communication between the friends of education, in every portion of the great field.

In furtherance of these objects, a *Plan of Central Agency for the increase and diffusion* of knowledge on this subject was submitted to the American Association for the Advancement of Education, at its annual meeting in Washington in 1854. One feature of this plan was the publication of a Journal and Library of Education; the former to be issued in monthly or quarterly numbers, to embrace the current educational intelligence of the world, and the discussion of topics of immediate and pressing interest;—the latter to consist of a series of independent treatises, each devoted to the development of an important subject, or department, and embodying the reflections and experience of many minds, and the working and results of many institutions; and the whole, when complete, to constitute an Encyclopedia of Education. The plan was referred to a committee—considered and approved; and the Standing Committee were authorized to carry it into execution as far and as fast as the funds of the Association should admit. In the absence of any funds belonging to the Association, and of any pledge of pecuniary coöperation, on the part of

individuals, the Committee have not taken any steps to establish a central agency for the advancement of the objects for which the association was instituted, or felt authorized to provide for any publication beyond the proceedings of its last annual meeting. Under these circumstances, the undersigned has undertaken on his own responsibility, to carry out the original plan submitted by him, so far as relates to the publication both of the Journal, and the Library—relying on the annual subscription of individuals in different states, and interested in different allotments of the great field, who desire to be posted up in the current intelligence and discussion of schools and education, to meet the current expenses of the former; and on special contributions in aid of the latter, by persons or institutions interested in particular treatises, as their preparation shall be from time to time advanced and announced.

The First Number of the American Journal of Education will be issued in August, on terms which will be set forth by the publisher. As it will be devoted exclusively to the proceedings of the American Association for 1854, it will not present the usual variety and arrangement of topics, which will characterize the succeeding numbers.

The first treatise or volume of the Library of Education will be published in the course of 1856, under the following title, "NATIONAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES; or *Contributions to the History and Improvement of Common or Public Schools, and other means of Popular Education in the several States*," on terms which will be hereafter announced.

HARTFORD, CONN., May, 1855.

HENRY BARNARD.

P. S. After much of the copy for this Number of the American Journal of Education was in type, a conference was held with the Rev. Absalom Peters, D. D., in reference to the plan of an Educational Journal contemplated by him under the title of The American College Review and Educational Journal, which has led to the combination of our respective plans, and a joint editorship of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION AND COLLEGE REVIEW.

NOTE TO NEW EDITION.—The agreement for the joint proprietorship and editorship of the American Journal of Education and College Review, having been dissolved by mutual consent and for mutual convenience, the undersigned has resumed the publication of the American Journal of Education on his original plan. A portion of the material intended for the first volume of the American Library of Education, will be published in the American Journal of Education.

Dr. PETERS will continue the publication of an educational periodical to which he has given the joint name. H. B.

HARTFORD, January 7, 1856.

JOURNAL OF THE FOURTH SESSION

OF THE

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

FOR THE

ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION.

The American Association for the advancement of education convened at the Smithsonian Institution, in the city of Washington, December 26th, 1854, and was called to order by the retiring president, Prof. Joseph Henry.

The sessions of the Association were opened with prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Proudfit, of New Jersey.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Prof. Henry stated that on account of the prevalence of the cholera, the standing committee took the responsibility of altering the time of the annual meeting of the Association, for the present year, from the first Tuesday of August to the last Tuesday of December.

Bishop Potter moved the appointment of a committee on credentials, and a committee to audit the accounts of the treasurer.

The chair appointed, on the auditing committee,

HON. H. BARNARD, *of Conn.*,
Z. RICHARDS, *of Washington.*

On the committee on credentials,

ALFRED GREENLEAF, *of Brooklyn,*
SOLOMON JENNER, *of New York.*

The organization of the Association having been completed, the retiring president, with a few appropriate remarks, introduced the president elect, Prof. A. D. Bache, to the Association. Prof. Bache addressed the Association, on taking the chair.

Communications were received from the President of the United States, and W. W. Corcoran, Esq., inviting the members of the Association to visit them at some time during its sessions. The invitations were accepted, and the thanks of the Association tendered to these gentlemen for their courtesy.

On motion of Z. Richards; Resolved, That the hours of meeting each day be as follows: the first session from 10 A. M. to 3 P. M, and the evening session from 6½ to 9 P. M.

Prof. Henry submitted a communication from Mr. A. S. Colton, of Maryland, which was read, and referred to the standing committee.

On motion of Mr. J. Whitehead, Mr. Alfred Greenleaf was appointed an assistant secretary.

Hon. H. Barnard, of Conn. introduced the subject of appointing a general agent,* to devote his whole time and energies to the advancement of the purposes of the Association, and after remarks by Prof. Proudfit, Mr. Greenleaf, and Bishop Potter, on motion of Mr. Whitehead, a committee was raised, to consider and report upon the subject under discussion during the present session.

---

*See Appendix IX.

The chair appointed on this committee.

HON. H. BARNARD, *of Conn.*,
RT. REV. BISHOP POTTER, *of Penn.*,
PROF. JOSEPH HENRY, *of Washington*,
JOHN WHITEHEAD, *of New Jersey.*

The standing committee proposed the names of the following gentlemen, for permanent membership.

REV. R. L. STANTON, D. D., *Washington*,
JARED REID, JR., *Newport, R. I.*,
DAVID COLE, *Trenton, N. J.*,
REV. JOHN PROUDFIT, D. D., *New Brunswick, N. J.*,
PROF. ELIAS LOOMIS, *New York city.*

The committee also proposed the following gentlemen as associate members.

O. C. WIGHT, *Washington*,
J. M. WATSON, *New York*,
ALEXANDER DIMITRY, *Louisiana.*

Prof. Bache having invited the association to visit the office of the United States Coast Survey,* on motion of S. M. Hamill; Resolved, That the thanks of the Association be presented to Prof. Bache, for his kind invitation, and that the Association accept it, at such hour as he may name.

The hour of half-past one having been named by Prof. Bache, on motion of R. L. Cooke, it was Resolved, That the rules be suspended, in order to accept of the invitation of Prof. Bache, and that we now adjourn until the evening session.†

EVENING SESSION.

The meeting was called to order by the president at 7 o'clock.

The gentlemen nominated in the morning session were unanimously elected members of the Association.

The Association was then addressed by Prof. Loomis, of the University of the city of New York, on the heavenly bodies occupying the space between the planets Mars and Jupiter.

After the address, Bishop Potter, from the committee appointed at the morning session, reported the following resolution as the result of their deliberations.

Resolved, That the standing committee be instructed to consider, with power to act, whether some means can not be devised, by the appointment of a general agent, or otherwise, to give greater efficiency to the operations of this Association, and, more especially, to secure to it and to the world, the results of the inquiries some time since instituted by a member of this Association, at the instance of one department of the general government, in regard to the present state and past history† of education in the United States.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Whitehead, from the standing committee, reported an order of exercises for the second day's session, as follows:

1st. Discussion of the subject of classical education.

2d. A paper by Prof. J. S. Hart, of Philadelphia, on the connection of the English language with the Teutonic, and other Indo-European languages.

3d. During the evening, Prof. Hart's description of the high school recently erected in the city of Philadelphia.

Association adjourned.

---

* See Appendix V. † See Appendix IX. B.

SECOND DAY. DECEMBER 27.

The Association met at 10 o'clock; the president in the chair.

The session was opened with prayer by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Potter.

The standing committee proposed the following gentlemen as permanent members.

PROF. JAMES NOONEY, *San Francisco*,
J. SIDNEY SWIFT, *Springplace, Ga.*,

As associate members:

R. W. BUSHNELL, *Washington*,
J. E. THOMPSON, *Washington*.

On recommendation of the standing committee, Wm. P. Ross and Judge John Thom, of the Cherokee Nation, were elected corresponding members of the Association.

Bishop Potter gave notice of an intention to offer an amendment to the constitution, in reference to the time for the annual meetings of the Association.

The Association proceeded to a consideration of the order of the day,—the discussion* of the subject of classical education. The discussion was opened by the reading of a paper† by David Cole, of New Jersey. At the close of Mr. Cole's remarks, the hour for the presentation of Prof. Hart's paper having arrived, on motion of Mr. Whitehead, the order of exercises was suspended for half an hour, to enable the members to express their views upon the subject under discussion.

Remarks were made by Alfred Greenleaf, S. Jenner, Bishop Potter, and Z. Richards, until the hour appropriated for the discussion had expired, when, on motion of Bishop Potter, the further discussion of the subject of classical education was postponed to 6½ o'clock P. M.

Prof. Hart read a paper‡ on the connection of the English language with the Teutonic, and other Indo-European languages.

On motion of Mr. Hamill; Resolved, That the papers read by Mr. Cole and Prof. Hart be requested from their authors, for publication, under the direction of the standing committee.

The adoption of the resolution was preceded by remarks‖ from Bishop Potter, Mr. Dimitry, Prof. Proudfit, Prof. Hart, Mr. Hamill, Mr. Whitehead, Prof. Bache, Mr. Barnard, Prof. Henry, Dr. Stanton and A. Greenleaf.

The hour of 3 o'clock having arrived, the Association adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

The meeting was called to order by the president at 6½ o'clock.

The gentlemen proposed for membership, at the morning session, were unanimously elected.

The standing committee proposed as a permanent member:

SILAS L. LOOMIS, *Washington*.

And as associate members:

SAMUEL KELLEY, *Washington*,
A. F. HARVEY, *Washington*.

The resumption of the discussion of the subject of classical education having been announced as the order of exercises for the first hour, remarks were made by Mr. Richards, Bishop Potter, Mr. Cole and Prof. Proudfit. The hour for the presentation of Prof. Hart's report upon the Philadelphia high school having ar-

* See Appendix III. b. † See Appendix III. ‡ See Appendix II. ‖ See Appendix II. b.

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rived, on motion, the further discussion of the subject was postponed until to-morrow morning.

Prof. Hart then entered into a detailed account of the construction of the high school recently erected in the city of Philadelphia, with numerous illustrations drawn on a large scale by pupils of the school.* The reading the paper was followed by† remarks from Prof. Bache, Dr. Lambut, Mr. Cooke, Mr. Barnard, and others.

A vote of thanks was tendered to Prof. Hart for his address.

Association adjourned.

THIRD DAY. DECEMBER 28.

The Association met at 10 o'clock, and, in the absence of the president, was called to order by Bishop Potter, upon whose motion Prof. Proudfit took the chair.

The minutes of the last day's sessions were read and approved.

The gentlemen nominated by the standing committee were elected members of the Association.

Mr. Whitehead, of New Jersey, moved that the city of New York be designated as the next place of meeting of the Association.

On motion of Bishop Potter, the resolution was laid upon the table for the present, in order to take up previously the amendment of the constitution, proposed during the second day's session. It was then Resolved; That the article of the constitution which designates the second Tuesday of August as the time for the annual meeting of the Association, be so amended as to leave the time for each annual meeting to be determined at its discretion, at the preceding meeting.

Mr. Whitehead's resolution was taken up, and after considerable discussion was passed, designating the city of New York as the place for holding the next annual meeting, at the request of the Standing Committee.

Hon. H. Barnard, of Connecticut, addressed the Association, giving an account of the Educational Exhibition held in London, in 1854, under the auspices of the Society of Arts, and the recent educational movements of Great Britain, generally.

On motion of R. L. Cooke; Resolved, That the thanks of the Association be tendered to Mr. Barnard for his address, and that he be requested to prepare an abstract of his remarks, to be published in the proceedings of the Association.

On motion of Bishop Potter; Resolved, That the standing committee be instructed to consider, and report specifically at the next annual meeting, upon the important suggestions made by Dr. Barnard, in his report of his late educational tour in Great Britain, respecting the expediency of establishing, in connection with the Association, a national museum or depository for books, globes, charts, models, &c. of school apparatus—also, a national educational journal—also, a system of educational exchanges—also, a plan for a series of educational tracts, adapted for circulation throughout the United States—and the employment by the Association of a permanent agent.

The Association took a recess of 10 minutes.

At the expiration of the recess, the standing committee reported, as a permanent member, the name of

PROF. W. L. BROWN, *Athens, Ga.*,

and as associate member,

PROF. JOSEPH J. WHITE, *of Lexington, Va.*

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* See Appendix IV. † See Appendix IV. b.

Bishop Potter, from the standing committee reported the names of the following gentlemen as officers of the Association for the ensuing year.

President, Hon. H. Barnard, *of Conn.*,
Corresponding Secretary, P. P. Morris, *of Penn.*,
Recording Secretary, R. L. Cooke, *of New Jersey*,
Treasurer, John Whitehead, *of New Jersey*.
Standing Committee, John Proudfit, *New Brunswick, N. J.*,
" E. C. Benedict, *New York city*,
" Joseph McKeen, *New York city*,
" Zalmon Richards, *Washington city*,
" J. D. Philbrick, *New Britain, Conn.*,
" E. R. Potter, *Kingston, R. I.*

The gentlemen nominated by the standing committee were unanimously elected.

After considerable discussion, it was Resolved; That the next annual meeting commence on the last Tuesday, 28th of August, 1855, at 10 o'clock A. M.

On motion; Resolved, That, as contingencies may arise which will render it expedient to alter, ei[illegible] the time or the place of the next annual meeting, the standing committee [illegible] powered to make such alteration.

The Association adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

The Association was called to order by the president.

The gentlemen nominated during the morning session were elected members.

The standing committee nominated as a permanent member:

George J. Abbott, *of Washington city*,

and as an associate member:

R. T. Taylor, *of Washington city*.

A communication from the Young Men's Christian Association was read, inviting the members of the Association to visit their library and reading-room. The invitation was accepted, and thanks tendered to the Young Men's Association for the courtesy extended.

Mr. Barnard, from the auditing committee, reported that they had examined the accounts and vouchers of the treasurer, and found them correct. The balance remaining in the treasury is $59.62.

At the request of the Association, Mr. Barnard continued his remarks in reference to recent educational movements in Great Britain, especially as to Reformatory Schools, Schools of Industry, Government Schools of Practical Science, &c

Prof. Joseph Henry, as the retiring president, delivered the annual address before the Association, on the philosophy of education.†

On motion of Dr. Barnard, remarks on the topics suggested by the address of Prof. Henry were made the order of the day for to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Mr. Cole, of New Jersey, offered the following resolution: Resolved, That this Association regards the acquisition of the Latin and Greek languages as necessary to thorough, accurate, and comprehensive scholarship, and would sincerely deprecate the abandonment of classical studies in the academies, high schools and colleges of the United States.

Bishop Potter offered the following resolution as a substitute for the above, which was adopted by Mr. Cole.

Resolved; That, regarding the Latin and Greek languages as most valuable in-

† See Appendix I

struments of a high culture, this Association would earnestly deprecate the exclusion or discouragement of classical studies in the academies, high schools and colleges of the United States.

After remarks by Mr. Richards, Bishop Potter, Dr. Stanton, Mr. Barnard, Dr. Proudfit, Mr. Hamill, Prof. Bache and Dr. Lambert, the resolution was passed, unanimously.

Association adjourned.

FOURTH DAY. DECEMBER 29.

The Association was called to order by the president, and its session was opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Dashiell.

The minutes of the last day's sessions were read and approved.

The gentlemen nominated last evening were elected members.

The standing committee nominated as a permanent member:

S. Y. Atlee, *of Washington city.*

Bishop Potter, from the standing committee, reported the names of the following gentlemen as a local committee:

Rev. Dr. Isaac Ferris, *University of New York,*
Hon. Chas. King, *President Columbia College,*
H. Webster, LL. D., *Free Academy,*
Prof. E. Loomis, *University of New York,*
Rev. G. D. Abbott, *New York,*
Peter Cooper, Esq., *New York,*
Hon. S. S. Randall, *Superintendent Public Schools,*
Hon. Joseph McKeen, *Ass't. Sup't. Public Schools,*
J. N. McElligott, LL. D.,
Albert Gilbert, Esq., *Clerk Board of Education.*
J. W. Buckley, *Sup't. Pub. Schools, Williamsburg,*
Alfred Greenleaf, *Brooklyn,*
Hon. Cyrus Smith, *Brooklyn,*
Solomon Jenner, *New York.*

Remarks upon the address of the retiring president were announced as the order of the day.

Remarks were made by Mr. Barnard, Dr. Lambert, Prof. Henry, Bishop Potter, Dr. Proudfit, Prof. Bache, Mr. Hamill and Mr. Wight.

On motion of Prof. Proudfit, the thanks of the Association were tendered to Prof. Henry for his address.

The president called Prof. Proudfit to the chair.

A paper on mental and moral discipline was read by Z. Richards, of Washington City.*

The Association took a recess of five minutes.

At the close of the recess, the president resumed the chair, and the nominees of the morning were elected members of the Association.

On motion of John Whitehead, Mr. John Ross, of the Cherokee Nation, was elected a corresponding member of the Association.

Mr. Wm. P. Ross made some interesting statements in regard to the state of education among the Cherokees.†

Dr. Stanton offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the standing committee, to whom was yesterday referred the

* See Appendix VI. † See Appendix VIII.

several subjects suggested by the address of Dr. Barnard, on the state of education in Europe, with instructions to report at the next annual meeting, be, and they are hereby fully authorized to carry out any or all the objects contemplated in reference of the subject to the committee, as soon as, in their judgment, the requisite funds and the proper person or persons can be obtained for the work.

The resolution was adopted.

The following is an outline of the "Plan for 'the increase and diffusion of knowledge,' of education, and especially of popular education, and measures for its improvement through the Smithsonian Institution, or the American Association for the Advancement of Education," prepared by Mr. Barnard.

The Institution [or Association] to appoint a secretary or agent; with a salary, and to furnish a room for an office and depository of educational documents and apparatus.

Agenda by the secretary or agent:

1. To devote himself exclusively to the "increase and diffusion of knowledge" on the subject of education, and especially of the condition and means of improving popular education, and particularly

2. To answer all personal or written inquiries on the subject, and collect and make available for use, information as to all advances made in the theory and practice of education in any one state or country.

3. To attend, as far as may be consistent with other requisitions on his time, and without charge to the funds of the Institution, [or Association] Educational Conventions of a national and state character, for the purpose of collecting and disseminating information.

4. To edit a publication, to be entitled the American Journal and Library of Education, on the plan set forth in the accompanying paper.*

5. To collect

(*a*) Plans and models of school-houses and furniture.

(*b*) Specimens of maps and other material aids of education.

(*c*) Educational reports and documents from other states and countries.

6. To institute a system of educational exchange between literary institutions in this and other countries.

7. To make arrangements, and effect, if practicable, at least one meeting or conference of the friends of educational improvement in Washington [or elsewhere] every year.

8. To submit annually a report in which shall be given a summary of the progress of education, in each state, and as far as practicable, in every country.

On motion of S. Y. Atlee; it was Resolved, That a select committee be appointed to consider the expediency of rendering the study of constitutional law one of the rudimental exercises in public schools; said committee to report thereon to the Association, at its next annual meeting.

The president appointed Mr. Atlee on this committee.

On motion of Bishop Potter; Resolved, That the following subjects be referred by the president, at his earliest convenience, to committees or individuals as he may elect, to be reported upon at the next annual meeting.

1st. The uses and best methods of classical instruction.

2d. Moral education in schools.

3d. The relations of the schools and the family.

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* See Appendix IX A.

4th. Family training.

5th. Relations of common schools and colleges.

6th. What improvements could be introduced into our college systems, considered, (1st,) as to their interior arrangements, and (2d,) as to the relations of the several colleges with each other?

7th. A university proper—national or otherwise.

8th. What features of the university systems of different countries of Europe can be advantageously transferred to this country?

On motion; Resolved, That this Association has seen with much satisfaction the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior, in his late report to the President of the United States, to devote a portion of the public property within the city of Washington exclusively to the purposes of education therein; and also the efforts made in Congress for the passage of bills to appropriate portions of the public domain, or the proceeds thereof, to the establishment and support of public schools in all the states; and it entertains the strongest convictions that the interests of popular education will be greatly advanced by the establishment, in connection with one of the departments of government, a depository for the collection and exchange of works on education, and the various instrumentalities of instruction.

On motion of Bishop Potter; Resolved, That the standing committee be requested to prepare a programme of exercises for the next annual meeting, and publish the same as widely, and at as early a day as possible.*

Mr. S. M. Hamill, of New Jersey, read a paper on discipline.†

On motion; Resolved, That the papers read by Messrs. Richards and Hamill be requested for publication, under the direction of the standing committee, and that the discussions growing out of them be deferred to the next annual meeting.

On motion of Mr. Whitehead; Resolved, That the thanks of the Association be tendered to the regents and Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution for the gratuitous use of their rooms, and to the various officers of the Institution for their attendance upon the Association during its session. Prof. Henry responded to the resolution in behalf of the Smithsonian Institution.

On motion of R. L. Cooke; Resolved, That the thanks of the Association be tendered to Prof. Bache for the interest that he has manifested in the objects of the Association, and for the able manner in which he has presided over its deliberations.

The president having appropriately responded to the foregoing resolution, and alluded to the pleasure he enjoyed in looking back to his experience as a teacher, declared the Association adjourned, to meet in the city of New York, on the last Tuesday in August, 1855.

R. L. COOKE, SECRETARY.

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* See Appendix X. † See Appendix VII.

PLAN OF CENTRAL AGENCY

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

The following Plan for "the Increase and Diffusion of Knowledge" of Education, and especially of Popular Education, and plans for its improvement through the Smithsonian Institution; or the American Association for the Advancement of Education was submitted to the Association by Hon. Henry Barnard.

The Institution [or Association] to appoint a secretary or agent; with a salary, and to furnish a room for an office and depository of educational documents and apparatus, and beyond this not to be liable for any expense.

Agenda by the secretary or agent:

1. To devote himself exclusively to the "increase and diffusion of knowledge" on the subject of education, and especially of the condition and means of improving Popular Education, and particularly
2. To answer all personal or written inquiries on the subject, and collect and make available for use, information as to all advances made in the theory and practice of education in any one State or country.
3. To attend, as far as may be consistent with other requisitions on his time, and without charge to the funds of the institution, [or Association] Educational Conventions of a national and State character, for the purpose of collecting and disseminating information.
4. To edit a publication, to be entitled the American Journal and Library of Education, on the plan set forth in the accompanying paper (A.)
5. To collect
   (a) Plans and models of school-houses and furniture.
   (b) Specimens of maps and other material aids of education.
   (c) Educational reports and documents from other States and countries.
6. To institute a system of educational exchange between literary institutions in this and other countries.
7. To make arrangements, and effect, if practicable, at least one meeting or conference of the friends of educational improvement in Washington [or elsewhere] every year.
8. To submit annually a report in which shall be given a summary of the progress of education, in each State, and as far as practicable, in every country.

A.

PLAN OF PUBLICATION.—A quarterly or monthly issue under the general title of the AMERICAN JOURNAL AND LIBRARY OF EDUCATION.

I. A JOURNAL OF EDUCATION, to be issued in quarterly or monthly numbers, embracing articles on systems, institutions and methods of education, and the current intelligence of literature and education, and to make an octavo volume annually of at least 600 pages.

II. A LIBRARY OF EDUCATION; to consist of a series of independent treatises on the following [among other] subjects, to be issued in parts, and to be forwarded with the Journal to subscribers; the several parts or treatises to make an octavo volume of at least 600 pages per year.

AMERICAN LIBRARY OF EDUCATION.

1. A CATALOGUE of the best publications on the organization, instruction and discipline of schools, of every grade, and on the principles of education, in the English, French, and German languages.

2. A HISTORY OF EDUCATION, ancient and modern.

3. AN ACCOUNT OF ELEMENTARY INSTRUCTION IN EUROPE, based on the reports of Bache, Stowe, Mann, and others.

4. NATIONAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES; or contributions to the history and improvement of common or public schools, and other institutions, means and agencies of popular education in the several States (B.)

5. SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE; or the principles of construction, ventilation, warming, acoustics, seating, &c., applied to school rooms, lecture halls, and class rooms, with illustrations.

6. NORMAL SCHOOLS, and other institutions, means and agencies for the professional training and improvement of teachers.

7. SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION FOR LARGE CITIES AND VILLAGES, with an account of the schools and other means of popular education and recreation in the principal cities of Europe and in this country.

8. SYSTEM OF POPULAR EDUCATION FOR SPARSEDLY POPULATED DISTRICTS with an account of the schools in Norway and the agricultural portions of other countries.

9. SCHOOLS OF AGRICULTURE, and other means of advancing agricultural improvement.

10. SCHOOLS OF SCIENCE applied to the mechanic arts, civil engineering, &c.

11. SCHOOLS OF TRADE, NAVIGATION, COMMERCE, &c.

12. FEMALE EDUCATION, with an account of the best seminaries for females in this country and in Europe.

13. INSTITUTIONS FOR ORPHANS.

14. SCHOOLS OF INDUSTRY, or institutions for truant, idle or neglected children, before they have been convicted of crime.

15. REFORM SCHOOLS, or institutions for young criminals.

16. HOUSES OF REFUGE, for adult criminals.

17. SECONDARY EDUCATION, including 1. institutions preparatory to college, and 2. institutions preparatory to special schools of agriculture, engineering, trade, navigation, &c.

18. COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

19. SCHOOLS OF THEOLOGY, LAW, AND MEDICINE.

20. MILITARY AND NAVAL SCHOOLS.

21. SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION, including adult schools, evening schools, courses of popular lectures, debating classes, mechanic institutes, &c.

22. LIBRARIES, with hints for the purchase, arrangement, catalogueing, drawing and preservation of books, especially in libraries designed for popular use.

23. INSTITUTIONS FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB, BLIND, AND IDIOTS.

24. SOCIETIES FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF SCIENCE, THE ARTS AND EDUCATION.

25. PUBLIC MUSEUMS AND GALLERIES.

26. PUBLIC GARDENS, and other sources of popular recreation.

27. EDUCATIONAL TRACTS, or a series of short essays on topics of immediate practical importance to teachers and school officers.

28. EDUCATIONAL BIOGRAPHY, or the lives of distinguished educators and teachers.

29. EDUCATIONAL BENEFACTORS, or an account of the founders and benefactors of educational and scientific institutions.

30. SELF-EDUCATION; or hints for self-formation, with examples of the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties.

31. HOME EDUCATION; with illustrations drawn from the Family Training of different countries.

32. EDUCATIONAL NOMENCLATURE AND INDEX; or an explanation of words and terms used in describing the systems and institutions of education in different countries, with reference to the books where the subjects are discussed and treated of.

The Series, when complete, will constitute an ENCYCLOPEDIA OF EDUCATION.

THE PORT ROYALISTS AND THEIR EDUCATIONAL WORK.

1646.

ARNAULD—NICOLE—PASCAL—SACY.

THE PORT ROYALISTS, as educators by pen and practice, as originators of methods, and authors of school books which modified the prevailing ideas and instrumentalities of instruction not only in France but in other countries, consisted of men of great talents, profound learning, and ardent devotion, who were leaders in the religious controversies of their age, and in a house belonging to a Cistercian Convent (founded in 1204, by Matilda, daughter of a branch of the noble family of Montmorency, under the auspices of the Archbishop of Paris, in the neighborhood of Versailles), to which they had retired for prayer, meditation, and devout living, opened a school, in which were anticipated much of the organization and methods of modern pedagogy. Of these men, the most prominent in the school work and ideas were Antoine Arhauld, Pierre Nicole, Blaise Pascal, and Lemaistre de Sacy.

ANTOINE ARNAULD, the youngest son of the eminent lawyer of the same name, was born at Paris, in 1612. He studied the humanities (Latin and Greek languages) in the college of Calis, and began his preparation for the bar; but his dislike for the legal profession was such that his mother prevailed in diverting his studies to divinity, for the service of the church. Entering the Sorbonne, he became a pupil of Lescot, the confessor of Cardinal Richelieu and afterwards bishop of Chartres. He was admitted bachelor in 1636, and received his doctor's cap in 1640. While a student in the Sorbonne he read with admiration the writings of St. Augustine, and was prepared to receive with favor, in 1640, the posthumous publication of Jansenius, Professor of Louvain and bishop of Ypes, entitled *Augustinus*. This treatise embodied the authors' teaching at Louvain, where Augustine was held in the highest authority, and laid down with Calvinistic rigor the corruption of human nature, and the depravity of the world, against the Pelagian views of the freedom of the human will, as set forth by Molina, of the Society of Jesus. The treatise was condemned by Pope Urban VIII., in 1641, and in its

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defense Arnauld publishe l several pamphlets, which involved him in controversies and persecutions for the greater part of his life.

In 1646 he became spiritual director of the nuns of Port Royal *des Champs* (so designated to distinguish it from the original Convent near Versailles and the new house erected in Paris in 1622), of which his sister, Marie Jaqueline Angélique Arnauld was abbess. Here, occupying a portion of the farm building called *Les Granges*, he shared the original austerities of the order which the new abbess had revived, and was joined by a number of friends who sought rest, moderation, and the practice of ascetic piety, and were known as *Messieurs du Port Royal.* Among them was his brother Lancelot and a son of his eldest sister, Issac le Maistre de Sacy, Blaise Pascal, and Pierre Nicole. Of this society Jean Racine says : " There has never existed an asylum where innocence and piety were better protected, and where the truths of Christianity were more truly taught."

PIERRE NICOLE, who was Professor of Belles-Lettres in the schools of Port Royal from 1655 to 1658, was born at Chartres in 1625. He was colaborer with Arnauld in his religious controversies, and shared his exile in the Netherlands in 1679. He was also a contributor to the composition of the "Port Royal Logic" in reputation, though not to the extent of being entitled to its joint authorship—the design and special elabóration of which belongs to Arnauld to his gentle nature, and kindly and artistic taste belongs much of the milder discipline and literary features of the schools of Port Royal. He would have retired from the controversies of the period to rest. "Rest!" said Arnauld, the indefatigable, "have we not all eternity to rest in!"

BLAISE PASCAL, born at Clerment in Auvergne, in 1623, and died in 1662, at the age of 39, with a reputation for genius, particularly in the mathematics and physical sciences, and for subtilty as well as clearness in reasoning on religious topics, and in his use of the French language, not surpassed by any of his contemporaries. His pen is recognized in the "Port Royal Logic," particulary in the fourth part, and in chapter iii., on the method of the geometer in part I. His piety overcame his devotion to science and philosophy, and the last ten years of his life were devoted, in his retirement from society to prayer and meditation, on a great work on the excellence of the Christian religion, from its adaptation to the wants of human nature. Only fragments of those meditations were committed to paper, and published after his death. The scientific genius and ascetic piety of Pascal were impressed on the organization, teaching, and exercises of the Port Royal schools.

ISSAC LE MAISTRE DE SACY was born at Paris in 1612, and educated for the ecclesiastical state, and sympathizing with Arnauld in the Jansensian controversy, retired with him to the social community of Port Royal, shared in the teaching work of the house, as well as in the persecutions, which placed him in the Bastile in 1666, where, in the three years of his confinement, he made a translation of the Bible into the French language. He assisted in the composition of the grammar used in the school.

Under the unassuming designation of *petites écoles*, the Port Royal Schools were begun at Paris by Saint Cyran, about 1646, under the direction of Walon von Beaupries, assisted by Lancelot, Nicole, Guyot and Constel, to each of which six pupils were assigned, forming four classes. These pupils were children belonging to the families of the Arnaulds and their friends. In the persecutions which followed the Jansenian controversy, which raged in 1649, the teachers and the children took refuge in *Port Royal des Champs.*

The ideal aimed at in the Port Royal Schools was to secure the advantage of a convent, a home, and a school—piety, manners, and learning. The number of pupils in "the little schools" was limited to twenty, the oldest under ten years of age, and classified into groups of five, each under a learned, skilful, and earnest teacher, with a discipline resting on the religious views of St. Augustine, and a school code whose law was love—"speaking little, bearing much, and praying more," "patience and silence," "a reverence for the innocence of the child, watchfulness against the danger of falling, and invocation for the indwelling Holy Spirit." The intercourse of teachers and pupils was regulated by reciprocal respect and affection, and the power of example, the unconscious influence of voice and manner was recognized in and out of the schoolroom. A programme of studies was drawn up by Arnauld, extending from the training of the senses by observation, to the highest science, and a series of text-books for the several classes, lower and higher, was projected, which, so far as executed, to the number of twenty—all in the French language, were immensely in advance of any then in use.

The "Port Royal Logic, or Art of Thinking," is mainly the work of Arnauld assisted by Nicole, who was the author of the dissertations, and who assisted largely in the second and third parts. The first edition was published at Paris in 1662, and arose out of the conversation of the friends in the retirement of Port Royal, on matters pertaining to philosophy, and to the best methods of teaching the subject, which occupied so much of the attention of the schools. It passed to a second edition in 1664, a third in 1668, a fourth in 1674, with large additions, and a fifth in 1683. This edition contains several chapters from Arnauld's General Grammar. It was translated into Latin by different hands, one as early as 1666, and the fourth edition was published at Amsterdam, in the Elzevir collection, in 1678. It appeared at Madrid, translated into Spanish, in 1759, and about the same time in the Italian language. It had previously appeared in an English translation as early as 1685, and a later edition by John Ozell in 1716, and in 1723. The best edition in our language was issued in Edinburgh, by Sutherland and Knox, with valuable notes, and an introduction and appendix by Thomas Spencer Baynes. To the "Port Royal Logic" Prof. Baynes attributes the first and best exposition of the true nature of analysis and synthesis as two parts of the same method—the former being adapted for seeking out truth, and the latter for teaching it when found.

[Since the above paragraphs were written, we have consulted Beard's PORT ROYAL—*A Contribution to the History of Religion and Literature in France.* 2 vols.: London: Williams and Norgate, 1873. The chapter on Schools is so satisfactory that we transfer a large portion of it to our columns.]

St. Cyran, so called from his Abbey, was born (*Jean du Vergier de Hauranne*) at Bayonne in 1581, of a family which had made itself of social consideration by trade. He was educated at the Sorbonne, and at Louvain, where his thesis in Scholastic Theology won the warm commendation of Lipsius. At Louvain he made the acquaintance of Cornelius Jansenius, which ripened at Paris into a friendship that decided the life work of both. They both, in 1611, retired to the neighborhood of Bayonne, and devoted themselves to the study of St. Augustine's works. The Bishop of Bayonne was so much pleased with both that in 1615, to De Hauranne he gave a canonry in his cathedral, and to Jansenius the principalship of a projected college. The elevation of the prelate to the archbishopric of Tours interrupted his plans, and in 1617 Jansenius returned to Louvain, and De Hauranne betook himself to Poicters, where he was placed by the bishop of that city over the Abbey of St. Cyran, by which name he was afterwards known. At Poicters St. Cyran became acquainted with the elder brother of the Arnaulds. Out of this triple stranded friendship grew, possibly, the complications of the Port Royalists with Jansenism—the views of christian doctrine embodied in "*Augustinus*," the famous work to which Jansenius devoted his life, having been the fruit of his studies at Bayonne, matured during his principalship of a new college and his professorship of theology at Louvain, and not published till after his death. Cyran declined five several offers of the episcopate, and continued quietly his studies, working with Berulle, the first General of the Congregation of the Oratory in France, and with Vincent de Paul, the founder of the Sisterhood of Mercy. He became involved in controversies with the Society of Jesus, in consequence of exposing, in 1626, the literary pretensions of a member of the order, in a work on the fundamental truths of Christianity; and in 1635 by the publication of *Petrus Aurelius*, in defence of the liberties of the Gallican Church. While living the life of a hermit in France, in the very heart of Paris, he was creating, by two engines of influence, education and confession, a retinue of followers who revered him as a father. He undertook the education of his nephews, and was accustomed to select such children of his friends as he hoped might not disappoint his expectations, and either send them to his Abbey of St. Cyran to be treated according to his peculiar views, or to employ in the task of tuition, under his own eye, such of his disciples as he found most qualified by nature for it. This practice was the origin of the schools of Port Royal; and in St. Cyran's views of the depravity of human nature, the abounding grace of God, the necessity of good works as well as of continual penitence and prayer, originated the society of Port Royal. Bound by no monastic vows, but following a rule of life of almost original Benedictine strictness, the eminent men who accepted the views of St. Cyran, retired to the abandoned tenement belonging to the monastery of the Nuns of Port Royal, for the simplest diet, frequent and prolonged devotions beginning at three o'clock in the morning, manual labor, silent contemplation, and studies for the improvement of mankind. Accepting the theological views of Augustine, as interpreted by Jansen and St. Cyran, they defended the same by pen and voice, and for this offence St. Cyran was confined in the gloomy fortress of Vincennes, one of his followers died in the Bastile, and Arnauld and others fled for safety to Holland. The society was broken up, its members scattered, the Nuns of Port Royal who accepted the same doctrines and held them as advisers, were driven from one house to another, all accessions to their number forbidden, until both the modern lay society and the ancient religious house were utterly destroyed—the victims of religious intolerance.

THE SCHOOLS OF PORT ROYAL.

The Schools of Port Royal—their aims and methods originated in St. Cyran's character: the half tender, half reverent emotion with which he regarded those in whom the original corruption of human nature had been newly washed away by baptism, and who, by watchfulness and prayer, might still be kept in a state of grace. 'Thus M. de St. Cyran,' says Lancelot, 'always manifested to children a kindness which amounted to a species of respect, that in them he might honor innocence, and the Holy Spirit which dwells with it. He was wont to bless them, and to make the sign of the cross upon their foreheads; and when they were old enough, he always said to them some good word which was, as it were, a seed of truth which he scattered in passing, and in God's sight, in order that, in His good time, it might germinate.' His maxims of education were characterized by the same deep insight into human nature as his use of confession. 'He usually reduced all that ought to be done with children to these three things: to speak little, to bear much, to pray still more.' The teacher was to work more by the silent forces of love and example than by precept. To gain the affection of children it was worth while even to share in their amusements; the grave and austere St. Cyran had been known to play at ball with little ones of seven years old. Punishment, especially corporal punishment, was to be used only in the last resort, when patience and expostulation and all gentler means had failed; and even then not without fervent prayer. 'To punish without previous prayer,' he said, 'was to act like the Jews, and to forget that everything depended upon the blessing of God, and upon His grace, which we must try to draw down upon them by our patience.' But while prayer was the teacher's strength, he was to avoid the error of instilling into the children's minds religious ideas and emotions beyond their years. St. Cyran 'was careful to give the caution that, in order to manage children well, it was rather necessary to pray than to cry, and to speak more of them to God, than of God to them; for he did not approve of holding long religious discourses with them, or of wearying them with instructions.' He thought it needful to regulate in the minutest particulars the place of education, that the children might have none but honorable and pious examples before their eyes. For this purpose the teacher ought to have entire control over his pupils, even to the setting aside, for a time, of parental authority. St. Cyran himself had refused on this ground to undertake the education of a prince of the house of Lorraine. And he anticipated the method of more modern times in desiring to adapt his system of training to the different aptitudes of scholars; only a very few, he thought, were worthy of a learned education; and the practice of conducting all through the same course of instruction ended in incumbering Church and State with a crowd of incompetent servants.

The good Lancelot, in relating how St. Cyran thought the education of the young an 'employment worthy of angels,' 'in which he would have delighted to pass his whole life,' seems, though a teacher himself, to think that some apology is needed to save his master's dignity, and cites a list of Fathers of the Church who do not disdain this labor. St. Cyran had no such thoughts for himself; during all the last years of his life, the training of little children occupied a large part of his time and care; one after another, Singlin, Lancelot, Le Maître, De Barcos, were engaged by him in this employment. He had a scheme for building a school, in which six chosen children should be educated under the care of a priest and a single master to teach Latin. This was necessarily abandoned when he was imprisoned at Vincennes, and two thousand livres, which he had set aside for the purpose, were given to the poor.

But his interest in teaching was not on that account intermitted. He managed during this period to send several children to his abbey of St. Cyran to be honestly and piously brought up, and to persuade some of those disciples to whom his will was law to take charge of others. He fancied that he should like to undertake the bringing up of children from their earliest infancy; to send to the frontier for some little ones, orphaned by the fortune of war, whom he might establish honorably in life, and whose prayers, as one who had stood in a father's place, he might enjoy. While he was at Vincennes, he adopted the son of a poor widow; kept the child in his room until the ill-temper of the governor's wife compelled him to send him away, and then provided a home for him at St. Cyran. The boy turned out badly; defied the efforts of all his teachers, and at last became a hardened thief. But as long as St. Cyran lived, he never gave him up. During the few months between his release and his death, he saw him every day. No occupation, not even his great work against the Calvinists, was suffered to interfere with this; 'he would leave everything,' says Lancelot, 'to say some good word to him, or to try to bring him back to God.'

We have already seen that as early as 1637 Singlin had been persuaded by St. Cyran to take charge of two or three children; and had retired with them for a time to the then deserted valley of Port Royal des Champs. When he was recalled to make one of the little community which gathered about Le Maître in the court-yard of Port Royal de Paris, the work of education was not intermitted. We find recorded the names of several children, who at this time engaged the attention of Lancelot and Le Maître, and who, at St. Cyran's imprisonment, followed their masters to Port Royal des Champs. When after the visit of Laubardemont they were driven from this resting-place, it was with the parents of one of their pupils at Ferté Milon that the little company found an asylum. After their return to Port Royal at the end of 1639, Le Maître occupied himself in teaching two children, one a younger son of M. d'Andilly, the other of Madame de St. Ange, a task which he had undertaken in compliance with St. Cyran's wish. Little by little some of the other solitaries who appear to have possessed an aptitude for the work, joined in it; and pupils were not wanting. In 1643, M. Thomas du Fossé, a gentleman of Rouen, brought three of his sons to Port Royal and placed them in the hands of a M. Selles, who cared for their intellectual training, and of M. de Bâcle, who watched over their religious and moral education. But still no regular system of teaching had been devised; and there was no organization of school or college. The youngest of the three Du Fossés, who maintained throughout his life a close connection with Port Royal, has left us an interesting account of the instruction which he received. 'In regard,' he says, 'to the instructions which they gave us in matters of faith and piety, they were assuredly very different from those which some evil-intentioned and misinformed persons have published to the world. Our catechism was that which is entitled '*Théologie Familière*,' printed with the royal privilege and the approbation of learned men. They explained to us the principal articles of faith in a way that was simple and adapted to our capacity. They inspired into us above all things, the fear of God, the avoidance of sin, and a very great horror of falsehood. Thus I can say that I have never known persons who were more sincere, and with whom it was necessary to live with a more open heart. For they were enemies to every kind of concealment, and had deeply graven upon their hearts that declaration of Scripture which joins in the burning lake of fire and sulphur all liars with wretches and murderers.

'As to the statement which has been set abroad that they taught us in the "little schools of Port Royal," that Jesus Christ did not die for all mankind;

that God was not willing that all men should be saved; that the commandments were impossible of fulfilment, and other things of that nature; I should be to blame if I did not bear witness to their entire falsehood. I do not think that I ever even heard this kind of proposition spoken of during the whole of my studies; except once, when a foolish and insolent almanac appeared in Paris, in which they were alluded to, or when the Constitution of Innocent X., which condemned the Five Propositions, was published in the Church. Those who imagine that these gentlemen had a plan for establishing a new doctrine, and that they kept schools with the view of instilling their opinions into those who were there taught, are very ignorant of their true character. Never were children brought up in greater simplicity than we, and those who came after us. Nowhere were these theological matters less spoken of than in our schools; and I dare assert, without fear of being contradicted by any of my schoolfellows who are still living, and engaged in the business of the world, that we knew much less about them than most of those who came from the public colleges of Paris.'

The schools early felt the shock of the troubles of Port Royal; for in 1644, while the Jesuits were expending their first rage on the 'Book of Frequent Communion,' it was thought well to send the children to Le Chênai, a house near Versailles, which then belonged to M. le Pelletier des Touches, one of St. Cyran's penitents, and throughout the whole of a life, which stretched even into the eighteenth century, a faithful friend of Port Royal. The storm passed away, and the scholars returned to Port Royal only to be transferred in 1646 to Paris. The work increased upon the teachers' hands as well as their own capacity for performing it; many of their friends in the world eagerly desired the benefit of such teaching for their children, and the experience of the last few years had gradually grown into a system of education.

The School in Rue St. Dominique.

M. Lambert offered them a house in the cul-de-sac of the Rue St. Dominique d'Enfer, not far from Port Royal de Paris, where for the first time a regularly organized school was opened. There were four masters, MM. Lancelot, Nicole, Guyot, and Coustel, each of whom presided over a room which contained six scholars. M. Walon de Beaupuis, an excellent ecclesiastic, superintended the whole. Every Sunday the boys attended vespers in the convent chapel, and heard Singlin's sermon. Those whose parents were able to afford it, paid an annual sum of 400 livres; which was augmented by a fourth, on account of the dearness of provisions, during the war of the Fronde. Some, however, received a gratuitous education.

The establishment was sufficiently obscure and humble to escape any but very watchful eyes of suspicion. Even the name by which it was known, 'Les petites Écoles de Port Royal,' seemed to disdain any rivalry with existing colleges; although it must be confessed that the training given was sufficiently complete to render a recourse to the latter unnecessary. But Port Royal had already for some years been an object of suspicion to the Jesuits, who were not likely to see with equanimity this invasion of what they regarded as their peculiar province. In February, 1648, La Mère Angélique writes to the Queen of Poland that it was currently reported that the children in the Rue St. Dominique formed a religious order; that they observed a monastic seclusion; wore a uniform dress; had a chapel of their own; and were called the 'Little Brethren of Grace.' And indeed a commissary of police made a sudden inspection of the schools at this time, with no immediate results that we hear of. A change, perhaps in consequence of this visit, was again made about the year 1650. Du Fossé, with one or two companions, was sent under the care of

a M. le Fèvre, to Magny; and thence, after about six months, to Port Royal, 'not, however, to the Abbey as before, but to a farm which is upon the hill, called Les Granges.' Others were sent to the Château des Troux, near Chevreuse, the house of M. de Bagnols; and others to Le Chênai, now the seat of M. de Bernières. It is not easy to speak with confident accuracy of all these changes; but the year 1653 may be fixed as that of the final and total removal of the schools from Paris.

This division of the schools into three parts, each of which might reasonably be expected to attract less notice than the whole, was doubtless a measure of precaution. The establishments at Le Chênai and Les Troux assumed almost a private character; at the first the children of M. de Bernières, at the second those of M. de Bagnols, were being educated in their father's house; and to associate with them one or two companions of their own age could hardly be accounted a crime against Church or State. But the respite thus obtained was brief. At the beginning of 1656 the condemnation of Antoine Arnauld by the Sorbonne had crowned the triumph of the Jesuits; and the Pope had requested the king to disperse the hermit community of Port Royal. A letter from the treasurer of the Queen-mother's household to D'Andilly, warned him of the approaching danger; and after a vain remonstrance, the schools at Les Granges were broken up, and the children, fifteen in number, restored to their friends. When, therefore, the Lieutenant Civil M. d'Aubrai appeared at Port Royal des Champs on the 30th of March, he found the buildings deserted except by two disguised priests, who successfully played the part of hard-working farm laborers. From Les Granges he went the same night to Les Troux. Here he found the three children of M. de Bagnols with only three or four companions, boys of good family, but unable to pay for the education which they owed to the charity of their host. Next day at Le Chênai, he met with a larger household; above twenty children inhabited a wing of the mansion, where their studies were superintended by M. de Beaupuis. And although all was smooth and fair-seeming, though the Lieutenant Civil and his companions were full of compliments, the schools received a shock from this visit from which they never recovered. Parents began to ask themselves whether it was worth while, even for the sake of a good and cheap education, to confide their children to men upon whom the shadow of royal displeasure so manifestly rested. The school at Les Granges does not seem to have reassembled. Those at Le Chênai and Les Troux maintained a feeble existence till March 10th, 1660, when M. d'Aubrai returned, and on the part of the king commanded their instant dispersion. M. de Bernières was first forbidden to lend his house for such a purpose, and then exiled to Issoudun in Berri, where he died in 1662. M. de Bagnols was already dead, and the care of his orphan children was taken out of the hands to which he had committed it, and entrusted to a relative who was supposed to be free from the taint of Jansenism. No attempt was made to reconstruct the schools after the Peace of the Church.

In this chequered existence of some twenty years' duration, the schools of Port Royal developed a system of education singularly in advance of the age, and produced manuals of instruction, some of which are not obsolete even yet. It is difficult to make even an approximate estimate of the number of pupils who were being trained at any given time. The schools were never, in the full sense of the word, public; the parents of the scholars were all friends of Port Royal, and any boy of doubtful or unpromising disposition was at once removed. M. St. Beuve, from many minute indications, has come to the conclusion that between the establishment in the Rue St. Dominique in 1646, and the final suppression in 1660, the number at one time never exceeded fifty.

SCHOOL METHODS AND MANUALS.

[The theory of Port Royal teachers had its root in the Jansenian doctrine of the fall of man. Every unbaptized child was to be dealt with as an example of corrupt human nature, and even the grace given by baptism cannot be made efficacious in the temptations of the world, save by constant vigilance and prayer on the part of able and pious teachers. These must be like a special Providence to resist the natural inclinations to evil, and to correct little irregularities before they become habits. All the surroundings of children—their teachers, domestics, the walls of the schoolroom, and their places of recreation, should facilitate the culture of the soul in holiness—the first thing in this system of education. The two great instruments of government were love and prayer. The masters were gentle, hopeful, forbearing, and never used authority untempered with love. The mind and body were not forgotten—with such school inspectors as Arnauld, such masters of logic and speech as Pascal and Le Maître, the subjects, methods and manuals were in advance of the age. Out-door games of skill and strength were encouraged; billiards, chess, and draughts were the resources of a wet day.]

It would be difficult to estimate the exact amount of improvement introduced by Port Royal into methods of education, without a more precise knowledge of other schools and colleges at the same period than we possess. We are to some extent driven to conjecture from the statements of the Port Royalist teachers themselves, the points in which they differed from contemporary educators. There can, however, be no doubt that the latent Protestantism, if I may so call it, of the community, the power to deviate from established forms of thought and modes of action, displayed itself to the greatest extent in the management of the schools. They began from the principle then heretical, and not always orthodox now, 'that children ought to be so helped in every possible way as to make, if it may be, study more pleasant than play and amusement.' So the old plan of giving to consonants names which did not express their syllabic value was abandoned, and a method adopted in its stead which is said to have been the invention of Pascal. The children were allowed to pronounce the vowels and diphthongs by themselves, the consonants only in connection with these; and thus the difficulty and absurdity of compounding the sound *bon* of the three dissimilar sounds *bé*, *o*, *enne*, were avoided. Then—O inconceivable perversity!—it had been customary to teach little children to read in Latin; to add to the difficulties which encumber the first attempt to translate signs into sounds, all those which would spring from the use of an unknown language. Port Royal made the bold innovation of teaching French children to read in the French tongue; and not only so, but went to the ridiculous excess of indulging youthful minds with reading books, apt to engage the attention and to spur the will to the task. Latin grammars were then (nor is the practice yet obsolete) written in Latin; and the pupils were compelled to learn the rules of the unknown language which they were about to study, in the language itself. The '*Nonvelle Méthode pour apprendre facilement et en peu de tems la Langue Latine*,' by Lancelot, better known as the '*Port Royal Latin Grammar*,' was written in French; and was the first instance in which the attempt was made to teach a dead through the medium of a living language. In other schools, even young beginners were exercised in written translation only, and were set to compose themes in a language which they very imperfectly understood; at Port Royal translation was *vivâ voce;* the teacher's voice, manner, comments, helped to give life and motion to the old classic phrase, and to infuse a warmth of thought and feeling into the cold, dead words. French were, to a great extent, substituted for Latin exercises in composition; and the result, we are told, was visible in that gradual emanci-

pation of the modern from the restraints of the ancient tongue, which characterizes the period known as the age of Louis XIV. The composition of Latin verse was imposed only upon those scholars who manifested some poetical faculty; to others, the task could only be painful and productive of no result. But sometimes it was thought well to exercise a whole class in this way; the subject was chosen by the teacher, and each of the scholars was at liberty to suggest a word, a phrase, a turn of expression, as the inspiration of the moment might prompt. Idiomatic translations of several classic authors were made for the use of the schools, which, it is hardly necessary to say, were carefully expurgated.

The study of the Greek language was much neglected in France during the seventeenth century, and the labors of Port Royal did not succeed in effecting more than a temporary revival. The Greek Grammar, which was, like the Latin, the production of Lancelot, is, as all grammars must be, to some extent a compilation from preceding works, but differs from most in the full and modest acknowledgment of its obligations. But the credit is due to Lancelot of having perceived that the Greek is much more similar in construction and spirit to any modern language than the Latin; and that the difficulties which beset the learner lie rather in the copiousness of its vocabulary than in the intricacies of its syntax. He discarded, therefore, the hitherto universally accepted plan of approaching the Greek through the Latin; his grammar is written, his translations are made, not in Latin but in French. A less successful book was a '*Jardin des Racines Grecques*,' which was thrown by De Saçi into the form of mnemonic verses, which are often as barbarous as the etymologies which they contain are defective. Yet even this was not without its merits, as no French and Greek dictionary existed at that time; and the meaning of a Greek word could penetrate into the student's mind only through the medium of an inadequate Latin equivalent. Perhaps after all, the result of the Greek learning of Port Royal is most visible in the tragedies of Racine; though none would more sincerely have lamented, than Lancelot and Nicole, that the same learning which enabled men to read the New Testament in the original, should help them produce such profane masterpieces as Andromaque and Iphigénie.

The grammars which I have already mentioned were accompanied by others from the same fertile pen. The Latin Grammar was first published in 1644, dedicated to, and if the traditions of Port Royal may be trusted, used by, the young king. The Greek Grammar did not appear till 1655. Both of these were also published in an abridged form. An Italian and a Spanish Grammar on the same plan, followed in 1660, and four treatises on Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish Poetry, respectively, in 1663. Besides the '*Garden of Greek Roots*' which appeared in 1657, and many volumes of translations from Phædrus, Plautus, Terence, Virgil, and Cicero, which it is not necessary to specify more particularly, a selection of Epigrams [*Epigrammatum Delectus*] with a Latin preface by Nicole, was printed in 1659. A volume of '*Elements of Geometry*,' by Arnauld, which had been long used in manuscript, was first given to the world in 1667, of which it is sufficient to say that Pascal, when he saw it, burned a little treatise on the same subject which he had compiled.

A comparison of dates will show that many of these works were not published till after the schools of Port Royal had been finally closed. They were the records and monuments of the teaching which had been there given; the instruments by which Lancelot and Nicole exercised their functions to a continually increasing extent, after they were driven from Le Chênai and Les Granges. It is not the first instance in which persecution has only spread over a wider surface the influence which it was designed to extirpate.

The 'Grammaire générale et raisonnée, contenant les Fondemens de l'Art de Parler, expliqués d'une Manière claire et naturelle, les Raisons de ce qui est commun à toutes les Langues et des principales Différences qui s'y rencontrent, et plusieurs Remarques nouvelles sur la Langue Françoise, 1660,' stands on a different footing from the works already enumerated, as one of the first contributions to the science of general or comparative grammar which has since engaged so much of the attention of students. Arnauld and Lancelot are the joint authors. The latter, meeting with many difficulties in the composition of his several grammars, brought them to Arnauld to be resolved. He was so much struck with the philosophical penetration displayed by his master, that he obtained permission to throw his ideas into the connected form in which the '*Grammaire Générale*' now appears. To attempt to criticise this once celebrated book would be out of place. The advantage of literary over scientific works is, that while the former are possessions forever, the latter are continually left behind by the advancing wave of human knowledge; only the student of mathematical history can afford time to read the '*Principia*,' while the '*Paradise Lost*' flourishes in perennial youth. So, however just might be the theory, however cogent the reasonings of the '*Grammaire Générale*,' the facts upon which its inductions are based were necessarily few and imperfectly known. Large families of languages, which are now objects of the grammarian's closest and most fruitful study, were then unknown; and the real affinities of those which were the subjects of comparison hardly suspected. When all these drawbacks are fully estimated, when it is allowed that the grammars of Port Royal have been long superseded by simpler and more scientific methods, that its etymology was not in advance of the age, that its translations from the classics were periphrastic and unclassical, and that the schools cannot be said to have produced a Latinist or a Hellenist of more than average merit, the credit due to the modest teachers of the Rue St. Dominique remain unimpaired. Their improvements in the art of education have not been cast away as delusive, but have been carried to a higher pitch of perfection by the experience of succeeding generations. In no particular were they behind, in many far before their time. Their work, which began in the love of childhood, and in a deep religious respect for its comparative innocence, was conducted to the end under a sense of moral responsibility which introduced a new element into the relation between the teacher and the scholar. Nor do I know where else in that age to look for a modest yet dignified assertion of the worth of the teacher's office, a worth which society even now but partially recognizes. And to the allegation that the schools of Port Royal produced no great scholars, the sufficient reply is that their single object was the education of Christian men.

The mention of the '*Grammaire Générale*' naturally leads us to its more celebrated companion, '*The Port Royal Logic*,' a work which, if we may judge from the fact that a recent English translation of it has reached a fourth edition, seems to defy the attacks of time. Its full title is 'La Logique, ou l'Art de Penser, contenant, outre les Règles communes, plusieurs Observations nouvelles, propres à former le Jugement, 1662.' The following account of its origin is given in the preface. A nameless 'person of quality,' talking one day to the young Duc de Chevreuse, 'happened to mention to him that he had, when himself young, met with a person who in fifteen days made him acquainted with the greater part of logic.' Another person, perhaps Arnauld, replied that if M. de Chevreuse would take the trouble, he would impart to him all of logic that was worth knowing in four or five days. The challenge was accepted, and an abstract of logical science drawn up, which the young duke, whose aptitude for acquiring knowledge is described as remarkable,

easily committed to memory within the specified time. But the work grew upon the author's hands; MS. copies were circulated; then in 1662 it was printed. A second edition followed in 1664, a third in 1668, a fourth in 1674, a fifth in 1683, each of which successively was improved and enlarged. It was soon translated into Latin, in which language it was repeatedly reprinted; into Spanish, and into Italian. The first English translation appeared probably as early as 1685; another in 1716; and both went through more than one edition. A new translation, accompanied by an excellent introduction and notes, has of late years been made by Mr. T. Spencer Baynes.

The '*Logic*' in its present shape is preceded by two discourses, 'in which the design of this new Logic is set forth,' and 'containing a reply to the principal objections which have been made to this Logic.' Both of these are from the pen of Nicole. The work itself is divided into four parts, of which the three first, according to Racine, 'were composed in common,' while the fourth is altogether Arnauld's. Most of the additions made after the publication of the first edition are due to Nicole. At the same time the book, both in its conception and the most important part of its execution, must be considered as having proceeded from the mind of Arnauld.

Its fourfold division is based on what are called the four principal operations of the mind, conceiving (*concevoir*), judging (*juger*), reasoning (*raisonner*), and disposing (*ordonner*). In other words, the first part treats of ideas, the second of propositions, the third of syllogisms, and the fourth of method. But this general statement gives only a partial idea of the object of the work. There is nothing here which, under certain conditions of treatment, might not be brought within the strict scope of a logical hand-book. Our authors, however, take a wider than the ordinary range. Their second title, '*The Art of Thinking*,' better expresses their intention than the first. 'Logic,' they say, 'is the art of directing reason aright, in obtaining the knowledge of things, for the instruction both of ourselves and others.' Its chief end, therefore, is rather practical than theoretical; not so much the analysis of the syllogistic or any method of reasoning, as, in general, the production of the '*mens sana*.' The first preliminary discourse begins, 'There is nothing more desirable than good sense and accuracy of thought in discriminating between truth and falsehood. All other qualities of mind are of limited use, but exactness of judgment is of general utility in every part and in all the employments of life.' They think that the efficacy of logic in producing this quality of mind has been much overrated. But the absurd pretensions in behalf of the science which have been put forward by scholastic philosophers, do not form a reason for rejecting the solid advantages to be derived from it; and therefore they have incorporated with their book a selection from the common rules. 'Now,' they proceed, 'although we cannot say these rules are useless, since they often help to discover the vice of certain intricate arguments, and to arrange our thoughts in a more convenient manner, still this utility must not be supposed to extend very far. The greater part of the errors of men arises, not from their allowing themselves to be deceived by wrong conclusions, but in their proceeding from false judgments, whence wrong conclusions are deduced. Those who have previously written on logic have sought but little to rectify this, which is the main design of the new reflections which are to be found scattered through this book.' Accordingly, while all the technical part of the old manuals is not only to be found here, but is stated with a clearness, and illustrated by a variety of examples, which are themselves characteristic of the book, its most valuable portions are undoubtedly those sections which approach the art of thinking from the moral or practical side, and treat of the 'sophisms of self-love, of interest, and of passion,' and 'of the false

reasonings which arise from objects themselves;' as well as the whole of the last part, which draws its inspiration from Des Cartes' celebrated '*Discourse on Method.*'

To point out the particulars in which the '*Art of Thinking,*' considered purely as a logical treatise, differs from previous treatises of the same kind, is a work which belongs to the historian of mental sciences. But we may be allowed to notice here its intensely practical treatment of what had hitherto, for the most part, been a merely formal and scholastic subject of study. It took up the series of pedantically expressed rules which were supposed to supply the only method by which the human mind could investigate truth; and on the one hand found a base for them in the living metaphysical thought of the day, on the other connected them with the whole procedure of science and the conduct of daily life. The very illustrations introduced into the most formal portion of the whole, have shaken off the frost of ages of scholasticism. Generation after generation of pupils had repeated the old examples, some of which had descended from the time even of Porphyry and Aristotle; now for the first time we find ourselves in the regions of modern thought—in the sacramental controversies between Catholic and Huguenot—in the debate of 'matière subtile' and the vacuum. The living French is substituted for the dead Latin as the medium of instruction. The scholar whom the teachers of philosophy sought to train, was one who could argue accurately from given premises, in the syllogistic form, and was quick, by help of the same instrument, to detect the fallacies of other reasoners. The logician of Port Royal was the man of a sound and practised judgment; not ignorant of the subtleties of the schools, but accustomed to examine the soundness of his assumptions as well as of his arguments; and even if not a philosopher or a man of science, yet possessed of a philosophic and scientific mind.

It must not be forgotten that as far as Port Royal can be said to have a philosophy, it is to be found not in Pascal's '*Thoughts,*' but in the '*Logic.*' Arnauld, after some preliminary skirmishing with Des Cartes, had enrolled himself among his followers, and the '*Logic,*' as well as the '*General Grammar,*' is the legitimate offspring of the '*Discourse on Method.*' On the other hand, the first Preliminary Discourse contains a fierce onslaught upon the Pyrrhonists, whom it summarily qualifies as a 'sect of liars,' and the chapter on 'the Sophisms of Self-love' halts in its argument to gibbet the vices and follies of Montaigne. The whole passage is so far removed from the calm and equal tone of the rest of the book, as to suggest the idea of a personal polemic against one whose influence Port Royal had been unable to eradicate from the mind of Pascal. But in truth Port Royal is not philosophical. Arnauld has a name among metaphysicians, Nicole among moralists, Pascal among religious philosophers; but the speculations of the three could not be united into one accordant whole; and no one of them was Port Royalist on his philosophical side. St. Cyran, Singlin, De Saçi, are, after all, our most characteristic figures; and the Bible and St. Augustine, not Aristotle and the schoolmen, are the fountains of their wisdom.

Pupils of the Port Royal Schools.

A list of those who were educated in the schools of Port Royal would convey little information to English readers. The new methods of education were applied on too small a scale and for too short a time to produce any very startling result. Yet such a list would include the names of nearly all the younger Arnaulds; of the three brothers Du Fossé; of the two sons of Bignon, Avocat Général, one of whom succeeded to his father's office, and the other obtained high legal preferment; of M. de Harlay, the French Plenipotentiary at the Peace of Ryswick; of the Duc de Chevreuse, whose name has been already

mentioned in connection with that of his tutor, Lancelot; of the nephews of Pascal; and of many more worthy scions of Parliamentary families, who in the latter years of the century preserved the memory of their place of education by the grave and austere spirit of their life and magistracy. It is curious to note among these the name of a younger son of the noble Scotch house of Lennox, who, adopting his French patronymic of D'Aubigny, entered the Church, became Canon of Nôtre Dame, Almoner of Charles II.'s Portuguese Queen, and died in 1665, a few hours before the arrival of a courier from Rome, who was bringing him a Cardinal's hat. A still more singular name is that of Charles II.'s unfortunate son, the Duke of Monmouth, who, in the time of his father's exile, was sent with his tutor to pass a couple of years (1658–60) at the house of M. de Bernières at Chênal. But the two pupils of whom Port Royal is justly proud are Racine and Tillemont.

Sebastien le Nain de Tillemont, the son of Jean le Nain, Maître des Requêtes, and of Dame Marie le Ragois, was born at Paris, November 30th, 1637. His father was an old friend of Port Royal, and when, in the second war of the Fronde, the nuns were compelled to leave the Faubourg to seek refuge in the heart of the city, M. le Nain with M. de Bernières marched at their head. The future historian, when between nine and ten years of age, was sent to the schools of Port Royal, which were then just established in the Rue St. Dominique. The child was father of the man. He showed at this early period not only the same character, but the same tastes as in after-life. Livy was his favorite author; and it is recorded of him that he rarely laid the volume down till he had read an entire book. He passed through the course of classical instruction usual in the schools, and long before the publication of the '*Art de Penser*,' was instructed in logic by its authors. The Annals of Baronius engaged his attention while he was still quite a boy, and gave occasion to innumerable questions, which he carried to Nicole. The latter, who was no mean proficient in ecclesiastical history, at first easily satisfied the applicant with an extemporaneous reply; but by and by, the difficulties proposed by the pupil became less easy of solution, and the master ingenuously confesses that he trembled at his approach. But before long Tillemont became dissatisfied with any ecclesiastical history at second hand. At eighteen he began to study the Scriptures and the Fathers for himself, and arranged all the facts which he found there according to the plan of Usher's Annals, a book which he had read with much pleasure.

When, in 1656, the schools at Port Royal des Champs were broken up, Tillemont, with his friend Du Fossé and a good priest, in whose charge they were placed, retired to Paris, and, in a little house in the Rue des Postes, spent some four years in hard study. About Lent, 1660, the two friends removed to Les Troux, now empty by the death of M. de Bagnols and the final dispersion of the schools, in order that they might especially apply themselves to Church history, under the supervision of the learned curate of the parish, M. Burlugai. But before long Tillemont found it expedient to seek a refuge in the universal asylum of the Jansenists, the diocese of Beauvais, where the Bishop received him with open arms. Here he spent eight or nine years in quiet study, part of the time in the seminary, part in the house of M. Hermant. Already he was beginning to be regarded as one who possessed more than a common knowledge of the first ages of the Church; and his modesty was sorely wounded by the deference paid to his opinion by his superiors in age and ecclesiastical rank. At last, when M. de Beauvais, after having induced him to receive the tonsure, informed him that his greatest earthly consolation would be the hope of having him as the successor to his See, the modest student fairly fled, and with his father's permission once more took up his abode with Du Fossé in Paris.

But life in Paris appeared too full of distractions to a student who divided all his time between his books and his devotions, and after two years he retired to St. Lambert, a village between Chevreuse and Port Royal. The Peace of the Church was yet fresh, and De Saçi lived undisturbed with his friends and the community of which he was the head, in the old home in the valley. Hence he cast his eyes upon Tillemont, over whose conduct he had long had entire control, and whom he now resolved to train as his successor in the direction of the monastery. Year by year he led him up the many steps which conduct to the Roman Catholic priesthood, till finally, in 1676, Tillemont, now forty years of age, was ordained. His next act was to build for himself a modest dwelling in the court-yard of Port Royal des Champs, where it was his hope and purpose to end his days. But in 1679, before he had occupied his new home for two entire years, the second persecution began; De Saçi took up his abode at Pomponne, and Tillemont retired to his estate, about a league from Vincennes, from which he derived his name. Here the rest of his uneventful life was passed. Once he made a journey into Holland to visit Arnauld and the Dutch Jansenists. Once he was tempted to enter the active life of the Church, and accepted the curacy of St. Lambert, the village near Port Royal, where he had formerly lived. But this was the single occasion of his life in which he acted without asking his father's advice; and on hearing that M. le Nain disapproved of the scheme, he at once gave it up. Till his death in 1698, his life is one noiseless round of study and prayer. In the words of his epitaph—'a puero ad finem vitæ, unus semper ac sibi constans, quotidiè repetiit quod quotidiè fecit.'

Tillemont laid it down as a fundamental maxim for the regulation of conduct, that the inconstancy of man could only be corrected by rigid adherence to a predetermined course and the formation of fixed habits. On this he modelled his own life. He rose every morning at half-past four; in Lent at four. He considered that his health and the work on which he was engaged exempted him from the obligation to rise in the middle of the night to say matins. Throughout the day he was exact in reciting all the offices of the ritual, either in his own house or in the parish church. He dined at noon, supped at seven, and retired to rest at half-past nine. After dinner he allowed himself two hours' relaxation, which he usually spent in walking; all the rest of the day, not thus accounted for, was devoted to his books. Even as he walked he was wont to pray and to sing psalms, and often joined in the simple processions of the village. He took great pleasure in church music, and sometimes attempted composition. In accordance with what he believed to be the practice of the primitive Church, he made pilgrimages to distant shrines, and always performed these journeys on foot, staff in hand, like a simple country priest. His conversation was grave and yet cheerful; he rarely spoke unless first addressed, and loved to turn the discourse to subjects of edification. He made no display of erudition in his talk; it was necessary to question him to find out that he was more learned than other men. Towards his inferiors in age or station he was always gentle and considerate; himself a child in spirit, his love of children was deep and tender. He would even have them present at public worship. 'Their cries,' he said, 'are their prayers, and prayers to which God is not deaf.' 'They were the holiest part of the Church, and their presence would help to render its intercessions effectual.' He liked to talk with the peasants and wayfarers whom he met on his journeys, and to leave with them some precious truth enshrined in an apt but homely similitude. Of his servants he had an especial care, and occupied some minutes daily in their religious instruction. 'They are as noble as we,' he was wont to say, 'and man owes to man no more than friendship.' His charity was great. As soon as he

had received his quarter's income he laid aside a portion for the poor, which he entrusted for distribution to the Curé of the parish; and had besides many pensioners of his own to whom he made a monthly allowance. His biographer records many ingenious methods which he used to stir up others to a similar liberality of alms-giving. His whole life was one effort of self-control, and his habits were very simple and frugal; but we do not read of any fasts or austerities which, measured by the standard of his own Church, could justly be called excessive. He writes to his brother, who was Sub-Prior of La Trappe, 'Everybody is not obliged to fast as you do at La Trappe, but everybody is obliged to resist the desires of concupiscence, which pride and the remains of our corruption constantly excite in us, and to expiate the sins into which we thus fall.'

Tillemont's Ecclesiastical History appeared in two unequal portions—'The History of the Emperors and other Princes who reigned in the first six ages of the Church,' in 6 vols., and the 'Ecclesiastical History,' in 16 vols. The first volume of the first portion appeared in 1690, and was followed, during the author's lifetime, by three others; the fifth was issued in 1701, the sixth not till 1738. The 'Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire ecclésiastique' were published at intervals from 1693 to 1712; but of the sixteen volumes only four appeared during the author's lifetime. The rest were edited by his faithful secretary and biographer, Tronchai. To this vast repository of the original title deeds of the Church, Gibbon resorted to fix the loose and scattered items of historical information, with perfect confidence in the author, whose 'inimitable accuracy almost assumes the character of genius.'

Tillemont died at Paris on the 10th of January, 1698. He desired to be buried at Port Royal des Champs, by the side of the eldest son of M. de Bernières, who had been his youthful companion. But the nuns prepared a grave within the cloister on the left side of the choir, where his body was religiously committed to the earth, in the blissful hope that 'the grave was only the portal to that higher temple where the worship was wholly inward and spiritual like that of angels—and like that was immutable and eternal.'

'There, being filled with God Himself, and enjoying His truth by a contemplation full of light and warmth, we shall sing His praises, not in syllables which pass away before they are heard, and words as imperfect as the faith which produces them is obscure, but in a silence worthy of His greatness. All the passions which now tear us in pieces by so many different desires, all the various created objects which give so many distractions in prayer, so many imaginations and thoughts, caused by the mobility and lightness of our spirits, all this will be silent then. Nothing will interrupt our silence; and our soul, all at one with itself, or rather with God, by a happiness which is the opposite of that outer darkness with which Jesus Christ threatens His enemies, will see only God, will hear only God, will enjoy only God, in short, will love only God. This is the happiness which God promises to us. This is the secrecy and silence towards which faith causes the soul which it animates to aspire; and which enables it, as it were, to anticipate by continual groanings of heart.'

'Give us, O God, this inner piety which will produce in us both prayer and all other outward actions of virtue, and which will end in that eternal praise which our hearts will render to Thee in Heaven, amid the silence of all created things.'

GERMAN PEDAGOGY.

INTRODUCTION.

In the prosecution of our labors as an educational journalist we have had occasion to draw largely from the pedagogical literature of the German language, which, beyond that of any other country, is pre-eminently rich in the historical development of education, both public and individual, and in the exhaustive discussion of the principles and methods of instruction. While we must accord to Italy the merit of preserving, and to Italy and France of transmitting and enlarging the ancient civilization, and to the British Isles of sending back to the continent the torch of christian culture when its light was almost extinguished in the devastations of civil war and successive waves of barbarian invasions, we find in the nations which belong to the great German family a succession of schools and teachers, in which and by whom the work of human culture has been carried on with enthusiasm, in spite of civil war, and changing and belligerent dynasties. Since the great ecclesiastical upbreak of the sixteenth century, and particularly since the social and political agitations which grew out of the action of the French Revolution on European institutions, German writers, statesmen, and teachers have bestowed more thought on the problems and discussions of education, than have the same classes in any, or all other countries together. The results are now manifest to the world in the universality and high character of the public instruction, in the wealth of literary and scientific production, in the industrial development, and the military strength of the German people.

It is not creditable to English and American teachers and educators that a literature so rich in thorough historical research, profound speculation, and wise and varied experience from infant training to the broadest university culture, should have been so long neglected—especially when the German educational reformers were so prompt to appreciate and appropriate the broad generalizations of Bacon, and the practical common sense of Locke, as well as the suggestions of Rousseau and Pestalozzi, in this field.

The attention given in Germany to the organization and administration of schools, and the instruction and discipline of children, grows out of certain principles which are fundamental in the German ideal of the State, and its functions. These principles are very clearly set forth by Prof. Donaldson in his Lecture on the History of Education in Prussia.

The ancient Greeks and Romans had a stronger consciousness of the claims of society than of those of the individual. They saw that society lived for ever. The individual members died, but the society, the community, was ever renewed and ever continued. And the individual members derived their blessings and privileges from society. It was therefore the bounden duty of every individual to think first of the good of the community, to sacrifice his own wishes and pleasures for its welfare, and to submit to all restrictions which the general weal, the commonwealth, might impose. Existence in a State demands unselfishness. This ancient idea the Prussians have retained. The nation is a unity; the rulers are its head, its brains; and their work is to accomplish, through the machinery of the State, all that is best accomplished through that machinery. Education is one of these things. It is an object that owes its success to organization. A good teacher can not be extemporized. He must be systematically trained, and he must look on his profession as the work of his life. A good school must be supported by a regular and permanent source of income. Variability in this matter tends to defeat educational efforts; and if a whole people is to be educated, ample provision must be made for them in the matter of schools and teachers. If a nation, therefore, is to have good teachers, good schools, and a sufficient number of them, it must begin the preparation of the teachers, and the erection of the schools, long before they will pay, and it must organize the whole into a unity. For these and many other reasons education can not be satisfactorily given to a whole community except with a complete public organization. This the Prussians have always acknowledged. They have always regarded education as specially the duty of the State. Proofs of this could be given innumerable. I shall quote from three writers. Beneke says: 'The right of the State in respect of the school has been disputed by no one. It can not be a matter of indifference to it in what way its future citizens are trained. As all other far-stretching interests, so also those connected with education and instruction are concentrated in it; and as it has the duty to provide for the satisfaction of these, so must it also have the right of the chief establishment and superintendence of all institutions of education and instruction.' 'I understand,' says Paul de Lagarde, a famous scholar and theologian of Göttingen, in a pamphlet on the relation of Church and State, published 1873—'I understand by the State the institution which seeks, at the expense of all, and with means presented by all, to attain to ends necessary for all, or even only desirable to all, but not attainable through the efforts of one or several individuals. Herewith it is granted that the State has to accomplish nothing which the individual or individuals can accomplish; that it has to accomplish only what is necessary for all, and what by its nature can be accomplished only through the common effort of all; that its right, might, and duty go only so far as the universal necessity of the ends which it places for itself. The State ought to give the money of the nation intrusted to it only when it is convinced that that for which it gives out the money is, or can be, the common property of the nation. It is entitled, for instance, to give out money for the army, for schools, for canals, for roads, for forests, because all these objects are necessary to the national life; but a single member, or an association of single members, of it, can not take care of these at all, or only imperfectly, and are also not bound to procure by private means what is for the good of all.' In like manner Eduard Zeller, in his lectures at Berlin, 1873, remarks, 'Society alone can form the institutions and provide for the means which all higher instruction requires, all the more the further science advances and spreads out into a mutiplicity of single departments. From it alone can a suitable connected organization and

direction of the whole of education proceed. Its power alone is in a position to overcome the hindrances which the indifference, the folly, the selfishness of many parents put in the way of universal and vigorous education of youth. It is bound and entitled to make use of this power by regard to itself as well as to all belonging to it. . . . The State is bound, in looking after her own future, to secure her permanence and prosperity by instruction and education.' You will notice that all these writers have in their minds the entire education of the country, the universities and *Gymnasien* as well as the people's schools, and this may be said to be nearly the unanimous opinion of all German thinkers.

The Prussian State has fully apprehended its duty in this matter. From the time of Frederick's father to the present day the rulers have sought to bring all the wisdom they could get to bear on this problem, limiting their action by only one consideration, the maintenance of loyalty to themselves. In fact this I consider to be one chief element in the success of the Prussian system, that the rulers have always sought for the men best skilled in the science and art of education to guide them in all educational legislation. And whatever else may be said of Prussian schemes of instruction, they bear on their face the fact that they have been formed by men practically and theoretically acquainted with education, and are eminently wise. Let me illustrate the action of the rulers according to this principle. Shortly before the time of Frederick the Great's father, a religious movement, what we should call a revival movement, broke out in Prussia. Spener was its leader. He had a pupil of the name of Francke. The Church at that time was sunk in a cold orthodoxy. It was the greatest sin not to believe every tittle of the creed, but it was no sin not to feel the love of God. Moral death hates life, and when the revival movement came it was met by stern opposition. Francke suffered persecution from the men of orthodoxy, simply because he had life in him, for in reality he was as orthodox as they were. But this Francke had the love of God in him, and the love of the poor, and the love of children, and so he established a school for the poor, and then a seminary for teachers, and various other institutions. The king, Friedrich Wilhelm I., saw that he was doing a good and great work for his people. He gave him substantial aid, and consulted him when he issued laws for education. Francke thus became the real founder of the modern people's school. Francke had a pupil called Hecker, as pietistic and orthodox as himself, and as intent on doing great work. Frederick the Great was neither orthodox nor pietist. He had no belief in the great truths of Christianity, but he believed in Hecker. Hecker knew about education; Hecker was in earnest about education; and Frederick gave him full swing. He employed Hecker to organize education. It was Hecker that drew up his educational acts for him. These educational acts are really the foundation of the Prussian success. Hecker inserted compulsory clauses, though this was not new, as the doctrine had always existed in the Prussian mind. He insisted on teachers being trained for their profession. He tried to get the whole country interested in the maintenance of the teachers. He instituted seminaries for teachers, and he and Semler were the originators of the *Real-schule*. Frederick went so far as to allow Hecker to introduce his pietism into the act. The decree of the skeptical Frederick contains this clause: 'As far as the work of the school is concerned, sacristans and schoolmasters are earnestly reminded above every thing to prepare themselves for teaching by a heartfelt prayer for themselves, and to ask from the Giver of all good gifts wisdom and patience that their exertions and labors may be blessed. In particular they are to pray the Lord that he would grant them a heart paternally inclined and tempered with love and seriousness toward the children intrusted to them, that they may discharge all the duties lying on them as teachers willingly and without grudge, remembering that they can accomplish nothing, not even gain the hearts of the children, without the divine aid of Jesus, the friend of children, and of His spirit.'

The same determination to choose the best men for the Government offices pervades the Prussian system. The head of that system is the Minister of Instruction, always a man thoroughly versed in educational matters. He presides over a council of education, in which there are always two or three men who

have had large experience in practical education, and who are profoundly acquainted with the science of pedagogy. It is the business of the Minister to form a clear idea of the aims which he wishes each class of schools to have before them. And, for this purpose, he asks one of his council, who is practically conversant with the science and art of teaching, to draw up general directions as to the aims, subjects, and best methods of teaching. This document is submitted to the council. The Minister listens to all that has to be said by men well acquainted with the political and ecclesiastical affairs of the country, makes up his mind as to the advice given, and then sends his directions to all persons concerned. These documents are of great value as expositions of educational practice, and show a rare amount of wisdom. They give unity and purpose to the whole education of Prussia. But great care is taken not to interfere with details. The details are to be worked out by the various subordinate councils. The Universities are made to a large extent self-governing. The directors of *Gymnasien* have large powers, with much responsibility. And special work is assigned to each education board, in proportion as it is supposed capable of doing it. But no directly educational work is done by any one who is not specially prepared and fitted for it, and no board determines strictly educational matters without having the direction and advice of some one practically acquainted with education. There is always attached to the provincial board a special member called a school counselor, who is appointed for his special knowledge of the art and science of education.

The schoolmaster himself is also looked on as an official of the State. His function is not merely to teach reading, writing, and other arts; but to make good citizens. Accordingly, it is demanded of him that he give his life to the work. He must submit to a preliminary course of training at a seminarium or normal school; he must serve a kind of apprenticeship; he must pass certain examinations. And the boards are warned to be particularly strict in these examinations. It is thus very rare that an incompetent teacher finds his way into a school; and if such an event takes place, the board that let him pass is held responsible for the mistake, and is bound to get employment for him in some other branch of service for which he is better fitted. Once in a school he is urged to make progress in his career. A man who does not exert himself is sent to the schools where the lowest pay is given, and the mode of life is disagreeable. But if he works, he may rise to any extent. The only obstacle in his way is that many of the best educational situations are open only to those who have gone through the *Gymnasien* and the universities. But if he has this education, he may become the school counselor and a member of the provincial board; he may become a director of a seminary; he may become a member of the chief board; he may become the Minister of Instruction himself. All the offices lie open to merit and loyalty. He is also secured a fixed salary and certain privileges. He may have a retiring allowance at a certain stage, and his widow and children will be cared for after his death. In fact, there is every inducement for him to apply his whole heart to his special work, to continue improving himself to the last, and to be loyal to a Government which, in no ordinary degree, sympathizes with him in his somewhat hard and difficult vocation.

If the State is thus careful in providing for instruction, it expects the people to take it. Every child must be educated. No excuse is admissible, except the guarantee that the child is being instructed properly elsewhere. There are two essential duties which all owe to the State—service in war and attendance at school. The service in war is of recent date, owing its existence to the mind of Scharnhorst and the ravages of Napoleon. But the idea of compulsory attendance at school is found at all periods of Prussian history. 'I hold,' says Luther, 'that the authorities are bound to compel their subjects to keep their children at school.' We find compulsion laid down in the educational decrees of 1717 and 1736. In the laws of Frederick the Great more precise directions are given. The parents and guardians are to pay the school-fees to the schoolmaster (double the school-fees in Silesia), just as if the children had been sent to school; and if all warnings fail to make them do their duty, the magistrates of the place can seize their goods. When, moreover, the visitor

examined the school in his yearly visitation, he was to fine guilty parents sixteen groschen. In later times, retention of a child from school is punished first by a fine in money. If the parents refuses to pay the money, his goods are sold. If this fails, or if the parent has no goods to sell, the parent is put in prison for a short time. But inspectors, teachers, and local boards, are urged to use every means of persuasion before punishment is applied. The fees have always been small. In 1848, during the discussions which then took place, it was agreed that in the people's school no fees should be exacted, and the constitution of 1850, sworn to by the king, contains this clause, 'In the public people's schools instruction is given free of charge.' But this part of the constitution has never been carried into practice. If, however, the child's parents are too poor to pay the school-fee, the school board pays it. Moreover, education opens up wide prospects to all Prussian citizens. If a pupil shows great capacity, there is a free place for him in the gymnasium and university. There are ten free places on an average for every one hundred pupils in a gymnasium. Every encouragement is given to ability. The Government aims at having all the ability of the country on its side and in its service.

The one question which has arisen in regard to the State's management is whether too much pains is not bestowed on making the poorer classes Prussian citizens, and too little on making them men. Now as in Church matters, so in State the science of teaching has roused a certain amount of antagonism. 'We must make our scholars men,' says the science of teaching. We must give them a knowledge of the history of other nations. We must bring out their human sympathies. And for this purpose we must get rid of the bureaucratic interference of State. The school must be a separate institution, independent, to a large extent, of Church and State, and governed by those only belonging to the scholastic profession. There is a society in Berlin, already mentioned, that aims at accomplishing this emancipation of school alike from State and from Church, and it ranks among its members some eminent men; but it is not likely to accomplish all that it wishes, though it may certainly do a great deal of good.

Last of all, the most influential cause that has led to the Prussian success is the wide appreciation of education. This appreciation did not always exist. Frederick's legislation was to some extent frustrated by the stinginess of the nobility, and partly by the opposition of those who doubted whether education was good for the laboring classes. It is characteristic of Prussia that these obscurantists were not so much afraid for the men as for the women. What good can it do, they said, to teach girls to write? They will then spend their whole time in writing love-letters. But the case is now altered. Just ideas of education have permeated the people. These ideas have indeed come from above downward. The Prussian management does not listen to any control from uneducated or half educated men. But the Prussian Government claims the intelligent sympathy of all classes. And it has it. How is this? To explain this fully would require something like a history of the intellectual development of the Prussians during the last two centuries. But I shall attempt a short contribution to the explanation. The growth of a genuine literature in the end of last century is remarkable in this respect: it was the result, to a large extent, of criticism. Lessing, the father of it, was by eminence a critic. He examined minutely the laws and limits of poetry, sculpture, and painting. He discussed the drama. He was a critic of the classics. He established principles of criticism. He worked by *vision*. It was the same with Herder. He was at home in all the phases of humanity. He gathered the ballads and legends of every nation. He sifted them, and drew out the human from them. This habit of looking into things brought the writers face to face with reality, and the width of their range opened up all the aspects of human nature. The classical studies of Wolf and a host of successors had the same effect. They revealed and created a life different from the ecclesiastical one. They placed them at a widely different point of view. And, above all, they brought home to them the laws of evolution, as they appear in the progress of mankind. It was natural that, when the education of mankind was deeply pondered, the evolution of the single mind should arrest attention. And at length it did. This is

not so easy a subject as we are apt to imagine. We have been infants, we have been boys, and therefore we think we know what infants and boys are. But do we? For two of our first years our minds were incessantly employed. Thousands of impressions were made on them. We felt thousands of joys and sorrows. And yet we can not remember one of them. That early life is a mystery which we can not recall, and which to a large extent we can not fathom. The distance between our present life and that of boys is not so great, but still it is very great. Boys and men seem like; but they are in reality very unlike: the boy goes through many stages before he reaches manhood. What are these stages through which the boy goes? What is the natural healthy evolution of the powers of a boy's mind? These were the questions which Pestalozzi put to himself, and in answering them produced a revolution. 'To be a teacher of children,' said Luther, 'you must become a child.' And Pestalozzi became a child: with a heart glowing with love to his fellowmen, with singularly keen and lively sympathies, with an ardent affection for the poor, and with a rare consciousness of his own weaknesses, he set himself to the work of teaching boys to become men. The problem, you see, is not to teach children to read or write. Books are but mere instruments. The child stands face to face with nature, man, and God. These are his real lesson books. What is the alphabet of this instruction? What are the various stages? Pestalozzi pored over these problems: and he gave his answers. The answers spread over Europe. New light was thrown on education. The best minds in Prussia turned to the solution of the difficult problems; and the result was a universal interest among all cultivated people in education. And you may at once see why this interest should be great and persuasive in Germany. It was pressed upon the people by all their greatest minds. Look at German literature, and you will find this to be the case. Herder wrote specially on education. Goethe devoted a great deal of attention to it, and some of the most beautiful portions of the *Wilhelm Meister* are descriptions of his imaginary schools. Jean Paul flung out a noble book on education full of grand thoughts. In fact, no German can be well acquainted with the best literature of his country without having to ponder the truest and wisest thoughts that have been uttered on education. The philosophers also took the subject up. Kant delivered lectures on the science of education. 'Education,' he says, 'is the hardest and most difficult problem which can be proposed to man.' Fichte addressed himself to the question in his speeches to the nation. And Hegel's *Phænomenologie* is so full of the development of the child's mind, that Deinhardt, Thaulow, and Rosenkranz, have issued Hegelian systems of education. The theologians, like Schleiermacher, also devoted themselves to an examination of it. And in particular the psychologists deemed it as a special portion of their department. Two of these, Beneke and Herbart, have given us a thoroughly scientific exposition of the whole subject. They analyzed every process of the child's thought; they estimated the value of every subject of instruction; they discussed the relation of the intellectual to the emotional and practical; they investigated the nature of that interest which children feel in learning; they defined the purposes and aims of instruction; and they examined philosophically the various schemes for its organization. The subject became a subject of scientific research. It found exponents in the Universities. There arose a pædagogik or science of instruction for all classes of schools. The *Gymnasien* shared in the movement. It was held out that the great object of the *Gymnasien* was to prepare the pupil for the search for truth. The Universities were the field for this search. Accordingly, there exists a keen desire to investigate. There are men whose only business it is to investigate. They examine without prejudice the principles which underlie education. Their examinations keep up fresh interest and give fresh life to the subject. This life distills through the seminaries for teachers. The future teachers are made acquainted with all the investigations that are going on. They have to think the subject out for themselves. They know that teaching is an art which acts according to the laws that regulate the evolution of the human mind. They watch these laws. Their eyes are open. Their interest is lively. They believe that they have a great and noble work to do. And their pupils also come

to know that their teachers are artists; and hence the laws of education are extensively known in Germany. The consequence is that the people appreciate education, that they do not meddle with what only a practical and scientific knowledge can direct, and they demand of all their instructors a minute investigation into the laws of man's being. The educator is with them not a mere crammer; but all feel that his first and great duty is the harmonious and equable evolution of the human powers. This appreciation of education seems to me the great secret of the Prussian success. It leads to an earnest determination on the part of the Government that the education be thorough, and every effort of the Government is backed up by the hearty sympathy and intelligent coöperation of the people.

We have to add to this appreciation of education the circumstance that Prussia has had to force its way upwards. It has always been ambitious; and it has always aimed at attaining the object of its ambition through the education of the whole people, especially, indeed, through the higher education, but also through the lower. The State has felt in regard to its prosperity what Luther felt in regard to the Church. 'It is difficult,' he says, 'to make old dogs obedient and old scoundrels pious—the work at which the preacher labors and must often labor in vain; but the young trees can be more easily bent and trained.'

It is in the youth that the State of Prussia has placed its hope. Frederick the Great was beset by Russians, Austrians, and French: he was reduced to the lowest depths sometimes, and his kingdom was exhausted. How did he think of reviving it? The first thing he did after the Seven Years' War was ended, even before the peace of Hubertsberg was ratified, was to promulgate an admirable education Act—the Act, as I have said, of Hecker. Again, when the State was overrun by Napoleon, to what did Frederick William III. and his minister Stein turn? 'Unquestionably we have lost in territory,' said the king; 'unquestionably the State has sunk in external might and glory, but we will and must take care that we gain in internal might and internal glory; and therefore it is my earnest desire that the greatest attention be devoted to the education of the people.' Again he says, 'I am thoroughly convinced that for the success of all that the State aims at accomplishing by its entire constitution, legislation, and administration, the first foundation must be laid in the youth of the people, and that at the same time a good education of the youth is the surest way to promote the internal and external welfare of the individual citizens.' 'Most,' said Stein, in 1808, 'is to be expected from the education and instruction of the youth. If by a method based on the nature of the mind every power of the soul be unfolded, and every crude principle of life be stirred up and nourished, if all one-sided culture be avoided, and if the impulses (hitherto often neglected with great indifference), on which the strength and worth of man rest, be carefully attended to, then we may hope to see a race physically and morally powerful grow up, and a better future dawn upon us.' The method to which Stein here alludes was the method of Pestalozzi. Stein characterizes this method as one 'which elevates the self-activity of the spirit, awakens the sense of religion and all the nobler feelings of man; promotes the ideal life, and lessens and opposes a life of mere pleasure.' These words of the king and his minister rang through the nation. The idea seized them. It permeated all the legislative measures of Altenstein, the Minister of Education, and it worked mighty results. It was within the twenty-three years of Altenstein's ministry that Prussia made such progress in education that she became an object of admiration to the nations of Europe, and Frenchmen and Englishmen went to see the system. And by it Prussia grew in strength and power. The Prussian people have had faith in education. They believed with Kant that 'behind education lies hid the great secret of the perfection of human nature.' They believed with Fichte that 'only that nation which shall first perform the task of educating up to perfect manhood by actual practice will perform the task of the perfect State.' They believed that education makes better citizens, better soldiers, better fathers, and better men. And history records, in great successes in war, and still greater successes in the realms of thought and science, that her faith has not been in vain.

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ROSENKRANZ AND HIS PEDAGOGY.

MEMOIR.

JOHN CHARLES FREDERICK ROSENKRANZ was born at Magdeburg, April 23, 1805. In addition to the educational facilities of his native city, he attended lectures at Berlin, Halle, and Heidelberg, receiving his *veniam docendi* at Halle in 1828. In 1831, he became assistant professor, following enthusiastically the philosophical teaching of Hegel. In 1833, he received a call to Königsburg, as *professor ordinarius*, and there he has performed his university work, with an absence of a year (1848) in official work at Berlin, and as deputy from Memel and Tilsit to the Prussian Diet in 1849. His voice as a lecturer has been devoted to disseminating the ideas of Hegel, and applying them to history, literature, theology, and life.

As an author, his first work of importance was a 'History of German Poetry in the Middle Ages' (Halle, 1830), in which he endeavors to trace its development from the Hegelian standpoint. This was followed by a 'Hand-Book of the Universal History of Poetry,' and in 1836, of the 'History of German Literature,' made up of fugitive pieces previously published.

The following are the titles of works since published :—

Natural Religion; Encyclopedia of Theology; Critique of (on) Schliermacher's Theory of Religion.

Psychology; or the Science of the Subjective Spirit (*Wissenschaft vom Subjectivem Geiste*). Königsburg, 1837.

History of Transcendental Philosophy, (published in the last volume of the edition of Kant's works, edited by Rosenkranz and Schubest).

Life of Hegel. Critique on Strauss' *Glaubenslehre*.

Gœthe and his Works.

Pedagogy as a System. Königsburg, 1848.

Poetry and its History. Königsburg, 1855.

Diderot's Life and Works. 2 vols., Leipsig, 1866.

Although Rosenkranz has published less on the prolific subject of Pedagogy than his professorial cotemporaries, his views are regarded as singularly comprehensive and profound—at once philosophical and practical.

PEDAGOGICS AS A SYSTEM.*

The following analysis, although confined to the main divisions, exhibits the general scope of Rosenkranz's System of Pedagogics:—

- EDUCATION
  - in its General idea — PART I.
    - its Nature
    - its Form
    - its Limits
  - in its Special Elements — PART II.
    - Physical
    - Intellectual
    - Moral
  - in its Particular Systems — PART III.
    - National
      - Passive
        - Family.....China.
        - Caste.....India.
        - Monkish.....Thibet.
      - Active
        - Military.....Persia.
        - Priestly.....Egypt.
        - Industrial.....Phœnicia.
      - Individual
        - Æsthetic.....Greece.
        - Practical.....Rome.
        - Abstract Individual — Northern Barbarians.
    - Theocratic.....Jews.
    - Humanitarian
      - Monkish
      - Chivalric
        - for Special Callings
          - Jesuitic.
          - Pietistic.
        - to achieve an Ideal of Culture.
          - The Humanities.
          - The Philanthropic Movement.
        - for Free Citizenship.
      - for Civil Life

The following Extracts, although not continuous, will exhibit Prof. Rosenkranz's mode of treating this great subject:—

Pedagogics as a science must (I.) unfold the general idea of Education; (II.) must exhibit the particular phases into which the general work of Education divides itself, and (III.) must describe the particular stand-point upon which the general idea realizes itself, or should become real in its special processes at any particular time.

1. *General idea of Education.*

The nature of Education is determined by the nature of mind—that it can develop whatever it really is only by its own activity. Mind is in itself free; but if it does not actualize this possibility, it is in no true sense free, either for itself or for another. Education is the influencing of man by man, and it has for its end to lead him to actualize himself through his own efforts. The attain-

* We follow, in these Extracts, Miss Anna C. Brackett's translation as reprinted from the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*. St. Louis: 1872. p. 148.

ment of perfect manhood as the actualization of the Freedom necessary to mind constitutes the nature of Education in general.

Man, therefore, is the only fit subject for education. We often speak, it is true, of the education of plants and animals; but even when we do so, we apply, unconsciously perhaps, other expressions, as 'raising' and 'training,' in order to distinguish these. 'Breaking' consists in producing in an animal, either by pain or pleasure of the senses, an activity of which, it is true, he is capable, but which he never would have developed if left to himself. On the other hand, it is the nature of Education only to assist in the producing of that which the subject would strive most earnestly to develop for himself if he had a clear idea of himself.

In a more restricted sense we mean by Education the shaping of the individual life by the forces of nature, the rhythmical movement of national customs, and the might of destiny in which each one finds limits set to his arbitrary will.

In the narrowest sense, which however is the usual one, we mean by Education the influence which one mind exerts on another in order to cultivate the latter in some understood and methodical way, either generally or with reference to some special aim. The educator must, therefore, be relatively finished in his own education, and the pupil must possess unlimited confidence in him. If authority be wanting on the one side, or respect and obedience on the other, this ethical basis of development must fail, and it demands in the very highest degree, talent, knowledge, skill, and prudence.

2. *The Form of Education.*

The general form of Education is determined by the nature of the mind, that it really is nothing but what it makes itself to be. Education can not create; it can only help to develop to reality the previously existent possibility; it can only help to bring forth to light the hidden life.

This activity of the mind in allowing itself to be absorbed, and consciously so, in an object with the purpose of making it his own, or of producing it, is *Work*. But when the mind gives itself up to its objects as chance may present them or through arbitrariness, careless as to whether they have any result, such activity is *Play*. Work is laid out for the pupil by his teacher by authority, but in his play he is left to himself. Play sends the pupil back refreshed to his work, since in play he forgets himself in his own way, while in work he is required to forget himself in a manner prescribed for him by another.

Play is of great importance in helping one to discover the true individualities of children, because in play they may betray thoughtlessly their inclinations. This antithesis of work and play runs through the entire life. Children anticipate in their play the earnest work of after life; thus the little girl plays with her doll, and the boy pretends he is a soldier and in battle.

HABIT.

Education seeks to transform every particular condition so that it shall no longer seem strange to the mind or in any-wise foreign to its own nature. This identity of consciousness, and the special character of any thing done or endured by it, we call Habit [habitual conduct or behavior]. It conditions formally all progress; for that which is not yet become habit, but which we perform with a design and an exercise of our will, is not yet a part of ourselves.

As to Habit, we have to say next that it is at first indifferent as to what it

relates. But that which is to be considered as indifferent or neutral can not be defined in the abstract, but only in the concrete, because any thing that is indifferent as to whether it shall act on these particular men, or in this special situation, is capable of another or even of the opposite meaning for another man or men for the same men or in other circumstances.

Habit lays aside its indifference to an external action through reflection on the advantage or disadvantage of the same. Whatever tends as a harmonious means to the realization of an end is advantageous, but that is disadvantageous which, by contradicting its idea, hinders or destroys it. Advantage and disadvantage being then only *relative* terms, a habit which is advantageous for one man in one case may be disadvantageous for another man, or even for the same man, under different circumstances. Education must, therefore, accustom the youth to judge as to the expediency or inexpediency of any action in its relation to the essential vocation of his life, so that he shall avoid that which does not promote its success.

But the *absolute* distinction of habit is the moral distinction between the good and the bad. For from this stand-point alone can we finally decide what is allowable and what is forbidden, what is advantageous and what is disadvantageous.

As relates to form, habit may be either passive or active. The passive is that which teaches us to bear the vicissitudes of nature as well as of history with such composure that we shall hold our ground against them, being always equal to ourselves, and that we shall not allow our power of acting to be paralyzed through any mutations of fortune. Active habit [or behavior] is found realized in a wide range of activity which appears in manifold forms, such as skill, dexterity, readiness of information, &c. It is a steeling of the internal for action upon the external, as the Passive is a steeling of the internal against the influence of the external.

FORMATION OF HABITS.

Habit is the general form which instruction takes. For since it reduces a condition or an activity within ourselves to an instinctive use and wont, it is necessary for any thorough instruction. But as, according to its content, it may be either proper or improper, advantageous or disadvantageous, good or bad, and according to its form may be the assimilation of the external by the internal, or the impress of the internal upon the external, Education must procure for the pupil the power of being able to free himself from one habit and to adopt another. Through his freedom he must be able not only to renounce any habit formed, but to form a new one; and he must so govern his system of habits that it shall exhibit a constant progress of development into greater freedom.

We must characterize those habits as bad which relate only to our convenience or our enjoyment. They are often not blamable in themselves, but there lies in them a hidden danger that they may allure us into luxury or effeminacy. But it is a false and mechanical way of looking at the affair if we suppose that a habit which have been formed by a certain number of repetitions can be broken by an equal number of denials. We can never renounce a habit utterly except through a clearness of judgment which decides it to be undesirable, and through firmness of will.

If we endeavor to deprive the youth of all free and individual intercourse

with the world, one only falls into a continual watching of him, and the consciousness that he is watched destroys in him all elasticity of spirit, all confidence, all originality. The police shadow of control obscures all independence and systematically accustoms him to dependence. And if we endeavor too strictly to guard against that which is evil and forbidden, the intelligence of the pupils reacts in deceit against such efforts, till the educators are amazed that such crimes as come often to light can have arisen under such careful control.

PROTECTION, REPROOF, AND PUNISHMENT AS TO BAD HABITS.

If there should appear in the youth any decided moral deformity which is opposed to the ideal of his education, the instructor must at once make inquiry as to the history of its origin, because the negative and the positive are very closely connected in his being, so that what appears to be negligence, rudeness, immorality, foolishness, or oddity, may arise from some real needs of the youth which in their development have only taken a wrong direction.

If it should appear on such examination that the negative action was only a product of willful ignorance, of caprice, or of arbitrariness on the part of the youth, then this calls for a simple prohibition on the part of the educator, no reason being assigned. His authority must be sufficient to the pupil without any reason. Only when this has happened more than once, and the youth is old enough to understand, should the prohibition, together with the reason therefor, be given.

Only when all other efforts have failed is punishment, which is the real negation of the error, the transgression, or the vice, justifiable. Punishment inflicts intentionally pain on the pupil, and its object is, by means of this sensation, to bring him to reason, a result which neither our simple prohibition, our explanation, nor our threat of punishment, has been able to reach.

Punishment as an educational means is, nevertheless, essentially corrective, since, by leading the youth to a proper estimation of his fault and a positive change in his behavior, it seeks to improve him. At the same time it stands as a sad indication of the insufficiency of the means previously used. On no account should the youth be frightened from the commission of a misdemeanor, or from the repetition of his negative deed through fear of punishment—a system which leads always to terrorism: but, although it may have this effect, it should, before all things, impress upon him the recognition of the fact that the negative is not allowed to act as it will without limitation, but rather that the Good and the True have the absolute power in the world, and that they are never without the means of overcoming any thing that contradicts them.

In the statute laws, punishment has the opposite office. It must, first of all, satisfy justice, and only after this is done can it attempt to improve the guilty. If a government should proceed on the same basis as the educator it would mistake its task, because it has to deal with adults, whom it elevates to the honorable position of responsibility for their own acts. The state must not go back to the psychological ethical genesis of a negative deed. It must assign to a secondary rank of importance the biographical moment which contains the deed in process and the circumstances of a mitigating character, and it must consider first of all the deed in itself. It is quite otherwise with the educator; for he deals with human beings who are relatively undeveloped, and who are only growing toward responsibility. So long as they are still under the care of a teacher, the

responsibility of their deed belongs in part to him. If we confound the standpoint in which punishment is administered in the state with that in education, we work much evil.

Punishment considered as an educational means, can not be determined *a priori*, but must always be modified by the peculiarities of the individual offender and by peculiar circumstances. Its administration calls for the exercise of the ingenuity and tact of the educator.

Generally speaking, we must make a distinction between the sexes, as well as between the different periods of youth; (1) some kind of corporal punishment is most suitable for children, (2) isolation for older boys and girls, and (3) punishment based on the sense of honor for young men and women.

(1.) Corporal punishment is the production of physical pain. The youth is generally whipped, and this kind of punishment, provided always that it is not too often administered, or with undue severity, is the proper way of dealing with willful defiance, with obstinate carelessness, or with a really perverted will, so long or so often as the higher perception is closed against appeal. The imposing of other physical punishments, e.g., that of depriving the pupil of food, partakes of cruelty. The view which sees in the rod the panacea for all the teacher's embarrassments is censurable, but equally undesirable is the false sentimentality which assumes that the dignity of humanity is affected by a blow given to a child, and confounds self-conscious humanity with child-humanity, to which a blow is the most natural form of reaction, in which all other forms of influence at last end.

The fully-grown man ought never to be whipped, because this kind of punishment reduces him to the level of the child, and when it becomes barbarous, to that of a brute animal, and so is absolutely degrading to him.

(2) By Isolation we remove the offender temporarily from the society of his fellows. The boy left alone, cut off from all companionship, and left absolutely to himself, suffers from a sense of helplessness. The time passes heavily, and soon he is very anxious to be allowed to return to the company of parents, brothers and sisters, teachers and fellow-pupils.

(3) This way of isolating a child does not touch his sense of honor at all, and is soon forgotten, because it relates to only one side of his conduct. It is quite different from punishment based on the sense of honor, which in a formal manner, shuts the youth out from companionship because he has attacked the principle which holds society together, and for this reason can no longer be considered as belonging to it. Honor is the recognition of one individual by others as their equal. Through his error, or it may be his crime, he has simply made himself unequal to them, and in so far has separated himself from them, so that his banishment from their society is only the outward expression of the real isolation which he himself has brought to pass in his inner nature, and which he, by means of his negative act, only betrayed to the outer world. Since the punishment founded on the sense of honor affects the whole ethical man and makes a lasting impression upon his memory, extreme caution is necessary in its application lest a permanent injury be inflicted upon the character. The idea of his perpetual continuance in disgrace, destroys in a man all aspiration for improvement.

It is important to consider well this gradation of punishment (which, starting with sensuous physical pain, passes through the external teleology of temporary

isolation up to the idealism of the sense of honor), both in relation to the different ages at which they are appropriate and to the training which they bring with them. Every punishment must be considered merely as a means to some end, and, in so far, as transitory. The pupil must always be deeply conscious that it is very painful to his instructor to be obliged to punish him. The pathos of another's sorrow for the sake of his cure which he perceives in the mein, in the tone of the voice, in the delay with which the punishment is administered, will become a purifying fire for his soul.

3. *The Limits of Education.*

There are two widely differing views with regard to the Limits of Education. One lays great stress on the weakness of the pupil and the power of the teacher. According to this view, Education has for its province the entire formation of the youth. The despotism of this view often manifests itself where large numbers are to be educated together, and with very undesirable results, because it assumes that the individual pupil is only a specimen of the whole, as if the school were a great factory where each piece of goods is to be stamped exactly like all the rest. Individuality is reduced by the tyranny of such despotism to one uniform level till all originality is destroyed, as in cloisters, barracks, and orphan asylums, where only one individual seems to exist. There is a kind of Pedagogy also which fancies that one can thrust into or out of the individual pupil what one will. This may be called a superstitious belief in the power of Education.—The opposite extreme disbelieves this, and advances the policy which lets alone and does nothing, urging that individuality is unconquerable, and that often the most careful and far-sighted education fails of reaching its aim in so far as it is opposed to the nature of the youth, and that this individuality has made of no avail all efforts toward the obtaining of any end which was opposed to it. This representation of the fruitlessness of all pedagogical efforts engenders an indifference toward it which would leave, as a result, only a sort of vegetation of individuality growing at hap-hazard.

The limit of Education is (1) *a Subjective one*, a limit made by the individuality of the youth. This is a definite limit. Whatever does not exist in this individuality as a possibility can not be developed from it. Education can only lead and assist; it can not create. What Nature has denied to a man, Education can not give him any more than it is able, on the other hand, to annihilate entirely his original gifts, although it is true that his talents may be suppressed, distorted, and measurably destroyed. But the decision of the question in what the real essence of any one's individuality consists can never be made with certainty till he has left behind him his years of development, because it is then only that he first arrives at the consciousness of his entire self; besides, at this critical time, in the first place, much knowledge only superficially acquired will drop off; and again, talents, long slumbering and unsuspected, may first make their appearance. Whatever has been forced upon a child in opposition to his individuality, whatever has been only driven into him and has lacked receptivity on his side, or a rational ground on the side of culture, remains attached to his being only as an external ornament, a foreign outgrowth which enfeebles his own proper character.

(2) *The Objective limit of Education* lies in the means which can be appropriated for it. That the talent for a certain culture shall be present is certainly

the first thing; but the cultivation of this talent is the second, and no less necessary. But how much cultivation can be given to it extensively and intensively depends upon the means used, and these again are conditioned by the material resources of the family to which each one belongs. The greater and more valuable the means of culture which are found in a family are, the greater is the immediate advantage which the culture of each one has at the start. With regard to many of the arts and sciences this limit of education is of great significance. But the means alone are of no avail. The finest educational apparatus will produce no fruit where corresponding talent is wanting, while on the other hand talent often accomplishes incredible feats with very limited means, and, if the way is only once open, makes of itself a center of attraction which draws to itself with magnetic power the necessary means. The moral culture of each one is, however, fortunately from its very nature, out of the reach of such dependence.

(3) *The Absolute limit of Education* is the time when the youth has apprehended the problem which he has to solve, has learned to know the means at his disposal, and has acquired a certain facility in using them. The end and aim of Education is the emancipation of the youth. It strives to make him self-dependent, and as soon as he has become so it wishes to retire and to be able to leave him to the sole responsibility of his actions. To treat the youth after he has passed this point of time still as a youth, contradicts the very idea of education, which idea finds its fulfillment in the attainment of majority by the pupil. Since the accomplishment of education cancels the original inequality between the educator and the pupil, nothing is more oppressing, nay, revolting to the latter than to be prevented by a continued dependence from the enjoyment of the freedom which he has earned.

The opposite extreme of the protracting of Education beyond its proper time is necessarily the undue hastening of the Emancipation.—The question whether one is prepared for freedom has been often opened in politics. When any people have gone so far as to ask this question themselves, it is no longer a question whether that people are prepared for it, for without the consciousness of freedom this question would never have occurred to them.

Although educators must now leave the youth free, the necessity of further culture for him is still imperative. But it will no longer come directly through them. Their pre-arranged, pattern-making work is now supplanted by self-education. Each sketches for himself an ideal to which in his life he seeks to approximate every day.

In the work of self-culture one friend can help another by advice and example; but he can not educate, for education presupposes inequality.—The necessities of human nature produce societies in which equals seek to influence each other in a pedagogical way, since they establish by certain steps of culture different classes. They presuppose Education in the ordinary sense. But they wish to bring about Education in a higher sense, and therefore they vail the last form of their ideal in the mystery of secrecy.—To one who lives on contented with himself and without the impulse toward self-culture, unless his unconcern springs from his belonging to a savage state of society, the Germans give the name of Philistine, and he is always repulsive to the student who is intoxicated with an ideal.

FRŒBEL AND THE KINDERGARTEN SYSTEM.

MEMOIR.

FRŒBEL (Friedrich Wilhelm August) was born April 21, 1782, at Oberweissbach, in the principality of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt. His mother died when he was so young that he never even remembered her; and he was left to the care of an ignorant maid-of-all-work, who simply provided for his bodily wants. His father, who was the laborious pastor of several parishes, seems to have been solely occupied with his duties, and to have given no concern whatever to the development of the child's mind and character beyond that of strictly confining him within doors, lest he should come to harm by straying away. One of his principal amusements, he tells us, consisted in watching from the window some workmen who were repairing the church, and he remembered long afterward how he earnestly desired to lend a helping hand himself. The instinct of construction, for the exercise of which, in his system, he makes ample provision, was even then stirring within him. As years went on, though nothing was done for his education by others, he found opportunities for satisfying some of the longings of his soul, by wandering in the woods, gathering flowers, listening to the birds, or to the wind as it swayed the forest trees, watching the movements of all kinds of animals, and laying up in his mind the various impressions then produced, as a store for future years.

Not until he was ten years of age did he receive the slightest regular instruction. He was then sent to school, to an uncle who lived in the neighborhood. This man, a regular driller of the old, time-honored stamp, had not the slightest conception of the inner nature of his pupil, and seems to have taken no pains whatever to discover it. He pronounced the boy to be idle (which, from his point of view, was quite true) and lazy (which certainly was not true)—a boy, in short, that you could do nothing with. And, in fact, the teacher did nothing with his pupil, never once touched the chords of his inner being, or brought out the music they were fitted, under different handling, to produce. Frœbel was indeed, at that time, a thoughtful, dreamy child, a very indifferent student of books, cor-

dially hating the formal lessons with which he was crammed, and never so happy as when left alone with his great teacher in the woods.

It was necessary for him to earn his bread, and we next find him a sort of apprentice to a woodsman in the great Thuringian forest. Here, as he afterward tells us, he lived some years in cordial intercourse with nature and mathematics, learning even then, though unconsciously, from the teaching he received, how to teach others. His daily occupation in the midst of trees led him to observe the laws of nature, and to recognize union and unity in apparently contradictory phenomena.

In 1801 he went to the University of Jena, where he attended lectures on natural history, physics, and mathematics; but, as he tells us, gained little from them. This result was obviously due to the same dreamy speculative tendency of mind which characterized his earlier school life. Instead of studying hard, he speculated on unity and diversity, on the relation of the whole to the parts, of the parts to the whole, &c., continually striving after the unattainable and neglecting the attainable. This desultory style of life was put an end to by the failure of means to stay at the University. For the next few years he tried various occupations, ever restlessly tossed to and fro by the demands of the outer life, and not less distracted by the consciousness that his powers had not yet found what he calls their 'center of gravity.' At last, however, they found it.

While engaged in an architect's office at Frankfort, he formed an acquaintance with the Rector of the Model School, a man named Gruner. Gruner saw the capabilities of Frœbel, and detected also his entire want of interest in the work that he was doing; and one day suddenly said to him: 'Give up your architect's business; you will do nothing at it. Be a teacher. We want one now in the school; you shall have the place.' This was the turning point in Frœbel's life. He accepted the engagement, began work at once, and tells us that the first time he found himself in the midst of a class of 30 or 40 boys, he felt that he was in the element that he had missed so long—'the fish was in the water.' He was inexpressibly happy. This ecstasy of feeling, we may easily imagine, soon subsided. In a calmer mood he severely questioned himself as to the means by which he was to satisfy the demands of his new position.

About this time he met with some of Pestalozzi's writings, which so deeply impressed him that he determined to go to Yverdun and study Pestalozzism on the spot. He accomplished his purpose, and lived and worked for two years with Pestalozzi. His experience at

Yverdun impressed him with the conviction that the science of education had still to draw out from Pestalozzi's system those fundamental principles which Pestalozzi himself did not comprehend. 'And therefore,' says Schmidt, 'this genial disciple of Pestalozzi supplemented and completed his system by advancing from the point which Pestalozzi had reached through pressure from without, to the innermost conception of man, and arriving at the thought of the true development and culture of mankind.'

[To the articles published in Vol. I., 1859, p. 449; IV. 792; XIX. 611, we add a paper by Prof. Payne on Frœbel's System of Infant Culture. We reproduce a former article by Dr. Wimmer, of Dresden, in part, to show the estimation of the system in Germany twenty years ago.]

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL, AND THE KINDERGARTEN. Froebel, who died in 1852, was a Pestalozzian, and founder of the kindergarten, (children's garden.) Some gentlemen at Liebenstein, a watering place near Eisenach, called him "the old fool;" but Diesterweg, on hearing the name, said that Socrates was such a fool, and Pestalozzi also. Froebel considered the *kinderbewahr-anstalten*, (schools for keeping and caring for abandoned children,) as insufficient, because merely negative: he wished not only to keep, but to develop them, without checking the growth of the body, or separating the child from its mother,—as he would have the children in the garden but two or three hours daily. Children are born with the desire of acting. This was the first principle: hence, his garden was to be free, and planted with trees and shrubs, to enable the children to observe the organic life of nature, and themselves to plant and work. Thus he would change the instinct of activity into a desire of occupation. The child will play; hence the right *kindergarten* is a play ground or play school, though Froebel avoids the name school. *The kindergartnerin*, (the nurse or female gardener,) plays with the children. Froebel's chief object has been to invent plays for the purpose. His educational career commenced November 13th, 1816, in Greisheim, a little village near Stadt-Ilm, in Thuringia; but in 1817, when his Pestalozzian friend, Middendorf, joined him, (Froebel had been several years learning and teaching in Pestalozzi's school, at Yverdun,) the school was transferred to the beautiful village of *Keilhau*, near *Rudolstadt*, which may be considered as his chief starting-place, and is still, under Middendorf and Mrs. Froebel, a seminary of female teachers. Langenthal, another Pestalozzian, associated himself with them, and they commenced building a house. The number of pupils rose to twelve in 1818. Then the daughter of war-counselor Hoffman of Berlin, from enthusiasm for Froebel's educational ideas, became his wife. She had a considerable dowry, which, together with the accession of Froebel's elder brother, increased the funds and welfare of the school. In 1831 he was invited by the composer, Schnyder von Wartensee, to erect a similar garden on his estate, near the lake of Sempach, in the canton Luzern. It was done. Froebel changed his residence the next year, from Keilhau to Switzerland. In 1834 the government of Bern invited him to arrrange a training course for teachers in Burgdorf. In 1835 he became principal of the orphan asylum in Burgdorf, but in 1836 he and his wife wished to return to Germany. There he was active in Berlin, Keilhau, Blankenburg, Dresden, Liebenstein in Thuringia, Hamburg, (1849,) and Marienthal, near Liebenstein, where he lived until his decease in 1852, among the young ladies, whom he trained as nurses for the *kindergarten*, and the little children who attended his school. In August 7th, 1851, to the surprise of all, the *kindergarten* were

suddenly prohibited by the Prussian government, (and afterward in Saxony,) "because they formed a part of Froebel's socialistic system, and trained the children to atheism." This was an error; Charles Froebel, Friedrich's nephew, was the socialist, and the *kindergarten* had no connection with him.

A meeting of educationalists was called by Diesterweg, at Liebenstein, when the following resolutions were adopted:

1. Froebel intends a universal development of the talents given by God to the child.

2. For this purpose he intends,

a. To cultivate the body by a series of gymnastic exercises.

b. To cultivate the senses, particularly the more spiritual; the sense for form and color by instruction, and the rhythmical and musical sense by songs and melodies.

c. To cultivate the desired want of action, as well as the mental faculties in general, by a series of exercises furnished by plays of his own invention.

d. To stimulate the moral and religious sense by addresses and narratives, and especially by the child's communion with the educating nurse.

e. To extinguish the children's bad habits, and to accustom them to childlike virtues by keeping them by themselves in social circles and merry plays.

Soon after this the garden at Marienthal was visited by an officer of the Prussian government, school-counselor Bormann of Berlin, who declared its tendency rather anti-revolutionary than otherwise, and bestowed upon it much praise. In the fifth general assembly of German teachers, in Salzungen, May 16–19, 1853, the following resolutions were adopted by a majority: that Froebel's educational method is in true accordance with nature, as developing and promoting independent action; and that his *kindergarten* is an excellent preparation for the common school. The *Volksfreund* of Hesse, however, says that it furthers revolution, and that every one who agrees with it by word or deed, is himself revolutionary.

There are in Germany a great many *klein-kinder-bewahranstelten*, (institutions for keeping little children,) e. g, in Bavaria, in 1852, 182, with 6,796 children, (2,740 gratis,) and an income of 51,772 florins. In Berlin there are 33, the first of which was founded in 1830 by private charity, to keep little children whose parents are in daytime absent from home, under a good inspection, to accustom them to order, cleanliness and morality, and to fit them for attendance at school. These charity schools are provided, as to the age of children, by the well-known "*Krippen*," (*crèches*,) founded in 1844 by M. *Marbeau* in Paris, the author of "*Les crèches, ou moyen de diminuer la misère en augmentant la population*," a little book that received a price of 3000 francs from the French Academy. Filling a gap between the lying-in-institutions and the *kindergarten*, they were rapidly adopted by governments and cities, for children from a fortnight to two years old; and in 1852 Paris had already 18. The first in London dates from March, 1850; in Vienna, from 1849, (in 1852 there were 8;) in Belgium, from 1846; in Dresden, from 1851, etc. Further information is given in the *Bulletin des crèches*, published monthly in Paris. On the education of little children, Mr. Foelsing, at the head of a *kindergarten* in Darmstadt on Froebel's principles but in a somewhat different way, publishes at Darmstadt a monthly paper called "Home and the Infant School." The Sunday and weekly papers published formerly by Froebel in Liebenstein, might be still read with advantage.

It must be observed, that the *kindergarten* are for the most part not charity nor public schools, as are the other institutions mentioned; and this may in part account for this small increase compared with that of other schools. Yet no one can doubt, that Froebel's work has not been lost; it has influenced education generally and that of infant schools in particular, to a great extent.

German Views on Female Teaching in America.—Dr. Vogel makes the following remarks on this subject, in the Leipziger Zeitung, July 16, 1857.

"Among the many interesting communications from the United States, which we owe partly to the kindness of private friends, and partly to the liberality of the Smithsonian Institution, through the kind mediation of the American consul at Leipsic, in a statement in the 37th Report on the Public Schools of the City and County of Philadelphia. This brings to our notice a very important fact, to which we deem it the more our duty to draw general attention through this gazette, because it throws a warning light on the future of our own schools, and especially of city and country teachers.

We premise the general statement, that among our transatlantic cousins in North America, a most praiseworthy effort has been made during a series of years, to found and extend a well-organized national school system. Men well qualified for the task, and justly appreciating the wants of their country, so rich in material resources,—Alexander Dallas Bache, Horace Mann, and above all, at a later period, Dr. Henry Barnard of Hartford, in Connecticut, so wisely and perseveringly active in laboring to raise the standard of American schools, and whose American Journal of Education, elegant in form and rich in matter, we propose shortly to discuss—have traveled in Europe with the express purpose of observing and knowing for themselves, the school systems of the different countries, and of applying the results of their observations to the benefit of their country, by the improvement of existing schools and systems, or the foundation of new ones.

We return to the Philadelphia report for 1850. This contains all necessary information respecting organization, number of teachers and scholars, gradation of schools in different districts, supervision by district authorities, salaries, other expenses, school interiors, (with cuts of several new ones,) &c., &c., all as clear and definite in names and numbers, as is to be expected from such a practical nation.

The number of children from six to fifteen years of age, was 54,813; of which 28,152 were boys, and 26,661 girls. These attended 303 schools, in 24 districts. Among these schools are; a high school with 601 pupils and 16 teachers; a normal school for females, with 196 pupils and 2 male and 6 female teachers; and a school of practice, with 244 pupils, and 4 female teachers. The remainder, primary, secondary, grammar, and unclassified schools, all belong to the category which we call Elementary Schools, People's Schools, (*Volksschulen*,) and Burgher Schools. The sexes are partly separate and partly mixed, often very unequally. E. g., in one secondary school there are 170 girls, and only 14 boys. Generally, however, the proportions are nearly equal; and the whole number of pupils is in no school greater than 400, and in most not more than 200. Schools grown like an avalanche to 2000 pupils and upwards, are unknown there.

But in respect to the teachers we find the important and altogether abnormal fact, to which this communication is intended to call attention. The whole body of teachers in the common schools of Philadelphia, including the normal school and school of practice, amounts in all to 935 persons, a number relatively not very

large; but hear and wonder:—*Among the* 935, *there are only* EIGHTY-ONE MEN.

All the rest are women. Hear! Hear! A city of more than 400,000 inhabitants, the second of the United States in importance, commits the education of its male and female youth, until the 14th and 15th year of age, almost exclusively to female hands! Ladies teach not only languages, history and geography, but also rhetoric, geometry and algebra, natural philosophy and chemistry; are at the head of large boys' schools, and guide bodies of teachers. And the reason for this is to be found, not at all in a different pedagogical system, as might be supposed, but rather,—as a glance at the teachers' salaries shows—solely or principally, because man's capacity values itself at a price higher than the school and financial officers wish to pay. A well trained and able man will not sell himself at a price below that demanded by his self-consciousness, and by his modest and reasonable claims to a sufficient living; i. e., he will not devote himself with all he has, is, knows, and is able to do, to the teacher's profession, if more is offered from another, perhaps less agreeable, side; he will not be valued at less by the school than by the counting house, the railroad, or the farmer. Hence we see, in the list of teachers, no man at less than 600 dollars, (800 thalers,) income. He would consider such a one below the dignity of the place to which he should be called, or below his own dignity, or as foolish, or something like it. And who can blame him for it, how high-soever the "ideals" of life are to be valued?

But what may we in Germany, our school boards, parishes, the state—which must have as much interest in possessing a body of able teachers as in possessing an able army—what may they all learn from the fact spoken of? To endeavor, by every means, and in good season, that the German Common School may not fall into a like situation, which would endanger its inmost life. For, highly as we esteem the work of women in general, and particularly in the field of education, we refuse decidedly, to permit them so abundant a share in the proper school work and teacher's office, as that granted—as it appears, by necessity—in Philadelphia. The boy who has passed his eighth year, especially, needs a severer discipline; stronger food for his mind, than women *can* afford him. Single exceptions make no rule; wherefore we dare to entertain some modest doubts of the "superior character of the instruction and the high state of discipline," which the report, (p. 15,) asserts of the public schools of Philadelphia. We want *men* in our German school, and men in the fullest and best sense of the word: sure in the needed knowledge, firm in character, decided and persevering in their endeavor for higher objects, warm and faithful in their love of children, men of clear mind, of noble and pious heart; religious without hypocrisy, or fear of man, genuine and true sons of their country, whose welfare and honor is their own. To gain and to keep such men for the school, state and parish, must not be niggard; else the best will leave it, and only the weak will remain; the women, and the woman-like, who indeed will do far less than women who strive with enthusiasm after the high aim of their vocation. Let us then no longer hesitate, when the values of money and of the necessities of life, have undergone such important changes, to re-adjust and increase the salaries of teachers, in order to escape the danger which threatens that they will sink into poverty and distress, and that thus the inner life of the schools, and with it that of our youth, the hope of future ages, will be necessarily destroyed. Thus we conclude, with the warning call of the Roman state in time of danger: *Videant consules, ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat!*"

THE KINDERGARTEN SYSTEM.*

Frœbel first gave the name of Kindergarten about the year 1840 to his school of young children between three and seven years of age at Blankenburg, near Rudolstadt. Its purpose is thus briefly indicated by himself:—"To take the oversight of children before they are ready for school life; to exert an influence over their whole being in correspondence with its nature; to strengthen their bodily powers; to exercise their senses; to employ the awakening mind; to make them thoughtfully acquainted with the world of nature and of man; to guide their heart and soul in a right direction, and lead them to the Origin of all life and to union with Him." To secure those objects, the child must be placed under the influence of a properly trained governess for a portion of the day after reaching the age of three.

Frœbel differs from Pestalozzi, who thought that the mother, as the natural educator of the child, ought to retain the sole charge up to the sixth or seventh year. This necessarily narrows the child's experience to the family circle, and excludes in many cases the mutual action and reaction of children upon each other—under conditions most favorable to development. Mr. Payne embodies the genesis of Frœbel's system in his own mind as follows:

Let us imagine Frœbel taking his place amidst a number of children disporting themselves in the open air without any check upon their movements. After looking on the pleasant scene awhile, he breaks out into a soliloquy:

"What exuberant life! What immeasurable enjoyment! What unbounded activity! What an evolution of physical forces! What a harmony between the inner and the outer life! What happiness, health, and strength! Let me look a little closer. What are these children doing? The air rings musically with their shouts and joyous laughter. Some are running, jumping, or bounding along, with eyes like the eagle's bent upon its prey, after the ball which a dexterous hit of the bat sent flying among them; others are bending down towards the ring filled with marbles, and endeavoring to dislodge them from their position; others are running friendly races with their hoops; others again, with arms laid across each other's shoulders, are quietly walking and talking together upon some matter in which they evidently have a common interest. Their natural fun gushes out from eyes and lips. I hear what they say. It is simply expressed, amusing, generally intelligent, and often even witty. But there is a small group of children yonder. They seem eagerly intent on some subject. What is it? I see one of them has taken a fruit from his pocket. He is showing it to his fellows. They look at it and admire it. It is new to them. They wish to know more about it—to handle, smell, and taste it. The owner gives it into their hands; they feel and smell, but do not taste it. They give it back to the owner, his right to it being generally admitted. He bites it, the rest looking eagerly on to watch the result. His face shows that he likes the taste; his eyes grow brighter with satisfaction. The rest desire to make his experience their own. He sees their desire, breaks or cuts the fruit in pieces, which he distributes among them. He adds to his own pleasure by sharing in theirs. Suddenly a loud shout from some other part of the ground attracts the attention of the group, which scatters in all directions. Let me now consider. What does all this manifold movement—this exhibition of spontaneous energy—really mean? To me it seems to have a profound meaning.

"It means—

"1. That there is an immense external development and expansion of energy of various kinds—physical, intellectual, and moral. Limbs, senses, lungs, tongues, minds, hearts, are all at work—all coöperating to produce the general effect.

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* Lecture delivered at the College of Preceptors at London, Feb. 25th, 1874, by Joseph Payne, Professor of the Science and Art of Education to the College.

"2. That activity—doing—is the common characteristic of this development of force.

"3. That spontaneity—absolute freedom from outward control—appears to be both impulse and law to the activity.

"4. That the harmonious combination and interaction of spontaneity and activity constitute the happiness which is apparent. The will to do prompts the doing; the doing reacts on the will.

"5. That the resulting happiness is independent of the absolute value of the exciting cause. A bit of stick, a stone, an apple, a marble, a hoop, a top, as soon as they become objects of interest, call out the activities of the whole being quite as effectually as if they were matters of the greatest intrinsic value. It is the action upon them—the doing something with them—that invests them with interest.

"6. That this spontaneous activity generates happiness because the result is gained by the children's own efforts, without external interference. What they do themselves and for themselves, involving their own personal experience, and therefore exactly measured by their own capabilities, interests them. What another, of trained powers, standing on a different platform of advancement, does *for them*, is comparatively uninteresting. If such a person, from whatever motive, interferes with their spontaneous activity, he arrests the movement of their forces, quenches their interest, at least for the moment; and they resent the interference.

"Such, then, appear to be the manifold meanings of the boundless spontaneous activity that I witness. But what name, after all, must I give to the totality of the phenomena exhibited before me? I must call them Play. Play, then, is spontaneous activity ending in the satisfaction of the natural desire of the child for pleasure—for happiness. *Play is the natural, the appropriate business and occupation of the child left to his own resources.* The child that does not play, is not a perfect child. He wants something—sense-organ, limb, or generally what we imply by the term health—to make up our ideal of a child. The healthy child plays—plays continually—cannot but play.

"But has this instinct for play no deeper significance? Is it appointed by the Supreme Being merely to fill up time—merely to form an occasion for fruitless exercise?—merely to end in itself? No! I see now that it is the constituted means for the unfolding of all the child's powers. It is through play that he learns the use of his limbs, of all his bodily organs, and with this use gains health and strength. Through play he comes to know the external world, the physical qualities of the objects which surround him, their motions, action, and re-action upon each other, and the relation of these phenomena to himself; a knowledge which forms the basis of that which will be his permanent stock for life. Through play, involving associateship and combined action, he begins to recognize moral relations, to feel that he cannot live for himself alone, that he is a member of a community, whose rights he must acknowledge if his own are to be acknowledged. In and through play, moreover, he learns to contrive means for securing his ends; to invent, construct, discover, investigate, to bring by imagination the remote near, and, further, to translate the language of facts into the language of words, to learn the conventionalities of his mother tongue. Play, then, I see, is the means by which the entire being of the child develops and grows into power, and, therefore, does not end in itself.

"But an agency which effects results like these is an education agency; and *Play*, therefore, *resolves itself into education;* education which is independent of the formal teacher, which the child virtually gains for and by himself. This, then, is the outcome of all that I have observed. The child, through the spontaneous activity of all his natural forces, is really developing and strengthening them for future use; he is working out his own education.

"But what do I, who am constituted by the demands of society as the formal educator of these children, learn from the insight I have thus gained into their nature? I learn this—that I must educate them in conformity with that nature. I must continue, not supersede, the course already begun; my own course must be based upon it. I must recognize and adopt the principles involved in it, and frame my laws of action accordingly. Above all, I must not neutralize and deaden that spontaneity which is the mainspring of all the machinery; I must rather encourage it, while ever opening new fields for its exercise, and giving it

new directions. Play, spontaneous play, is the education of little children; but it is not the whole of their education. Their life is not to be made up of play. Can I not then even now gradually transform their play into work, but work which shall look like play?—work which shall originate in the same or similar impulses, and exercise the same energies as I see employed in their own amusements and occupations? Play, however, is a random, desultory education. It lays the essential basis; but it does not raise the superstructure. It requires to be organized for this purpose, but so organized that the superstructure shall be strictly related and conformed to the original lines of the foundation.

"*I see that these children delight in movement;*—they are always walking, or running, jumping, hopping, tossing their limbs about, and, moreover, they are pleased with rythmical movement. I can contrive motives and means for the same exercise of the limbs, which shall result in increased physical power, and consequently in health—shall train the children to a conscious and measured command of their bodily functions, and at the same time be accompanied by the attraction of rythmical sound through song or instrument.

"*I see that they use their senses;* but merely at the accidental solicitation of surrounding circumstances, and therefore imperfectly. I can contrive means for a definite education of the senses, which shall result in increased quickness of vision, hearing, touch, etc. I can train the purblind eye to take note of delicate shades of color, the dull ear to appreciate the minute differences of sound.

"*I see that they observe;* but their observations are for the most part transitory and indefinite, and often, therefore, comparatively unfruitful. I can contrive means for concentrating their attention by exciting curiosity and interest, and educate them in the art of observing. They will thus gain clear and definite perceptions, bright images in the place of blurred ones,—will learn to recognize the difference between complete and incomplete knowledge, and gradually advance from the stage of merely knowing to that of knowing that they know.

"*I see that they invent and construct;* but often awkwardly and aimlessly. I can avail myself of this instinct, and open to it a definite field of action. I shall prompt them to invention, and train them in the art of construction. The materials I shall use for this end, will be simple; but in combining them together for a purpose, they will enjoy not only their knowledge of form, but their imagination of the capabilities of form. In various ways I shall prompt them to invent, construct, contrive, imitate, and in doing so develop their nascent taste for symmetry and beauty.

"And so in respect to other domains of that child-action which we call play, I see that I can make these domains also my own. I can convert children's activities, energies, amusements, occupations, all that goes by the name of play, into instruments for my purpose, and, therefore, transform play into work. This work will be education in the true sense of the term. The conception of it as such I have gained from the children themselves. They have taught me how I am to teach them.

FRŒBEL'S THEORY IN PRACTICE.

I must endeavor to give some notion of the manner in which Frœbel *reduced* his theory to practice. In doing this, the instances I bring forward must be considered as typical. If you admit—and you can hardly do otherwise—the reasonableness of the theory, as founded on the nature of things, you can hardly doubt that there is some method of carrying it out. Now, a method of education involves many processes, all of which must represent more or less the principles which form the basis of the method. It is quite out of my power, for want of time, to describe the various processes which exhibit to us the little child pursuing his education by walking to rhythmic measure, by gymnastic exercises generally, learning songs by heart and singing them, practising his senses with a definite purpose, observing the properties of objects, counting, getting notions of color and form, drawing, building with cubical blocks, modeling in wax or clay, braiding slips of various colored paper after a pattern, pricking or cutting forms in paper, curving wire into different shapes, folding a sheet of paper and gaining

elementary notions of geometry, learning the resources of the mother-tongue by hearing and relating stories, fables, etc., dramatizing, guessing riddles, working in the garden, etc., etc. These are only some of the activities naturally exhibited by young children, and these the teacher of young children is to employ for his purpose. As, however, they are so numerous, I may well be excused for not even attempting to enter minutely into them. But there is one series of objects and exercises therewith connected, expressly devised by Frœbel to teach the art of observing, to which, as being typical, I will now direct your attention. He calls these objects, which are gradually and in orderly succession introduced to the child's notice, Gifts,—a pleasant name, which is, however, a mere accident of the system: they might equally well be called by any other name.

GIFTS FOR THE CULTURE OF OBSERVATION.

As introductory to the series, a ball made of wool, of say a scarlet color, is placed before the baby. It is rolled along before him on the table, thrown along the floor, tossed into the air, suspended from a string, and used as a pendulum, or spun around on its axis, or made to describe a circle in space, etc. It is then given into his hand; he attempts to grasp it, fails; tries again, succeeds; rolls it along the floor himself, tries to throw it, and, in short, exercises every power he has upon it, always pleased, never wearied in *doing* something or other with it. This is play, but it is play which resolves itself into education. He is gaining notions of color, form, motion, action and re-action, as well as of muscular sensibility. And all the while the teacher associates words with things and actions, and, by constantly employing words in their proper sense and in the immediate presence of facts, initiates the child in the use of his mother-tongue. Thus, in a thousand ways, the scarlet ball furnishes sensations and perceptions for the substratum of the mind, and suggests fitting language to express them; and even the baby appears before us as an observer, learning the properties of things by personal experience.

Then comes the *first Gift*. It consists of six soft woolen balls of six different colors, three primary and three secondary. One of these is recognized as like, the others as unlike, the ball first known. The laws of similarity and discrimination are called into action; sensation and perception grow clearer and stronger. I cannot particularize the numberless exercises that are to be got out of the various combinations of these six balls.

The *second Gift* consists of a sphere, cube, and cylinder, made of hard wood. What was a ball before, is now called a sphere. The different material gives rise to new experiences; a sensation, that of hardness, for instance, takes the place of softness; while varieties of form suggest resemblance and contrast. Similar experiences of likeness and unlikeness are suggested by the behavior of these different objects. The easy rolling of the sphere, the sliding of the cube, the rolling as well as sliding of the cylinder, illustrate this point. Then the examination of the cube, especially its surfaces, edges, and angles, which any child can observe for himself, suggest new sensations and their resulting perceptions. At the same time, notions of space, time, form, motion, relativity in general, take their place in the mind, as the unshaped blocks which, when fitly compacted together, will lay the firm foundation of the understanding. These elementary notions, as the very groundwork of mathematics, will be seen to have their use as time goes on.

The *third Gift* is a large cube, making a whole, which is divisible into eight

small ones. The form is recognized as that of the cube before seen; the size is different. But the new experiences consist in notions of relativity—of the whole in its relation to the parts, of the parts in their relation to the whole; and thus the child acquires the notion and the names, and both in immediate connection with the sensible objects, of halves, quarters, eighths, and of how many of the small divisions make one of the larger. But in connection with the third Gift a new faculty is called forth—imagination, and with it the instinct of construction is awakened. The cubes are mentally transformed into blocks; and with them building commences. The constructive faculty suggests imitation, but rests not in imitation. It invents, it creates. Those eight cubes, placed in a certain relation to each other, make a long seat, or a seat with a back, or a throne for the Queen; or again, a cross, a doorway, etc. Thus does even play exhibit the characteristics of art, and "conforms (to use Bacon's words) the outward show of things to the desires of the mind"; and thus the child, as I said before, not merely imitates, but creates. And here, I may remark, that the mind of the child is far less interested in that which another mind has embodied in ready prepared forms, than in the forms which he conceives, and gives outward expression to, himself. He wants to employ his own mind, and his whole mind, upon the object, and does not thank you for attempting to deprive him of his rights.

The *fourth, fifth, and sixth Gifts* consist of the cube variously divided into solid parallelopipeds, or brick-shaped forms, and into smaller cubes and prisms. Observation is called on with increasing strictness, relativity appreciated, and the opportunity afforded for endless manifestations of constructiveness. And all the while impressions are forming in the mind, which, in due time, will bear geometrical fruits, and fruits, too, of æsthetic culture. The dawning sense of the beautiful, as well as of the true, is beginning to gain consistency and power.

I cannot further dwell on the numberless modes of manipulation of which these objects are capable, nor enter further into the groundwork of principles on which their efficiency depends.

OBJECTIONS TO THE SYSTEM CONSIDERED.

It is said, for instance, without proof, that we demand too much from little children, and, with the best intentions, take them out of their depth. This might be true, no doubt, if the system of means adopted had any other basis than the nature of the children; if we attempted theoretically, and without regard to that nature, to determine ourselves what they can and what they cannot do; but when we constitute spontaneity as the spring of action, and call on them to do that, and that only, which they can do, which they do of their own accord when they are educating themselves, it is clear that the objection falls to the ground. The child who teaches himself never can go out of his depth; the work he actually does is that which he has strength to do; the load he carries cannot but be fitted to the shoulders that bear it, for he has gradually accumulated its contents by his own repeated exertions. This increasing burden is, in short, the index and result of his increasing powers, and commensurate with them. The objector in this case, in order to gain even a plausible foothold for his objection, must first overthrow the radical principle, that the activities, amusements, and occupations of the child, left to himself, do indeed constitute his earliest education, and that it is an education which he virtually gives himself.

Another side of this objection, which is not unfrequently presented to us, derives its plausibility from the assumed incapacity of children. The objector points to this child or that, and denounces him as stupid and incapable. Can

the objector, however, take upon himself to declare that this or that child has not been made stupid even by the very means employed to teach him? The test, however, is a practical one: Can the child play? If he can play, in the sense which I have given to the word, he cannot be stupid. In his play he employs the very faculties which are required for his formal education. "But he is stupid at his books." If this is so, then the logical conclusion is, that the books have made him stupid, and you, the objector, who have misconceived his nature, and acted in direct contradiction to it, are yourself responsible for this.

"But he has no memory. He cannot learn what I tell him to learn." No memory! Cannot learn! Let us put that to the test. Ask him about the pleasant holiday a month ago, when he went nutting in the woods. Does he remember nothing about the fresh feel of the morning air, the joyous walk to the wood, the sunshine which streamed about his path, the agreeable companions with whom he chatted on the way, the incidents of the expedition, the climb up the trees, the bagging of the plunder? Are all these matters clean gone out of his mind? "Oh, no, he remembers things like these." Then he has a memory, and a remarkably good one. He remembers because he was interested; and if you wish him to remember your lessons, you must make them interesting. He will certainly learn what he takes an interest in.

I need not deal with other objections. They all resolve themselves into the category of ignorance of the nature of the child. When public opinion shall demand such knowledge from teachers as the essential condition of their taking in hand so delicate and even profound an art as that of training children, all these objections will cease to have any meaning.

My close acquaintance with Frœbel's theory, and especially with his root-idea, is comparatively recent. But when I had studied it as a theory, and witnessed something of its practice, I could not but see at once that I had been throughout an unconscious disciple, as it were, of the eminent teacher. The plan of my own course of lectures on the Science and Art of Education was, in fact, constructed in thought before I had at all grasped the Fröbelian idea; and was, in that sense, independent of it.

The Kindergarten is gradually making its way in England, without the achievement as yet of any eminent success; but in Switzerland, Holland, Italy, and the United States, as well as in Germany, it is rapidly advancing. Wherever the principles of education, as distinguished from its practice, are a matter of study and thought, there it prospers. Wherever, as in England for the most part, the practical alone is considered, and where teaching is thought to be "as easy as lying," any system of education founded on psychological laws must be tardy in its progress.

"The Kindergarten has not only to supply the proper materials and opportunities for the innate mental powers, which, like leaves and blossoms in the bud, press forward and impel the children to activity, with so much the more energy the better they are supplied. *It has also to preserve children from the harm of civilization*, which furnishes poison as well as food, temptations as well as salvation; and children must be kept from this trial till their mental powers have grown equal to its dangers. Much of the success of the Kindergarten (invisible at the time) is negative, and consists in preventing harm. Its positive success, again, is so simple, that it cannot be expected to attract more notice than, for instance, does fresh air, pure water, or the merit of a physician who keeps a family in health."—*Karl Froebel.*

JOHN FREDERIC HERBART.

MEMOIR.

JOHN FREDERIC HERBART, the philosopher, was born on the 4th of May, 1776, at Oldenburg, where his father held the position of Justizrath. After finishing his preliminary studies at the gymnasium of his native city, he entered the University of Jena. His father had intended him for the law, and it was only with difficulty that he obtained permission to study philosophy. He soon had personal relations with Fichte, whose Wissenschaftslehre (Theory of Sciences) awakened in him a spirit of opposition. His independence of thought showed itself in his critique of Schelling's two articles, 'On the possibility of a Form of Philosophy,' and 'Of the I' (Vom Ich), which he submitted to Fichte. In 1797 he accepted the position of private tutor in Berne, and during four years continued his studies with his peculiar energy. He considered it necessary to return to the original problems of philosophy, and studied the philosophy of the ancients, particularly the period previous to Socrates and Plato, also mathematics and natural sciences, and even at that time laid the foundations of his mathematical psychology. It was here, too, that he developed his deep interest in education. He not only became acquainted with the pedagogical publications of Pestalozzi—*The Evening Hour of a Hermit*, first printed in 1780; the first part of *Leonard and Gertrude* printed in 1780; *Christopher and Alice*, issued in 1782, and *Figures to my A B C Book*, published in 1795, but visited in person the great Educator himself, at Burgdorf, in 1799, and received from his own lips an explanation of the *New Education*, based on the proper exercise and training of the senses, and of the methods by which he developed in very young children the ideas of number, form, and language. He felt that there were certain deficiencies in the views of Pestalozzi which it was his duty to supply.

In 1800, he returned to Germany, and after a brief residence at Bremen, settled in Göttingen. Here, until 1809, when he accepted a call from Königsberg as *professor ordinarius* of philosophy and pedagogy, he published the first results of his mature thought.

Among them may be mentioned 'Pestalozzi's Idea of the A B C of Observation Scientifically Treated'—(Gött. 1802, 2d Ed. 1804); 'De Platonici Systemati Fundamento;' 'Universal Pedagogy;' 'On Philosophical Study;' 'Principles of Metaphysics;' 'Universal Practical Philosophy.' In Königsberg he divided his time between his own researches, his academic duties, and work as a practical teacher in directing a seminary of teachers founded at his instance, and held after 1812 in his own house.

In thus uniting under his own roof the advantages of school and family, Herbart endeavored to utilize the powerful forces of each by making them supplement and assist each other. He saw the advantages of each; but in the school, owing to the number of pupils, each one can not receive that care and attention which his individual peculiarities call for, while the force of family influence is too frequently wasted from the incapacity of those who are called to direct and apply it. His ideal was education in the family, guided and assisted by the counsel of an experienced and professional teacher, not necessarily residing immediately in the family circle, but one whose occasional instruction of the children would indirectly find additional strength and usefulness through the co-operation of the parents whose daily influence he should assist and direct. (His ideal method embraced brevity and vividness—the first, because children should not be confined long to one position or one subject, and the method should find and leave the mind of the pupil fresh; the impression thus made of any subject in even a brief period will be worth hours of forced attention.

Besides a great number of essays and lectures, he published among others: 'Handbook of Philosophy,' and 'Handbook of Psychology,' 'Psychology as a Science upon a new basis of Experience, Metaphysics and Mathematics,' and 'Universal Metaphysics with the Elements of Natural Theology,' and lastly, 'Encyclopedia of Philosophy from a Practical Point of View.'

The desire to work in a University with more intellectual life led Herbart in 1833 to accept a call back to Göttingen, where he died Aug. 14, 1841. While in Göttingen he published several small treatises, among which are 'A Plan of Lectures on Pedagogy,' 'Lessons on the Theory of the Freedom of the Human Will,' etc.

His biography is contained in 'Herbart's Minor Philosophical Essays and Treatises,' published in 1842–43, by Hartenstein. A complete edition of his works was published by the same editor in twelve vols., Leipsic, 1850–52.)

HERBART, BENEKE, AND FICHTE.

Herbart's Ideas of Education.

[In the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* for April, 1876, there is a sketch, by Dr. Karl Schmidt, of Herbart's *Pedagogics*, translated by Prof. Hannel of St. Louis. We give a few extracts introductory to a more formal treatment to appear in a subsequent number of this *Journal*. The words in brackets are partly explanatory and partly critical by the translator.]

Herbart considers an outside influence upon the person under age necessary in order that he may grow mentally in the same [continuous] manner as he does physically, because he (Herbart) maintains, as a principle of his psychology, that there are by no means fixed, predetermined capacities in the human soul, similar to those in plants and animal bodies; that man—only as far as his body is concerned—brings his future form with his germ into the world; *that the human soul on the contrary, resembles rather a machine entirely constructed out of perceptions.* The translator adds in a note:

["This should read: That the human mind may be made to resemble an organism, but under different circumstances with very different degrees of perfection, and that this mental organism or system is created by the soul out of the material furnished to the senses. Herbart holds that the soul is active, not passive, in forming perceptions out of the momentary sensations of color, sound and the like, that these elementary sensations are reactions of the soul, corresponding to outside influences; that we know nothing of soul, self, or faculties, save what we have learned by induction from the works of the human mind; that other faculties—being likewise the result of work and comparison—may be produced, purified, and strengthened, but in no other manner than by induction, and that the faculties both as regards their separate functions and their joint operation, will approach the closer to the perfection of a living organism, or of the system of mathematics, or of a machine, the more thoroughly we use our energies in the removal of definitely given difficulties and the solution of definitely given problems, first and before such application is followed up by broad and exhaustive comparison with other objects operated upon by the same energies of the soul; whereas a psychological theory which rests satisfied with a number of disconnected faculties for an ultimate basis, to the neglect of their unity in application, and without inquiring into the cause of their unity in the soul, is apt to unfit man for the business of life, and at best to degrade him to the rank of a laborer, whose sense of freedom, and natural enthusiasm for unity in the different departments of society is reduced to smoking embers."]

Pedagogics is, according to Herbart, closely connected with ethics and psychology; it really depends upon both. He commences by showing that pedagogics depend upon ethics, and proves [indirectly] that those opinions are erroneous which do not let the process of education begin and continue as well as terminate in the individual subject, but which place the pupil in such a relation to certain ideal objects (happiness, usefulness, family, State, humanity, God) that the future actions of the individual are defined by such objects as the end and aim of education. This proceeding has to be reversed, and it must be maintained that the individual person is and remains the exclusive and true centre for the purposes of education.

Hegel and Herbart agree that the chief end of education is to raise the individual to fixed habits of subordinating all to moral activity; neither of them proposes to attain that end by the explanation of moral texts; the spirit of their systems is evidently in emphasizing correct habits of methodical observation and work, which, at the age of mature reflection, may be employed in the culture of our moral self, directly and systematically; both undertake to educate by means of instruction, and to develop the moral judgment of the individual while it is assisted in taking possession of the indispensable results

and conditions of civilization. They further agree that the life of the individual owes fruitfulness and scope to society, while unity and harmony of the departments of society rest upon the moral strength of the individuals, and furthermore that the perpetuity of life, whether of society or of the individual, depends upon the "idea," if we understand by the term "idea" the consciousness of the necessary conditions of such perpetuity. We may therefore conclude that if Hegel had elaborated pedagogics himself, the speculative problem would have been for him as it was for Herbart, how to realize the "idea" within the province of education. Now, though Hegel subordinates everything to one absolute idea, while Herbart co-ordinates his five ideas, viz.: Freedom, Perfection, Right, Equity, and Benevolence, it is nevertheless not difficult to harmonize the latter five with the one absolute idea, for practical purposes. For, whereas complementary opposites are equally necessary to life, and the knowledge thereof to responsibility, non-interference between such co-ordinate powers constitutes the basis of rights; compensation in proportion to the number of complementary opposites united in any purpose and multiplied by the number of actual repetitions, constitutes equity of reward and punishments; both, Rights and Equity limited to the domain of intention and spiritual intercourse, *i. e.*, where the assistance of physical organs and forces is precluded, constitutes Benevolence, the principle of morality in contradistinction from those applications of Rights and Equity which may be enforced; the agreement between intention and action, both being governed as stated above, constitutes individual Freedom. All subordination is governed by the relative term Perfection. Setting aside differences of quantity, any one of the complementary opposites is imperfect as compared with their unity; the richer unity is perfect in comparison with the object embodying a less number of complementary opposites. But whatsoever severs that which is jointly necessary for life, liberty and happiness, actually and with the intention of keeping it severed, is physically bad, legally wrong, spiritually untrue, and morally sinful.

The complete work of education may be divided into discipline (*Regierung*), instruction (*Unterricht*), and training (*Zucht*). The child comes into the world without ability to concentrate the action of his organs upon one object, to the exclusion of the rest; his individual will is the result of practice; this gradual result is interrupted by all manner of disordered inclination; to hold the latter within proper bounds, is the office of discipline. What experience and society teach, outside of school, is too one-sided and desultory; it is disconnected and fragmentary; a systematic activity must supervene which is able to complement, to digest and to unite the material collected as a mere aggregate. This methodical business, complementary of experience and society, is instruction. The term training (*Ziehen, duco, educo, education*) contains allusion to that which is not yet existing [the harmony of opposites controlling insubordinate tendencies] something hoped for [the strength of the complementary opposite, now being weak in the individual] which exists only as purpose, and toward which the pupil has to be led; this action, devoted more especially to the culture of the will, but also, in part, to knowledge and understanding, is designated by "training."

1. It is the office of discipline to keep order, and to subject the naturally predominant and unruly inclinations of the individual. Such subjection has to be effected by a power strong enough, and acting so frequently as to be completely successful, before indications of a genuine will [persisting in wrong] are exhibited by the child. Measures within the reach of discipline are: (*a*) to keep the pupil so busy that he can find no time for mischief; (*b*) detective

supervision which, however, is useful only during the first years of life, and during periods of special danger; (*c*) commanding and forbidding, with respect to which great caution has to be exercised, lest discipline be rather weakened by it; (*d*) threats and punishments, which must be superseded by respect and love, wherever possible. Discipline [assisted by physical means] has, at all events, to cease long before training ceases, and should, as soon as possible, be relieved by the latter. The [apparently] limiting power of discipline [resembling the restraint of prison] cannot be discontinued so long as great temptations are offered to the pupil by his surroundings.

2. Instruction ought to be and must be educative; the aim of instruction should not be solely, or even predominantly, the amount of knowledge, nor should it be the acquisition of merely technical skill, but culture of the Personality [executive ability for ethical ideas]; this most essential part of education should be rooted and grounded. To be more definite, instruction is methodical production and culture of representations of objects [as definitely constructed applications of the categories and ethical ideas], such representations being the true germs from which to develop the unity of all faculties until said elementary unities of object and subject seem to assimilate subordinate facts with spontaneous rapidity, embracing the complementary opposites in such an exhaustive manner that executive ability and energy for action are the direct result, as well as tact or [more generally] the quick decision as to the ethico-aesthetical value of a given fact.

3. The term [dialectic] training embraces all direct action upon the disposition of the pupil which is prompted by the intention to purify and supplement his energies, and to lead him towards objective liberty. Dialectic training has to deal [with the limitations of the person fixed by way of inheritance or association] or, in other words, it has to deal with the character of man. Character manifests itself by individual preferences [and is two-fold, either objective or subjective. The objective portion or factor of character consists of] the individual's particular construction of inclination, indicated by the relative proportion or percentage of action; the subjective factor of character consists in the enjoyment of complementary opposites criticising the individual inclinations. The historical conception of both our objective and subjective character (*Sitz* = centre of geometrical locus) constitutes the totality of actual energy, and this is produced continuously by means of complementary natural desires into acts of responsibility. The difference of the causes wherewith persons identify themselves, defines such or another character. It is, nevertheless, the internal act, as described, whether purely internal or whether conceived as possibly external, which produces balanced energy out of the material of desires [in every species of character].

Distinct measures of dialectical training [to be carried into effect by the teacher in separate lessons] are required, on account of faults inherent in all schooling [more particularly in schooling of a higher order, where the culture of directive energy by means of composition is not made the leading aim, and the necessary faults referred to arise from the fact that systematic excellence in the plan of studies, together with the best possible standard in the separate lessons, cannot alone, and without aid from systematic use of knowledge in lessons on composition, overcome the discrepancy between the claims of practical life and the one-sided culture of theoretical or abstract judgment, which results from any division of labor by means of teachers, subject-matter, time and methods, without adequate and scientific correction].

[The above extracts are not a fair exhibit of Herbart's educational views, which cannot be presented in isolated passages. *Ed. of* A. J. E.]

The basis and aim of Beneke's pedagogical views must be found in his psychological publications. To establish the phenomena of mind on a scientific basis, to discard all uncertain speculation, and adhere only to the facts of observation, having ascertained all fixed antecedents, and uniform sequences in these phenomena was the great aim of all his teaching and all his publications, His separate work on Education and Instruction, which is highly valued in the best normal schools of Germany, is only the application of his psychological views to the work of the school-room. We give a brief analysis of his doctrine from two articles in the Museum and English Journal of Education of 1865.

Beneke's System of Psychology.

Beneke sets down two false notions as the principal obstacles to the scientific treatment of psychology. The first one is the practice of regarding the mind in its very earliest stage as an aggregate of special faculties. The child is supposed to have born with him faculties of memory, of understanding, of reasoning, of will, and such like. These faculties are assigned to the child in spite of the fact that no one has really observed the infant recollecting, or reasoning, or deliberately willing. In truth, these faculties do not exist in the child at its birth. There is a power called soul, but it does not admit of farther definition. It does not become known to us until it acts on the outer world, and it is only after long processes, which it is the business of psychology to observe, that it reaches the power of deliberate volition or of abstract reasoning.

But there is a second error which it is equally important to remove. All acts of retention are grouped together, and are assigned to a faculty called memory. All acts of reasoning are grouped together, and assigned to one faculty, called the reasoning faculty. And so on with other faculties. But this is a mistake. Psychologists like Sir William Hamilton and Mansel, allow that there are no such faculties, that the soul is one, and that these faculties are merely convenient names by which to group together similar phenomena. But the fiction leads to gross mistakes, both psychologically and educationally. If there were such a faculty as memory, then if a man's memory were good, he would remember every thing well. But we find that the same man remembers words well, but forgets ideas, remembers numbers well, but forgets tunes, remembers places well, but forgets faces. So we find a critic of art reason soundly, and with wonderful acumen and insight, in the region of art, but he fails entirely in his reasoning in regard to religion or politics. How can this happen if he has but one reasoning faculty?

The business of psychology, then, is to observe the activities of the human mind, to watch and classify all its acts, avoiding all hasty generalizations.

Now, in the first stage of the soul's existence here, we know it only as it comes into contact with external nature. We are, therefore, first to observe what takes place when the mind comes into contact with particular external objects. The results of this observation Beneke gave in what he called the four fundamental processes of the soul.

The first is, if the soul come into contact with an external object, it forms a sensation or sensuous perception. How it forms this sensation is not a ques-

tion of psychology, for our consciousness does not speak even of the body as the means. We have to deal only with the facts of consciousness.

The second fundamental process is thus stated by Beneke: "New original powers are continually forming themselves in the human soul." The phenomenon which we perceive is this. The mind is employed for the day in perceptions. It at first works vigorously, but gradually its power fails, and, like the body, it refuses to act. Sleep, however, comes on, and next morning the mind awakens refreshed, reinvigorated, able to form new sensations and perceptions.

The third process is thus stated: "All developments of our being are on the stretch every moment of our lives to equalize towards each other the movable elements which are given in them." The movable elements require explanation. The result of the activities of the mind on external objects is different. In some cases the perceptions are steadfast. They are easily recalled. In other cases the perceptions are indistinct, the objects have not clearly impressed themselves on the mind. These become the movable elements. They pass easily from one group of perceptions to another. Now, in the case of these movable elements, the mind struggles to equalize them. For instance, good news comes to me. This feeling of gladness will give a color to all my perceptions which are not definitely fixed. The song of the bird will be the expression of its happy existence; the sun will smile amidst clouds, all nature will rejoice. Again, if I receive a strong impression of an object, the strength of the impression will communicate itself to the impression of the next object which I perceive.

The last fundamental process which Beneke lays down is, "The same products of the human soul, and those similar, in proportion to their likeness, attract each other, and strive to enter into nearer combinations with each other."

These are the four great fundamental processes of the human mind. Beneke rests them entirely on observation, and if our reader has understood them thoroughly, he will see how simple they are. These processes take place in the three divisions of the soul's activity, which were proposed by Kant, and since adopted by most psychologists; and Beneke applies his knowledge of them in explanation of the phenomena of the feelings and conations, as well as of those of our cognitions.

In the first fundamental act there are two factors,—the soul and the external object. If we turn our attention to the soul, we find that its capabilities in regard to external impressions may be described in a threefold manner. An object comes before the soul, and, in consequence, the soul takes a firm, strong impression from it. The object becomes firmly fixed in the soul. Or again, if an object comes before the soul, the soul seizes it in all its parts, it takes into its perception the minute features of the object. Or again, it may, in a speedy manner, lay hold of the object. At the earliest stage of the child's soul, it is impossible to define exactly what it is, because it is not until vast and complicated processes have been gone through, that the soul reaches the state in which we know it well. Therefore, Beneke does not assign to the soul, in its earliest stages, any of the latent powers commonly ascribed to it. He deals with it in its earliest stages, simply as its activity in sensations and perceptions exhibits it, and he generalizes the results in these three qualities,—strength, sensitiveness and liveliness. This generalization we consider of im-

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mense value to the educator. If he watches his slow pupils carefully, with these characteristics in his mind, he will often be able to lay his hand at once on the defect that prevents progress. If the boy does not receive a strong impression from an external object, he can not remember it well; he can not recollect it when he is required to do so. This quality of the mind is the most essential to thought, and characteristic of the manly intellect. If the mind, again, is not sufficiently sensitive, it will fail to form a minutely accurate notion of the object. This quality is characteristic of the female mind, and is not an unmixed good, if not combined with a sufficient amount of strength. If the mind does not take an impression in sufficient time, another object forces itself on the mind, a mere half-impression is produced, and the result is a weakening of the power of the mind. Or if the mind is too lively, and takes its impression too fast, there may be a deficiency of strength, and the pupil may be as ill off as the slowest in the class. Dunces, therefore, may be defective in the strength of their impressions, in the sensitiveness of their minds, in the too great slowness or fastness with which they receive impressions. These defects are defects of degree, and though it is in these qualities that one soul originally differs from another, yet much may be done by the teacher who has studied the matter psychologically to increase the strength and regulate the liveliness of the pupil's impressions.

What adds to, or rather creates, the deep importance of attention to these qualities, is another doctrine which Beneke has established in a completely scientific manner. This doctrine is, that the only possibility of the soul's progress to a higher stage, is the thorough accomplishment of the work in the previous stage. At the first stage the child is predominantly sensuous. Unless his senses be fully exercised, unless he accomplish his intuitions effectively, unless, in one word, he has made many clear, strong intuitions in the course of his childhood, the second portion of his life's intellectual work will be badly performed. In the second stage, the boy becomes reproductive; and here, again, unless the reproductions are done thoroughly, and repeated often enough, it is impossible to acquire any thing like perfection in the third, or highest stage, the productive. If we observe a child's progress in his intuitions, and his movement from these to reproduction, we shall see the reason of all this. A child looks at a tree for the first time. He looks only for an exceedingly short time. He has had some sensation in consequence, which must leave *some trace* in the mind, however indefinite it may be. After an interval he looks again at the tree, and there arises a similar sensation, which, by the fourth fundamental process, blends with the trace of the first. After these sensations have been multiplied to a great extent, by a law which Beneke works out scientifically, the child at length perceives an object which we call a tree. Having made this perception, however, he could not recall the tree in his mind if he wished. But he makes the perception or intuition again and again; and he must make it a certain number of times, more or less (the number being dependent on the strength, sensitiveness, and liveliness of the soul), before he can reproduce the tree without the presence of the object. Now, after he has acquired the power of reproducing one tree, he must learn to reproduce others; and he can not form a notion of a tree, abstracted from all individual trees, until he has reproduced a considerable number of individual trees with tolerable exactness. He can not become a thinker in any department, until he has gained the power of repro-

duction in that particular department. Hence, also, the scientific establishment of the law in education, that the teacher must resolutely, and with great patience, practice the pupil in the concrete, before he proceeds to the abstract. Education must be primarily inductive, if it is to be successful. The pupil must be furnished in every study with numerous individual instances, before he can be fit to make the generalizations for himself; and to furnish him with generalizations before he knows the instances, or even at the same time, is not to educate him, but to throw obstacles in the way of his education.

If we turn now from the soul to the other factor, the external object, in the first fundamental process, we shall find that it is calculated to affect the soul in five different ways. The object may produce a satisfactory impression, and then we have a perception. I look at a tree in daylight, I see it, and am satisfied. Again, it may produce an impression, accompanied with distinctly felt pleasure. I look at a beautiful face. I see it, and, more than that, I feel exquisite pleasure at the sight of it. In proportion, however, to the pleasure of which I am conscious, is my perception less distinct, and if I turn immediately away from it, possibly I could describe it only in the most vague terms,—terms indicative more of my pleasure than of its exact form. But then there is this difference between the object that simply satisfies, and that which excites pleasure. I at once dismiss the object that satisfies the mind, and do not care whether it returns or not. But I long for the return of the object which gives me pleasure, and as it returns again and again, I come to know it more completely, even in its various features. But there are objects that at first stimulate the mind pleasurably, but being permitted to act too long on it, create satiety, or even disgust. In that case, the mind has not received a satisfying perception of the object, but at the same time it has not only no desire to return to it, but positive aversion to it. The effect, consequently, is a weakening of the mind to this extent. Or again, the object is not calculated to produce a full impression. The light, for instance, is deficient. I look on an object at a distance in dim starlight. I see it indistinctly. The impression produced on my mind is unsatisfactory. I have gained no real knowledge. So far the mind is weakened. Again, I gaze at the sun in its full blaze. The result is that I see nothing, but my eyes are dazzled, and I feel pain. There are thus five effects: a satisfactory intuition, an intuition accompanied with pleasure, an intuition accompanied with satiety, a defective intuition, and an intuition accompanied with pain. The first two strengthen the mind, the other three weaken it. The teacher must present his pupils only with the first two; the other three hinder his work. And, indeed, the division will apply to more things than intuitions. If the lesson given by a teacher produces either satiety or pain, or supplies the pupil only with half-impressions, his work has been useless, and the boy would have been stronger in mind if the lesson had not been given. In every lesson the teacher must either satisfy the boy's mind, and then the knowledge will abide for some time, and become the basis of further knowledge; or he must stimulate the boy through pleasurable excitement, and then, though he may not remember so much of the instruction, there has been planted in his heart a craving for farther enlightenment, which may turn out to be more important than any particular knowledge communicated to him.

These views, and similar views, are elaborately set forth by Beneke in his *Erziehungs-und-Unterrichtslehre.*

INSTRUCTION—ITS CHARACTER AND RELATIONS TO EDUCATION.*

1. *The Fundamental Character of Instruction.*—Education has for its function to raise the reason which is not cultivated at all, or less cultivated, to the position of that which is cultivated, and has therefore principally to do with the mind or subject. The objects which act on the mind have also a training power; in fact, at last all training is limited by what is external, though not less so, and indeed much more so, by the nature of the mind itself. But one and the same thing can train in different degrees in different relations. What is important for objective training, may be unimportant for subjective, or even may have a detrimental influence; and what, on the other hand, is less important for the comprehension and acquisition of external elements, may have a deep influence on the formation of the mind.

In contrast, therefore, with education, the function of instruction is to impart that which is objective. All its peculiarities can be inferred from this: its having to do more with single operations; the circumstance that these operations are so marked that they can begin and cease at a definite time; its capability of exhausting what lies within a limited region; of its proceeding from a single object with more determined intention; and of its being communicated to a greater number at once.

This definition gives the most general limits of instruction. Its principal objects are, according to this, representations and external capabilities. The external capabilities, such as walking, dancing and writing, are included, because it is through representations that they can be learned fully. For instance, writing is teachable on account of the perceptions which the pupil can make of the teacher's writing and of his own.

In regard to representations, it is external objects which first form the objects of instruction. They form for us the first objects. Along with them we comprehend the connections and other relations which exist amongst them; such as those of space and time; the relations of continual juxtaposition; of cause and effect; of number; as well as the more abstract relations of degree; of size; &c.; and in consequence of these being able to be apprehended along with external objects, they also can become the objects of instruction. And this does not exhaust the province of instruction even in regard to external objects, for it embraces also the working up, not merely of single representations, but of their combinations and relations to knowledges of every kind. And it goes beyond the immediate apprehensions of objects into logical combinations, for while we are in a position to produce similar combinations in others with a kind of compulsion, there can be no doubt that such can become the objects of instruction.

This leads into another and very wide province, which instruction rules at least in part. Our inner being can become an object to us. This takes place through a peculiar formation of notions which, introduced by the similarity of the qualities and relations and modes of growth of the mind, brings forth in special acts what is universal in these relations for our consciousness. Through these acts, that is, notions relating to mental qualities, relations, and modes of growth, is formed what is commonly called our inner sense, but which would

* *Erziehungs-und-Unterrichtslehre.*

be better called our inner senses, by means of which we are in a position to comprehend acts of a similar nature. In consequence of them, therefore, all evolutions of our inner being, whatever form they may have originally, assume the form of representation, or become objects for us, and thus they can be drawn into the province of instruction.

The whole inner world, it is true, does not lie within the province of instruction, but only so far as the individual element can be struck out and a universal representation gained in consequence of the power of forming notions already mentioned, and only so far is a communication of it possible; nay, only so far as the person to be instructed has in himself the elementary preparations for that which we are to impart to him. Above all, then, the universal predetermined laws, which are the same in all men, such as those of logic, æsthetics, morality, and religion, &c., can be evolved notionally, and thus become objects of instruction: and so also can even other mental phenomena, which take different forms in different individuals, even feelings and cofations.

But it is evident that the province of instruction in this respect is much more limited than that of education. Take, for instance, the branch where it has the widest reach, namely æsthetic instruction, such as can be imparted through the reading and exposition of poetical works, through instruction in music, as well as through pictures and statues. The apprehension of these takes place in a similar manner in all, so far as the objective is concerned, yet not with equal perfection, delicacy, freshness, liveliness, and spirituality. And without doubt the communication of these would be more valuable, and more important in regard to the real training of the mind. But for these a certain equality of inborn talents (not communicable therefore by one to another) is requisite, and a certain equality in the previous circumstances of training; two equalities, therefore, which, even where a possibility of communicating them exists, would fall, not to the province of instruction, but to that of education.

Still more decidedly is this the case in regard to morality and religion. Instruction can venture here only to form, combine, and apply the *notions* or *representations* which relate to both. And although these are assuredly of some value in themselves, yet it is unquestionably not these that are to be considered as most valuable, nor as the most important for the training of youth, nor as the peculiar end of education in these two departments; but it is the lively moral feelings and impulses, the disposition which arises in consequence of these, and the deep religious tone of the soul. From these feelings indeed there lies a plain and open way to the notions or representations, but from the notions or representations there is no road to the feelings. For the lively and the fresh must come before the notions, according to the fundamental relations of mental evolution. The particular evolutions can be melted and formed into notions by abstraction, but the reverse process, that of dissolving notions into particular evolutions, and into particular evolutions of the requisite freshness, force, and completeness, has not yet been discovered by any one, however much the possibility of it has been presupposed in pedagogic theories. For establishing lively feelings, impulses, dispositions, therefore, there lie before us, so long as we are in the province of instruction, not only difficulties, but an absolute impossibility. What is aimed at can be attained only through education, by placing the pupils in those relations of life which are the necessary conditions, more or less, of the required evolutions from the com-

mencement. Instruction can merely, while circling round the shrines of morality and religion, describe and glorify their treasures; the pupil can be made a partaker of them only through that more lively and more penetrating activity which constitutes education.

2. *Education through instruction.*—Through the investigations of the previous paragraph, we are now in a position to give a definite answer to the question if instruction can educate, and how far. Of all the evolutions of our mind there remain behind traces, and these traces are powers, and so far, therefore, there is through all instruction an inner or subjective shaping of the mind produced, the very thing at which education aims. But the question then occurs, Whether this inner shaping, this formation of the subjective, is important and joyful; whether the traces which remain behind, have the adequate strength, liveliness, and intensity which make them desirable developments of the inner mental being; whether they mingle and work together with one another in relations promotive of progress; and whether in this way all kinds of inner progress which education aims at, are to be attained?

In order to gain perfect exactness in the determination of these questions, we must distinguish three things: the education which is attached to instruction immediately and essentially; the education which comes alongside of the instruction, or takes place through that which the teacher says or does in addition to what properly belongs to his duties as an instructor; and, finally, we have the results that may arise from special arrangements which are made for instruction, such, for instance, as are made in instruction in schools.

Of these three elements, we can take no notice of the last. The second is seen at the first glance to be entirely different in different circumstances. It depends on the individuality of the teacher whether it appears at all, and in what way and to what extent; and it also depends, on the other hand, not less on the individuality of the scholar. To take a nearer view of this matter, we can bring the influences that bear on it under four general heads.

First, an educating influence can be exercised on the scholars in immediate connection with the objects of instruction by the *zeal* of the teacher, by the liveliness and continuity which he displays, and by the scientific spirit which informs his instructions, for these qualities are transferred to the scholars, sometimes unconsciously and instinctively, and sometimes in more conscious representation and feeling. While he has these qualities of his teacher continually before him, he forms them in himself along with the objects of instruction, by means of that which he possesses in an elementary state similar to these; and the traces which remain behind of these, become gradually in him permanent qualities. It is plain from this that this training may be often of greater importance than the subject matter which the instruction communicates. Hereby there is introduced into the scholar a special power of estimating the moral worth of things, which, according to the measure of its strength, its purity, its liveliness, and its harmonious agreement with other motives, may exercise an exceedingly important moral influence for the whole of life.

But, *secondly*, the teacher, besides what he may introduce immediately into his teaching from his inner being, is something more. He has a character, an individuality, and these can manifest themselves during instruction in the most manifold ways, and can also be reflected in the scholars where the preparatory capabilities exist. It is these that principally determine the tone of the teacher;

the expression of the united intellectual and moral individuality and disposition of the teacher. It is well known that teachers differ much from each other in this respect. While many, during instruction, simply let the object speak through itself, others continually are mingling up with it themselves or their personality more or less, relating the circumstances of their lives, their adventures, their feelings, and their doings. Where the special subject of instruction has little, or perhaps nothing to do with this, we must unquestionably consider this as a mistake, according to strict didactic rule; and it may take place to a degree where it becomes a mistake which can in no way be excused. But in many circumstances the advantage preponderates. Through the foreign admixtures, more is gained in respect of moral tone and character than is lost in respect of instruction, where there exist in the scholars the preparations. Even didactically it can sometimes have a beneficial influence, by breaking the uniformity of the instruction, and giving more spirit and life to it, which is a decided necessity for some individualities.

Thirdly, there is the attention which the teacher can pay to the moral individuality of the scholar. Also in this respect we come upon a similar diversity. Many teachers do not trouble themselves about this matter. They give their lessons, they take care that there be quiet and attention during these, and that the necessary preparations and work be done for them. Every thing beyond this, they imagine, is of no concern to them. Others, on the contrary, regard the moral effect on the scholars as the principal matter. While they give intense attention to the scholars in this respect continually, they take the opportunity presented of something faulty occurring either in the regulation of the instruction, or in conduct, to introduce, with great earnestness, representations and admonitions, which, in consequence of the way in which they proceed from them, receive a penetrating character; and what they have once begun in this way, they follow out with systematic zeal.

To these educating agents have to be added, in the *fourth* place, those which are determined by the relations, and especially the likes and dislikes which arise between teacher and scholar. Love begets love, confidence elevates and strengthens; on the other hand, cold repulsive behavior on the part of the teacher chills the pupil, creates ill-will, and may inspire even hatred. The results in this case are often of great importance for the whole education; and unquestionably special consideration is to be given in the selection of a teacher, not merely to the amount and kind of knowledge he may possess, but to the circumstances now named, and more especially to the many relations of agreement or of opposition which can bring the scholar to willing association; or, on the other hand, to an often invincible repulsion.

We have yet to discuss the first of those points suggested in the beginning, — the educating power immediately and essentially attached to the instruction. With regard to it, we expect that there will be more certainty in carrying it out, because it is conditioned by its more close connection with instruction; and a full examination confirms this expectation. We can have no doubt as to its nature in general. The traces which remain behind from the comprehension of the instruction, give rise to powers for the comprehension of that which lies in the same direction with it,—powers of perception and observation, of memory, understanding, and judgment of the most manifold kind, as well as the habits of attention, of diligence, and of perseverance. It is plain, at the

first glance, that this training will be the more valuable, the greater the liveliness and intensity with which these traces are collected, provided only the mind do not be wearied out.

And then to these are attached further workings out of that which has been already comprehended. To these belong, especially in an objective point of view, the regulating laws, which not unfrequently extend their operations beyond the special circumstances in connection with which they were first formed; and subjectively, there is the elevating and bracing feeling of power in one's self which urges on the scholar, and later the youth and the man, from one intellectual height to another, and gives him the energy requisite to the attainment of his aims.

The truth of this remark will become exceedingly evident if we look at it, as it were, through a magnifying-glass, in that education which the previous ages give to those that follow. Let us take, for instance, the influences which proceed from our more recent speculative philosophies. It has often been believed, that even although these brought no advantage in respect of the matter which they supply to the mind, inasmuch as they establish no knowledge that promises to last, yet they deserve the highest praise in a formal point of view, or in respect of the mental, gymnastic, and intellectual exertion and strengthening which they guarantee. But exactly the reverse is unquestionably the result; for since these speculative systems move in distorted, often purely fanciful forms, the formation of the mind, or the education which is produced by them, must bear a distorted and perverted character. They impress on the mind fanciful laws of knowledge, they set up pictures of a progress in which there can be no real progress, but merely the fancy that there is progress. And since these pictures and laws work as misdirecting powers, the intellectual training must necessarily be radically corrupt. And so also the moral training. On the one side, they establish presumption and superciliousness in reference to that worthless and perverted acquisition. On the other hand, they depress and unnerve, where they ought to give courage and spirit, namely, in striving after knowledges which, established in the right way, possess sufficient tenacity to remain truth for all time.

This, then, is the full extent to which instruction can and ought to act with an educating power, independently of special arrangements which may be added for the purpose. Most decided is its action in that which is immediately attached to it; and then in that which lies near to it, at least so far as a special individuality is not presupposed for it. Every thing else is in and for itself, not in its power, but can be drawn into it only so far as already a mental preparation has been made for it through the immediate action of the relations of life. The relation to the teacher is assuredly a relation of life, but only a single and limited one. On this account it can have an educating power (in an elementary way) fresh and lively, but only so far as it affects the mind in this character. And this statement already furnishes us with the answer to the question, in what way schools are fitted to extend this influence. It is plain, without further investigation, that they are in a position to do this so far, but only so far as they can introduce new relations of life which shall act immediately on the inner development of the scholar.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION DEMANDED BY THE AGE,

CONSIDERED IN CONNECTION WITH THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF FRIEDRICH FROBEL.

By Prof. J. H. Von Fichte.*

I. EDUCATION—THE PROBLEM OF THE AGE.

SINCE Pestalozzi's great movement, it has become, at least in Germany, a universally recognized conviction, that only by means of an improved popular education, can the many defects of civil, social and family life be thoroughly corrected, and a better future be assured to our posterity. It may be asserted, still more universally, that the fate of a people, its growth and decay, depend, ultimately and mainly, on the education which is given to its youth. Hence follows, with the same indisputable certainty, the next axiom: that nation which, in all its classes, possesses the most thorough and varied cultivation, will, at the same time, be the most powerful and the happiest, among the peoples of its century; invincible to its neighbors and envied by its contemporaries, or an example for them to imitate. Indeed, it can be asserted, with the exactness of a mathematical truth, that even the most reliable preparation for war can be most surely reached through the right education of physically-developed young men. This conviction also gains ground in Germany; and renewed efforts are now made to introduce gymnastics (*turnen*) into the system of common school education, freed from all cumbersome modifications, and restored to their simple, first principles.

But the problems of national education are far from being limited to these immediate, practical aims. Its workings must not alone cover the present and its necessities; the great plan of national education must comprehend unborn generations, the future of our race, the immediate and therefore the most distant. Finally, man must not be educated for the State alone (after the manner of Greece and Rome), but the highest civil and educational aim must be to lead the individual and the whole race toward their moral perfection. National education must therefore extend beyond the popular and expedient; must construct its foundations on pure and universal humanity, and then raise upon these whatever national and professional wants require. This gradation of requirements strictly held, will prove to be a guiding rule of great importance.

Here now, it may seem—and "idealizing educators" have frequently received such reproaches—as if in these demands, far off, impossible

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* Translated by Emily Meyer, with slight verbal alterations and abridgements.

problems were treated of, as if educational utopias were desired, instead of looking after what is nearest and most necessary. And one could say, even with an appearance of right, that inasmuch as we perform what is near and sure, we approach, at least progressively, our highest goal. For national education is a work so comprehensive, complicated and prodigious, that it can be realized only in favorable periods and within very circumscribed limits.

Admitting this last, we hope still to show how directly practical the consideration of that universal question of principle is, and that the education of the present will only reach its aim by beginning at this point. We are undeniably entering a new era. We are preparing to cast aside the last remnants of the middle ages. Inherited rights are precarious, or at least they can claim no legal sanction, while, nevertheless, much in our manners and customs remind us of the past. No one is compelled to serve another, and no individual enjoys in idleness the profits of another man's labor; but for each, labor and capacity are to be the sole supports of his position in life. Thus each is thrown upon his own exertions, and the path of unlimited competition and zealous effort is opened to all.

For this reason there should no longer be a privileged class, but to each, approximately at least, must be offered every thing which belongs to a universal human culture, and what his particular capacities demand or are able to appropriate. Only upon these two conditions can the citizen of the commonwealth be fitted for the future "struggle for existence," to continue equal to the increased requirements, and fulfill ably his chosen calling.

This new great principle of the equal rights of all to all which their talents can grasp, demands a plan of education fundamentally renovated and readjusted. In every given case, the education must be strictly proportional to the conditions which the period offers. But it can not be denied, that in the present period this proportional relation has not been reached; yes, there is even danger that it may be missed of, by a mistaken arrangement of details. For this reason, those upon whom the responsibility of educating rests, must recognize clearly the final aim of the same, and prepare it with practical certainty, through all the necessary grades. Above all, therefore, theoretically there must be no vacillation in principles, practically no failure in the correct issues! If we should succeed only in spreading a wholesome light over these two points, we should feel that we had solved our present problem.

Our politicians and State educators differ widely in regard to that aim; and this is the next ground where the struggle should begin. Whoever considers a republic the highest goal to which a State can attain, laments that he sees no republicans around him; these true education must make. But what the republican spirit, in which the people are to be educated, really is, there is no thorough insight. This spirit is the opposite of that which has till now existed, and which sees true freedom

only in a leveling equality, and the overthrow of old authority and social barriers; and above all admits no civil compulsion in education. Each individual must cultivate himself for such practical purposes as he chooses, and as well as he can. Education and its institutions must be entirely untrammeled. As a fitting example we can refer to what is related of North America, where the educational conditions, and the consequent family life, are free in general. The pupil is prepared, as early as possible, to help himself onward, in some form of profitable business. The greatest activity, and the richest accumulation of property, is the aim of each. Though German republicanism may reject these principles, it must still admit that there is consistency in them, and that if the State has no higher aim than to become a great industrial and fiscal institution, an immense phalanstery for the most enhanced pleasures of this mortal life, this purpose is being realized on the other side of the ocean, in a highly practical way, and without unnecessary complications; not, indeed, without already displaying the moral evils which unavoidably accompany its progress, and to which our republican sages persistently shut their eyes.

Those who find their ideal state in old feudalism, in simple submission to the fatherly care of "princes by the grace of God," and see in a full return to such conditions the only safety from the dangers of the present, must also contemplate a reform, indeed a retrograde movement, of the educational system. They will insist upon clinging to old things, even to preserving what is decayed, solely because it is consecrated by authority. Nor are we without example of this; for we find a North German State, betraying a lamentable inconsistency and blindness in settling the most important question of popular education, limits the range and thoroughness of instruction, and thus destroys the germs of its future growth as a State.

These two parties—we have mentioned only their extreme characteristics, while numerous intermediate grades exist—designate only the extreme limits of the antithesis, which touches all the political and social questions of the age. They stand upon the broad field of the literature and opinions of our time, as if separated by a wide chasm, and in irreconcilable hostility. They could, however, by returning to their first, true principles, and acquiring a clearer insight, be brought to recognize each other; and, instead of incessantly quarreling, be made to acknowledge their relative rights, and work harmoniously upon the common task of improving the education of the people. We consider it not only desirable, but possible, that the work of reconciliation should begin with a true appreciation of popular education, which is the common aim of both sides. By this we mean that the conservatives, who will sacrifice nothing which is sanctified by age and authority, do not see how, in thus destroying, that which is truly valuable and enduring can be preserved. For the new form in which it is to arise more enduringly, does not present itself so distinctly that they can recognize it. This gives

them a right to protest that it is better to retain the oldest positive form than sink into the nothingness of a bare negation; no new form should be introduced which is not at least a full compensation for the old.

On the other side, we see reformers too frequently losing themselves in what is external or unessential. They do not often get beyond empty plans of abolition. They are clear as to what they do not want, but do not perceive as clearly what is permanently to fill the place of that which they reject. They are deeply mistaken if they think, that, in ridding themselves of certain hindrances, they gain creative freedom, the power to erect a positive structure. We can not err, in asserting that most revolutions have failed and become unfortunately retrogressive, because their leaders did not know what they wanted, or at least what they ought to want.

In the first place, it is necessary to understand the past correctly, and to recognize clearly what in it has still a relative right to continue, and what must serve as a transitional basis and means for that which is new and necessary. The law of continuity, of gradual transition, which we see ruling organic life with irresistible sway, has also in all intellectual processes, whether political or social, its highest authorization, the violation of which never escapes punishment. We might call it the educational law of the world's history.

If we may be allowed to presume that, as a general thing, the best thinkers agree upon these fundamental principles, then we may consider the following inference as admitted. It is plain, namely, that the path of this gradual, complete, and peaceful transition from the present into the new period, must take place in the field of education; for in the growing race, the old and new time, the decaying past and vigorously-developing future, meet and are reconciled. And thus in this direction, the decisive truth is proved:

All political and social controversies of the present concentrate finally in the question of education; but not only in regard to what must be done in detail and immediately, but more universally still, in this: What is the only true education, the education worthy of the human being?

This is plainly a psychological-ethical question. It can be decided—with the permission of our practical teachers—only on philosophical ground. Not—and here experience must be our guide—not that a certain philosophical system is to construct for all time, an educational plan which all must follow, but that correct insight into the nature of the human intellect must first fix the nature and the end of all human education, and must at the same time designate the fundamental principles by which the several questions of education and instruction are to be decided. Thus we shall be able to dispose of the final question: Which one, of the now ruling educational systems, is best adapted to the nature of the human mind?

(To be continued.)

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HARTFORD FEMALE SEMINARY AND ITS FOUNDER.*

EDUCATIONAL REMINISCENCES.

CATHARINE ESTHER BEECHER, the founder of the Hartford Female Seminary, and the able advocate for fifty years (1828 to 1878) of judicious improvements, and extensions in the education of American women, was born on the 6th of September, 1800, at East Hampton, Long Island, where her father, Lyman Beecher, D.D., the eminent preacher, and one of the earliest denouncers of all alcoholic drinks, was at that time pastor of the Congregational Church. Her early domestic training, and the educational agencies and surroundings of her father's family, both at East Hampton and Litchfield, are most instructively described in the "Autobiography of Lyman Beecher," and the valuable little volume of "Reminiscences," published by herself, in 1874.

Domestic Training.

It was my good fortune to be born in humble circumstances, the eldest of thirteen children, all but two trained to maturity, and most of them in a good degree under my care through infancy and childhood.

My mother lived till I was fifteen, and she and her sisters taught me to read, write and spell, with a few lessons in geography. They also gave me a little instruction in arithmetic which was soon forgotten.

They also taught me to sew neatly, to knit, to perform properly many kinds of domestic labor, and to aid in the care and training of the younger children. My mother taught me to draw and paint in water colors, and then to varnish with a fine white varnish she learned how to prepare from a small English Encyclopedia. When about fourteen I thus painted and varnished a chamber set of fine white wood made to order, including bureau, dressing table, candle-stand, washstand and bedstead. These were ornamented with landscapes, fruits and flowers, and at that time were a great novelty.

Much of my success in after life has been owing to certain traits in my mother's character and their influence on my early training. These were a *high ideal* of excellence in whatever she attempted, a habit of regarding all knowledge with reference to its *practical* usefulness, and remarkable *perseverance* in holding on persistently till the object sought was attained.

In illustration of these traits, at one time my father bought a bale of cotton simply because it was cheap, without the least idea or plan for its use. On its arrival, my mother projected a carpet for her parlor, such an article being unused through the whole primitive town, where in place of carpet were lumps of wet sand evenly trodden down, and then stroked with a broom into zig-zag lines. So she carded and spun the cotton, hired it woven, cut and sewed it to fit the parlor, stretched and nailed it to the garret floor, and brushed it over with thin paste. Then she sent to her New York brother for oil-paints, learned how to prepare them, from an encyclopedia, and then adorned the carpet with groups of flowers, imitating those in her small yard and garden. In like manner she painted a set of old wooden chairs, adorned them with gilt paper cut

* This article, designed for *Number Ten*, takes the place of article 4 as printed in the Contents.

in pretty figures, and varnished them. This illustrates the esthetic element of her character directed to practical usefulness, while her beautiful specimens of needlework, her remarkable paintings of fruits, flowers and birds, her miniature likeness of friends on ivory, accomplished when the mother of four and five young children, a housekeeper and a teacher of a boarding school, are all illustrations of her high ideals and her perseverance in attaining excellence in most unfavorable circumstances.

Some of my own natural traits were decidedly the opposite of those of my mother, and what I accomplished in after life was in a good degree owing to her early training which modified these defects. But oh, the mournful, despairing hours when I saw the children at their sports, and I was confined till I had picked out the bad stitches, or remedied other carelessness, or had completed my appointed "stents!"

But I was trained to perfect and uncomplaining obedience, and after years of drilling I learned to perform whatever I attempted; at least with moderate excellence. But my good educators all had a hard task; for it seemed as if I had a decided genius for nothing but play and merriment.

Yet, in due time, even in childhood, I was comforted by finding that my uninteresting toils, with long sheets to be over-sewed and pillow-cases to be neatly hemmed, and other family duties, could be made available to amusement. For I contrived with scissors, needle, paint, and other matters to construct dolls of all sizes, sexes, and colors, and surround them with all manner of droll contrivances. For instance, the Queen of Sheba, with a gold crown, and her negro driver were seated in a chariot made of half a pumpkin, scooped out, shaped, and furnished with wheels, while four crook-neck squashes were transformed to horses for the chariot. With my brother's knife I whittled out ears and legs, and stuck them into the squashes; and I also made appropriate harness. When all was completed, I was amply rewarded by the surprise and hearty laugh of my father, and then by the merriment of all the family.

My object in thus introducing this and other items of family history is, to show that interest in practical duties not only tends to develop the intellectual powers, but that inequalities in mental powers may be remedied by appropriate culture. My father had that passionate love of children which makes it a pleasure to nurse and tend them, and which is generally deemed a distinctive element of the woman. But my mother, though eminently benevolent, tender, and sympathizing, had very little of it. I can not remember that I ever saw her fondle and caress her little ones as my father did; but her devotion to them seemed more like the pitying tenderness of a gentle angel.

Then, again, my father was imaginative, impulsive, and averse to hard study; while my mother was calm and self-possessed, and solved mathematical problems, not only for practical purposes, but because she enjoyed that kind of mental effort. My father was trained as a dialectician, and felt that he excelled in argumentation; and yet my mother, without any such training, he remarked, was the only person he had met that he felt was fully his equal in an argument. Thus my father seemed, by natural organization, to have what one usually deemed the natural traits of a woman, while my mother had some of those which often are claimed to be the distinctive attributes of man.

At sixteen, I lost this lovely mother, and her place for a time was taken by my father's sister, Aunt Esther, who, with her mother, removed to our house.

Grandma Beecher was a fine specimen of the Puritan character of the strictest pattern. She was naturally kind, generous, and sympathizing, as has been seen in her great tenderness for animals; in her wise and patient accommodation to her husband's hypochondriac infirmities; in her generous offer to give up her little patrimony rather than have father, her step-son, taken from college. Conscience was the predominating element in her character. She was strict with herself and strict with all around.

Aunt Esther, an only child, was brought up under the most rigid system of rules, to which she yielded the most exact and scrupulous obedience; and yet, such was her mother's fear that one so good and so bright would 'think more highly of herself than she ought to think,' that the result was most depressing on the character and happiness of the daughter. The habitual sense of her own shortcomings; the dread of any increase of responsibilities; the fear of sinful failure in whatever she should attempt; the quiet life she had led for so

many years with grandma in the little establishment of bedroom, parlor, and half a kitchen; her habits of extreme neatness and order—all these seemed to forbid even the wish that Aunt Esther should be asked to assume the management of such a household as ours.

At both Nutplains and East Hampton the style of housekeeping was of the simplest order, demanding little outlay of time or labor compared with more modern methods. The style of dress for children also required very little expense of material, or of time in making. Our mother was gifted with great skill and celerity in all manner of handicraft, and was industrious in the use of time. Thus neither mantua-maker, tailoress, or milliner had ever drawn on the family treasury. Kind, anxious, Aunt Esther had no gift in this line. As a close economist, as an accomplished cook, as systematic, orderly, and neat in all family arrangements, none could excel her, but with scissors and needle she felt helpless and less than nothing; so that, although she could patch and darn respectably, and grandma could knit and mend stockings, the preparation of wardrobes for the eight children rose before her as a mountain of difficulty. It was here that father's good sense, quick discernment, and tender sympathy intervened. He gently and tenderly made me understand the great kindness of grandma and Aunt Esther in giving up their own quiet and comfort to take care of us; he awakened my sympathy for Aunt Esther in her new and difficult position; he stimulated my generous ambition to supply my mother's place in the care of the younger children, especially in the department in which he assured me he knew I would excel, and where Aunt Esther needed help.

Oil and water were not more opposite than the habits of father and Aunt Esther, and yet they flowed along together in all the antagonisms of daily life without jar or friction. All Aunt Esther's rules and improvements were admired and commended, and, though often overridden, the contrite confession or droll excuse always brought a forgiving smile. Indeed, it was father's constant boast to Aunt Esther that, *naturally*, he was a man possessing great neatness, order, and system; that the only difficulty was, they were all *inside*, and that it was Aunt Esther's special mission to bring them out.

In this new administration the older children were brought in as co-laborers, inspired by the sympathetic, grateful and appreciative sentiments father communicated to the family. All the children were in habits of prompt obedience, were healthful, cheerful, and full of activity. With these busy workers around, and Aunt Esther to lead, every room, from garret to cellar, was put in neat and regular trim; every basket, bundle, box, and bag was overhauled, and every patch, remnant, and shred laid out smooth, sorted, and rolled, folded, or arranged in perfect order; all aged garments were mended to the last extremity of endurance; pegs and hooks were put in position, where coats, pantaloons, jackets, hats, caps, bonnets, shawls, and cloaks were to conform to the rule, 'a place for everything, and everything in its place.' The barn, the garden, and the orchard, were the only cities of refuge from this inflexible rule.

The special object of nightmare dread to Aunt Esther was *debt*. The fear that under her administration the expenditures would exceed the salary could be relieved by no possible calculations; and so we learned, on every hand, rules of the closest economy and calculation. We were saved, however, from all uncomfortable retrenchments by the abundance of gifts from generous and sympathizing friends and parishioners. So we gained the benefits without the evils. But, in spite of all, Aunt Esther was burdened with ceaseless anxiety. The responsibility of providing for the family, the care of eight young children as to wardrobe, health, and behavior, and the thousand and one responsibilities that rested upon one so exact, so conscientious, and so self-distrustful, was a burden too great to bear, and we all felt anxious and troubled to see her so burdened; yet she rarely complained, seldom found fault, and never scolded.

When I was sixteen, a second mother, aided by wealthy friends, introduced a more complete and refined style of housekeeping, which she had acquired or observed in the families of her two uncles, Gov. King, of Maine, and Rufus King, a former ambassador of the United States to England. Under her quiet and lady-like

rule, I again was trained to habits of system, order, and neatness entirely foreign to my natural, inherited traits. As it respects personal habits, while in the most unfavorable circumstances, she was a model of propriety and good taste. Though the mother of infants and step-mother to eight children, and at times with young lady boarders added to her cares, I think I never saw her appear in the morning, or at any other time, with an unneat or disordered dress. Her closets and drawers were at all times in perfect order; and even when most sleeping rooms are in confusion, her's was remarkable for its order. Her rule, for herself and for her subordinates, was always to put every article in its proper place as soon as it was released from use. For want of obedience to this rule, both housekeepers and servants, even after a general cleaning up, keep their surroundings in perpetual confusion. What she accomplished in our family in persevering punctuality, order, and neatness, with a husband and several children whose habits in these respects were directly contrary to her own, was a marvel. And it was done without the vulgar practice of scolding. She had a most sweet and gentle mode of speech, which, even in the most trying circumstances, never became loud or harsh.

School Training.

As to my school training, it amounted to very little. My mother, at the age of nine, had given me some instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and a good deal in drawing and painting.

My teacher, Miss Sarah Pierce, received me when only ten years old in her large school of young ladies. She had a quiet relish for humor and fun that made her very lenient toward one who never was any credit to her as a pupil, while my father was equally indulgent. Moreover, it was not till I left school, and Miss Pierce made her nephew, Mr. John P. Brace, her associate, that the higher branches were introduced, so that little else was required but the primary branches, drawing, painting, and music. In school and between schools I was incessantly busy in concocting or accomplishing plans for amusement. One of these methods, in which my fun-loving associates aided, was a fashion practiced by many in the school, of adroit guessing. Then I would learn the answer sometimes to only one question, and my associates, by unnoticed change of places, would contrive to have it come to me. With these contrivances and a few snatches at books, I managed to slip along without much trouble. Occasionally my teacher would express wonder as to when and how my lessons were learned, and complimented me as "the busiest of all creatures in doing nothing."

PREPARATION FOR TEACHING.

When nearly twenty I began preparation to teach, by taking lessons on the piano, and in this, as in my domestic training, I was favored by a very thorough and accurate teacher. I had no special taste or talent in that direction as was manifest from the fact that when I was eleven years old, a lady parishioner gave me lessons for two years, and having no piano, I did not feel interest enough to accept her invitation or that of another friend to use their instruments.

My success in this case was chiefly owing to the quickening of my faculties by *interest* in gaining a *practical* result, that of making myself independent, and aiding to support my family. For though I had forgotten both notes and keys, under the training of a friend warmly interested in my success, in a year and a half I was recommended to teach in a school, in New London, and play the organ in an Episcopal church. I also taught drawing and painting—having been further qualified by a lady who had taken lessons of the best masters in New York. But at that period very humble performances in these accomplishments gave satisfaction.

When, at twenty-two, I commenced preparation to teach 'the higher branches' in which I had had no knowledge, I also was favored by most thorough instruction from a friend in the family where I spent the winter. Then it was that I first took in hand the mystical performances in Daboll's Arithmetic, and as my domestic training had formed a habit of inquiring why any practical operation was to be performed, I began to annoy my teacher with demanding *why* the figures were to be put thus, and so, and *why* a given answer was gained. And so when I had pupils in this branch I taught as no book then in use did, and finally made an arithmetic first issued in manuscript by my teachers, and then published.*

School for Young Ladies at Hartford.

Then, associated with my next sister, I commenced a school for young ladies in Hartford, Conn. We began in the upper chamber of a store with seven young ladies, receiving none under twelve; and my younger sister (Harriet, afterwards married to Prof. Calvin E. Stowe) joined us as a pupil when she had attained that age.

Soon the increase of pupils removed us to a larger chamber, and

* Of this book Prof. Olmstead, of Yale College, wrote to me thus:

'Your Arithmetic I have put into the hands of my children, giving it a decided preference over those in common use. Reflecting how I might best serve you, it has occurred to me that when your revised edition is out, I may write a notice of it, more or less extended, for the *Christian Spectator*, which could be used by your publisher.'

thence to the basement of a church, where nearly one hundred young ladies had only one room, no globe or large maps, and, most of the time, no blackboard, and only two teachers. At this time I had heard that Mrs. Willard and one or two others were teaching the higher branches, but I knew nothing of their methods. All the improvements I made were the result of the practical training of domestic life, in which the constant aim had been to find the *best* way of doing any thing and every thing; together with the very thorough manner in which, at mature age, I was taught.

Owing to previous neglect in the proper training of my pupils, I had to form classes in different degrees of advancement in all the primary branches, in addition to those in the higher branches, and, in consequence, scarcely ten minutes could be allowed to each class for recitation; and even then, I had to employ some of my best scholars as assistant pupils, a method which afterwards was reduced to a system and proved a most invaluable method,* as will be shown hereafter.

But at this time the whole process of our school-keeping consisted in trying to discover how much each pupil had committed to memory without any help from her teacher; nor could it be ascertained how much was clearly understood, or how much was mere memorizing of words. To preserve order while attending to recitations all in one room, to hear such a succession of classes in so many different studies, to endure such a round of confusion, haste, and imperfection, with the sad conviction that nothing was done as it should be, now returns to memory as a painful and distracting dream. The only pleasant recollection is that of my own careful and exact training under my most accurate and faithful brother Edward, and my reproduction of it to my sister Harriet and two others of my brightest pupils. With them, I read most of Virgil's Æneid and Bucolics, a few of Cicero's Orations, and some of the finest parts of Ovid—portions of the last being turned into English verse by one of the class. In addition to their proficiency as scholars, knowing my love of humor, they frequently contrived to intersperse some merriment with their lessons. For example, when studying the story of Phœbus delivering the chariot of the Sun to his son Phæton, they remembered that old ladies driving a horse and chaise, and having no other resource, would sometimes double up the long reins and use them as a whip. And so, in the passage where Phœbus, with tearful eyes, delivered the reins, he said:

* The people of Hartford were familiar with this method by the experiment of the Monitorial School established after Lancaster's method, in 1818.

'Parce, puer, stimulis, et fortius utere loris.'—Ovid Meta., II. 127.

When they came to this line, all of them restraining their merriment and looking as usual, one of them translated it thus:

Oh, my son, save the whip,
And use the ends of the reins!

They were rewarded, first by my puzzled look of astonished inquiry, followed by a burst of simultaneous laughter, so long continued as to attract the whole school to learn the cause.

HARTFORD FEMALE SEMINARY.

At the end of four laborious years, I drew the plan of the present seminary, except the part containing the Calisthenic hall,—Mr. Daniel Wadsworth aiding in preparing the front elevation. This I submitted to some of the leading gentlemen of Hartford, and asked to have such a building erected by subscription. Many of them were surprised and almost dismayed at the 'visionary and impracticable' suggestion, and when it became current that I wanted a study hall to hold one hundred and fifty pupils, a lecture room, and six recitation rooms, the absurdity of it was apparent to most of the city fathers, and, with some excited ridicule. But the more intelligent and influential women came to my aid, and soon all I sought was granted. This was my first experience of the moral power and good judgment of American women, which has been my chief reliance ever since.

Methods of Instruction and Discipline 1829–1836.

It was eight years from the commencement of my school, when, my health beginning to fail, I was requested, by the trustees, to prepare a statement of my modes of teaching and management for the use of my successors. This was put, in an enlarged form, in a small volume entitled, *Suggestions on Education*, which excited much attention both at home and in Europe.

The following is a brief outline of that volume with additional particulars:

My first attempt was to secure, as far as possible, the *division of labor and responsibility peculiar to our college system.* To each teacher was given the charge of only two or three branches, and with her were associated the brightest and best scholars in her classes as *assistant pupils.* I trained the teachers, they repeating the same drill to the assistant pupils, who thus were prepared to become teachers. For I deemed it as important for them to learn how to communicate as to acquire knowledge.

This method enabled me to have small classes, and to put together, in one class, only those equal in abilities and acquirements;

so that none were hurried forward and none retarded for the sake of others, as is the common fault of large classes. Thus, in Arithmetic, there were at one time—say, three classes in diverse degrees of advancement in three adjacent recitation rooms, the walls of which were lined with blackboards. In these, from six to ten pupils were simultaneously performing exercises under the care of an 'assistant pupil,' while the teacher responsible for these branches was passing from one room to another, either superintending or teaching.

Another feature was the generalization of the leading principles of each study, and the avoidance of details. Thus in Arithmetic, instead of the usual long and multitudinous examples under each of the 'ground rules,' the pupils were trained to do, at one time, a simple problem in Common Addition, Compound Addition, Addition of Vulgar and of Decimal Fractions, and then to point out wherein these methods were alike, and where they differed. The same was required in Subtraction, Multiplication, and Division. It was found that, when this was thoroughly mastered, but very few of the many other processes which fill our school Arithmetics were needful, or they could easily be acquired at any time in after life, when cube-roots, tare and tret, and other practical exercises were needed, as they rarely are, by a woman in her domestic affairs.

In geography, Woodbridge & Willard's Geography was the text-book in which very short lessons were given to commit to memory, and each recitation-hour was chiefly occupied, by the teacher, with interesting connected details of history or accounts of travelers. The plan of that Geography, with this method of recitation, saved an immense amount of time and labor required by most of our geographies. For example, after the *isothermal lines* were thoroughly understood, and the productions and animals of the globe classified according to these lines, a pupil could tell the chief productions of any country in the world without further study. But most geographies now require an account of the productions of each separate country, unaided by such *generalization*, thus greatly increasing the demand on time and labor. The same method was adopted in many other cases by generalizations not found in geographies that have supplanted this one so much more philosophical.

Another method was associating kindred and connected branches. Thus the lessons of geography and history would be connected with simultaneous periods in polite literature and the history of civilization, and the exercises in composition would sometimes be arranged with the same general object.

Another method attempted was to excite an interest for *discovering* new or other methods than those of the text-book. For example, the classes in Geometry were told that there was more than one method for demonstrating the 47th Prop. of Euclid, and all were excited to discover another, and it was most interesting to witness the intellectual activity and the enthusiasm of success in so large a proportion of the pupils.

In teaching Reading, we had remarkable advantages and success. Near that time, first appeared Dr. Rush's philosophical work on the *Cultivation of the Human Voice*, and Dr. Barber, an English Professor of Elocution, and who adopted methods suggested by Dr. Rush, came to this country. After he had taught classes at Harvard with great approval, I engaged his services for my classes. At that time, Miss Caroline Munger was one of my teachers, who had a remarkably charming voice, and, with Dr. Barber to aid, became the finest and most agreeable reader I ever heard. She was also enthusiastic in her efforts in training her classes and remedying defects, and her success was remarkable.

Our method of correcting bad spelling was new at that time, and very successful, but need not here be detailed. In teaching Grammar on the blackboard, I have seen the youngest pupils gain, in two or three weeks, all that was of any use until they came to practice our exercises in composition. These methods secured in a few months what often in our common schools is the uninteresting labor of years, as alternately learned vaguely and then forgotten, then learned again, and again forgotten.

The art of composition has seldom been made the subject of *instruction* in schools, and the success of classes under the care of my sister, Mrs. Stowe, was so remarkable that the methods pursued are worthy of notice.

The first exercise was to provide a stock of *words*, by reading a short, classical story, explaining the meaning of every new or difficult word, and then requiring the pupils to use these words as they wrote the story on a slate, we having already explained and illustrated on the blackboard the use of capitals, punctuation, and paragraphing. Then these slates were corrected by the teacher and assistant pupils, and, next day, the composition was neatly copied, folded properly, and brought to the teacher. These exercises were to be constantly varied as to the authors and subjects selected, and all but copying was to be done in the Composition Room.

Next, an extract from some classic writer was read over twice,

and then the pupils wrote the principal words in this passage, their meaning being first explained. Then the passage was read a third time, and the pupils were required to write on their slates the same passages as nearly as remembered, introducing all the words given them. This also was criticised and corrected by the teacher and assistant pupils, to be neatly copied and returned next day. The teacher would daily select passages from a variety of standard classic writers, point out the peculiarity of style in each; while the pupils, by thus imitating various authors, gradually acquired both a large stock of words and facility in varied modes of expression and style of writing.

Next was taught *methodical arrangement.* This the teacher first explained and illustrated by a general outline of an article, followed by the reading of it, thus analyzed. Then the pupils copied on slates, from dictation, this skeleton or analysis, and were required to fill it out and bring it next day, having heard the piece read the second and perhaps the third time in the class-room.

Next, the teacher selected a subject and proposed questions to excite inquiry and discussion. Then, she gave her own views on the subject, and the way she would prepare her outline or skeleton. Then the pupils were required each to prepare a skeleton, which was duly criticised, and next day it was to be filled out by the class and presented for correction and criticism. This last exercise was often repeated.

Next was taught the use of *poetic language*, by first instructing in the use of poetic feet and rhymes, and then requiring a short piece of poetry to be turned to prose, and then, without committing to memory, to change the prose back to poetry.

To mature and advanced pupils, *unity* and *method* were taught, by giving some essay with several chapters (for example, one of Macaulay's essays), and then requiring a written statement of the plan of the whole; then, an analysis of each chapter; then, of each paragraph, and its connection with the whole.

When this was all completed, the pupil was supposed to be prepared to write a composition.

This method was so interesting that the composition hour was looked forward to as the pleasantest part of school duty; and the results were such, as on any other plan, would seem incredible in pupils of such immaturity, were the method pursued unknown. Of course, in this, as in all other branches, success depends to a large

extent on the qualifications of the teacher, and the power of *exciting interest* in the pupils.

Another important particular was the *exact and thorough* knowledge gained by *repetitions* of lessons and general examinations. When any kind of knowledge is gained with little interest and in an indistinct way, it soon fades from the memory, and thus many pupils lose nearly as fast as they gain. Our method was a weekly review, with the anticipation of a fortnight public examination before visitors at the close of each term. And if laggards were found in any class, they were liable to be detained after school and drilled till the neglected lesson was perfect. Our aim was to have all so perfect in daily lessons that the weeks of examination would not be periods of unusual exertion except to the dull or the negligent, who were then special objects of attention from the chief teachers. Indeed, it was the rule to give most care and labor to the weaker lambs of the fold, whatever were the cause of their deficiencies. It is too often the case that, for the credit of the school or the pleasure of teaching the brightest and best, this rule is reversed.

Another method, and one that excited the most notice, both in this country and abroad, was the attempt to remedy defects of mind, body and habits, and the conviction, strongly expressed, that this is practicable, and should be the prominent aim of all educators. This important principle was so successfully illustrated, even in so short a time and with such limited advantages, that some details to illustrate will be given.

The attempt to remedy physical defects came about in this manner: An English lady of fine person and manner came to us as a teacher of what then had no name, but now would be called *Calisthenics*. She gave a large number of the exercises that are in my work on *Physiology and Calisthenics*, published by the Harpers, and narrated how she had cured deformities in others by her methods. What interested us most was her assurance that, until maturity, she had a curvature of the spine that was a sad deformity, being what was called a humpback, and yet there she was, a model of fine proportion and gracefulness. The whole school took lessons of her, and I added others; and though the results were not conspicuous, they convinced me that far more might be done in this direction than was ever imagined or would be credited without ocular demonstration. From this came the system of Calisthenics which I invented, which spread all over the country, and which Dio Lewis, courteously giving me due credit, modified and made additions to, some of which

I deem not improvements but objectionable, for reasons stated elsewhere.

Still more interesting were some of our attempts in remedying intellectual defects. For example, our best mathematical teacher came with the case of a bright pupil who could not be made to understand the *reasoning* process in demonstrating a proposition in Euclid. She had a quick memory, would learn the letters and the demonstration as a mere memoriter exercise, and when, in the diagram, the teacher substituted figures for letters, in a few minutes she would commit to memory the change so as to repeat the exercise as a mere effort of memory. I took the case myself, and at first was convinced of an entire lacking of some mental power. But perseverance conquered, and, as soon as she understood the process, she was delighted with her lessons, and eventually became one of my best teachers in mathematics.

In another case, a pupil who was not remarkably bright in any direction, seemed entirely destitute of the faculties that appreciate poetry and fine writing. Mrs. Stowe having her in her class of composition, we experimented as to what could be done to remedy this deficiency. The result was she not only acquired a taste for poetry and imaginative writing, but composed a piece of poetry which was read at our public examination as one of the best selections of composition. These examples, among many others, were proof of the possibility of remedying, to a certain extent, any intellectual defect, and of the practicability of thus securing, by educational training, a *well-balanced mind.*

Another feature of the school, which at that time was unusual, was the mode of government pursued. One of the teachers, whose character was suited to such duties, was appointed Governess. Her duties included the care of the building and apparatus, and the enforcing of rules of order and neatness. She presided in the study hall, assembled and dismissed school, attended to the sending and return of classes, saw that each class had its teacher, received daily reports of lessons and behavior, and kept a record and school journal. Excuses, permissions, and acknowledgements of violated rules were made to the Governess, and, while presiding in the hall, she attended to classes in penmanship. This released the teachers from all these responsibilities.

At first, the principles of competition and emulation were freely employed, but experience taught a safer and better way; for a school of one hundred and fifty was more perfectly governed without these

principles than by their aid. No prizes were given, no rewards were offered for any degree of *comparative* merit, but the following were the chief methods employed:

The pupils from abroad, numbering 120 to 160, were distributed into such private families as would coöperate in promoting a healthful moral influence, and, in most cases, with a teacher in the same family. Multitudes all over the land will remember with gratitude Mrs. Dr. Cogswell, Mrs. Maj. Caldwell, Mrs. Dr. Strong, Mrs. Henry L. Ellsworth, Mrs. William Watson, and other ladies of high position, culture, and religious principle, who were happy to aid in this good work by receiving a teacher, and from four to ten scholars as boarders, and who proved invaluable helpers in all efforts for the good of the school.

Next and chief was the harmonious personal influence of the teachers. It was expected that they would mingle with the scholars as companions to aid in their studies and share their amusements, and thus gain a knowledge of their habits and peculiarities. The sympathy and coöperation of the ten or twelve assistant pupils was equal to that of the principal teachers, and, in some cases, was superior, owing to their more intimate access to their companions.

At the frequent meeting of my teachers and assistant pupils, the names of all the pupils were called over, and suggestions sought as to what each one needed, and then those requiring most attention were committed to the special love and care of the one best qualified to aid. Every morning it was my duty to read the Bible and conduct the religious worship, the teachers all being present, and prepared to coöperate in all that I proposed for moral and religious culture. In all the duties urged, I always found authority and support in the Divine Word. I endeavored to present God as a loving Father, and to make it plain that his 'glory,' like that of earthly parents, consisted in the virtue and true happiness of all his children. I showed them that there are right ways and wrong ways of making ourselves and others happy; that Jesus Christ came to teach the only right way; and that those only can be truly and forever happy who make it their chief aim to follow his example and teachings. I showed them that our Heavenly Parent is chiefly glorious as the Great *Happiness Maker*, and that the first sermon of our Lord teaches that it is by making *true* happiness that we become children of God.*

* 'Blessed are the *happiness-makers*, for they are the children of God' is the more correct translation from the Syriac, which was the language of Jesus Christ.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

By such public instructions, and by private meetings for prayer and conversation with both teachers and scholars, a silent religious influence pervaded the school. Each teacher and assistant pupil, and all the scholars who had commenced a religious life, were requested to select at least one member of the school who was not thus committed, and suggestions were made as to the best way to exert an influence either by conversation or notes. At these private meetings, results were reported and further counsel obtained. Thus for several years, every term witnessed what would be called a 'revival of religion,' though like the kingdom of Heaven which 'cometh without observation,' it was quiet and gentle as the falling of the dew.

Many were, thus, not only led to commence a religious life, but were taught the duty and best methods of influencing others. Such success imparted the conviction that, should moral and religious influence have its proper place in the methods of any school, few pupils would ever leave it destitute of a true and cheerful piety.

But, in order to such success, it would be requisite that at least one properly qualified teacher should have it her special department thus to guide other teachers as her helpers, to watch over the habits, correct the faults, and form the principles of all the pupils. In the celebrated institution of Fellenberg, at Hofwyll, there was one class of *educators* in distinction from those *teachers* whose chief labor was the communication of knowledge and the developing of intellect. Education in this country will never reach its highest end, till the care of the physical, social, and moral interests shall take precedence of mere intellectual development and acquirements.

In this account, reference is had chiefly to the last years of my care of the school, after the teachers had more or less learned to share my responsibilities.

All *espionage* by which the misconduct of companions was reported, involving disgrace or penalties, was discouraged. But it is rarely the case that any pupils will object to having their companions speak freely of their faults, when a teacher with the best of motives seeks to know deficiencies that they may be remedied. It can easily be found who are willing, and those who are not should receive increased care and watchfulness from the teachers.

Few, except those who have followed a similar course, are aware how practicable it is to cure almost every defect of person, habits, manners, temper, and principles. The indolent can be made industrious, the volatile be made regular, the ill-natured, amiable; the

selfish, regardful of the feelings and rights of others; the obstinate and impracticable, yielding and docile. But to do all this requires a rare degree of self-denial, patience, perseverance, and ingenuity in the teacher, together with *experience* and *instruction* from those who have had experience.

Learning by Teaching.

The most remarkable case of the culture of undeveloped or deficient intellectual faculties, in the Hartford Seminary, was my own. In Mental Philosophy I had neither taste nor acquirements, and so I gave my first class in that study to a teacher who claimed to be much interested in it. She was my room-mate, and an entire novice in abstract reasoning. She had a very intelligent class, who plied her with questions, so that she was constantly appealing to me for aid. Eventually, I took the class myself. Soon I became deeply interested in this study; for I had been led to my profession by most profound and agitating fears of dangers in the life to come, not only for myself, but for a dear friend who, according to the views in which I had been trained, had died unprepared. 'What must we do to be saved?' became the agonizing inquiry for myself and all I loved most.

While I was simultaneously teaching Mental Philosophy and the Bible, I gradually learned that the interpretation of the Bible and the true mode of training mind to safety in both this and the future life were based on the nature of mind and the proper modes of control as developed in philosophical writings. Thus excited by the *practical* bearing of the study, I sought and read Locke, Reid, Stewart, Brown, and other works in English, and also went to those who read Greek and German for the views of Aristotle and Kant. In this course, I not only gained great relief as to religious views, but much to aid in the culture of mind.

Then I began to give lectures to the school, and, finally, I had them printed as a text-book for my classes.*

[* That the book had singular merit, in spite of the suspected orthodoxy of some of the views of religious truth, is evident from the estimation in which it was held by Prof. McGuffey of Miami University, Ohio, afterwards Professor of Mental Philosophy in the University of Virginia. After reading the book, he introduced it as the text-book of his college class, and at the close of that term wrote to me thus:

'We however have not discharged our obligations to you when the book is paid for. For my part, I have rarely derived more pleasure or advantage from the same number of pages. Your book possesses, in no ordinary degree, that best of all qualities in a text-book, *incentives to investigation*. In many things I esteem it *fearlessly original*, as well as *felicitously correct*. I should rejoice to see a new edition supplying the canceled pages, and perhaps the causes that induced this suppression do not now exist in equal force.'

A professor in another institution wrote to a friend of mine thus:

'We have sent for Abercrombie's work on Mental Science, but I doubt whether it will be of

INFLUENCE OF THE SEMINARY.

To more fully appreciate what was accomplished and then lost, the character and subsequent history of the ladies of our 'faculty' should be taken into account. Of these, Miss Mary Dutton, who previously had aided her father in fitting boys for college, was the first well-qualified teacher that I gained to superintend in Latin and Mathematics. Mrs. Stowe, who was devoted to the seminary, departed when I did, and with Miss Dutton and two of my first assistant teachers established at Cincinnati the Western Female Institute. Afterwards Miss Dutton for several years was principal of the popular 'Grove Seminary,' in New Haven. Miss Frances Strong, who, with three of my assistant teachers, established in Alabama the Huntsville Female Seminary, after some six years was called to better places—first in New Orleans, then in Philadelphia, and finally became principal of the Hartford Seminary, where, as I did, she lost her health; but, worse than that, she also lost her life, a martyr to unhealthful and cruel exactions.

Miss Julia Hawks (Mrs. Gardell) was called to be principal of the seminary in Springfield, Mass., built expressly for her, and afterwards conducted the most popular seminary for young ladies in Philadelphia, where she lost her health, went abroad, and died on her travels.

Miss Lucy Ann Reed (Mrs. William C. Woodbridge) I made my associate principal, but she departed to private life, as did Miss Clarissa Brown (Mrs. Judge Parsons), my unequaled teacher in geography, and Miss C. Munger (Mrs. Washburn), my accomplished teacher of elocution. These ladies, and others less publicly known, were not so much my subordinate teachers as my wise counselors and sympathizing friends, to whose invention, discretion, and co-operation I greatly owed my success.

OVERWORK INEVITABLE IN UNENDOWED SEMINARIES.

The painful termination of my connection with the Hartford Seminary, after such successful effort, is connected with circumstances which should be deeply pondered by those who are founding or controlling institutions for women.

In order to this it is important that there should be more correct

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much use to us. I think the plan of Miss Beecher's work would suit better in this country than any other I have met. Could you procure some copies from her for us?'

These evidences of success from such competent judges were sent to a woman who, at the age of twenty-seven, had never read a work on Mental Science, owing to want of interest in the subject, and who completed the book in about four years from the time she first gave any attention to metaphysical investigations.]

ideas of what constitutes the true feature of a college in distinction from a high school or academy; for when that is determined it will be seen that there never yet has existed a college for women, though many schools for young girls have assumed this ambitious name.

The distinctive feature of a college is *endowments*, which secures a faculty of *co-equal* teachers, and such a division of labor, that, as the aim and general rule, each professor is responsible for instructing only one or two classes only one are two hours a day in only one or two departments. For this he secures a home, a salary to support a family, and an honorable profession for life. In every college thus endowed, the whole responsibility of government rests, not on an individual, but equally upon the whole faculty, who decide every thing by a majority vote. Then the corporation take certain responsibilities, the finances are managed by a treasurer, and the boarding is provided by clubs or private families—so that the faculty are relieved from all these cares.

Thus each member of the faculty is enabled to secure time for self-improvement and for the advancement of his special department, and is entirely independent of control from any individual. In consequence of these advantages, the highest class of instructors are secured; while all their pupils have a chance to prepare themselves for some one of the departments to which taste and talent would lead, and which would secure a home, a salary, and an honorable profession. At the same time libraries, apparatus, and other facilities for improvement are provided by public or private benefactions.

The preceding history of the Hartford Seminary shows a painful contrast to the advantages provided in colleges for young men. I began teaching and employing teachers without the previous preparation given to boys in preparatory schools, for no such had ever been offered to girls; and so I was obliged to train most of my teachers, as well as myself. Then no library or apparatus was provided, nor could the limited income from my tuition fees secure them. Then I was obliged to take the expenses and cares of housekeeping for several years, while all the instruction and government of the institution and finances rested on me alone. The selection and control of teachers and the course of study and the text-books rested solely with me. Thus I had all the responsibilities which in colleges are divided among the faculty, treasurer and boarding housekeeper, and at the same time taught four and five hours a day. All this on one woman, ignorant of her peculiar organization and of the danger of overworking brain and nerves.

True, I took eight hours for sleep, dressed healthfully, exercised an hour or two in open air, and gave each day an hour or two to social relaxation. But for twelve waking hours I was under constant pressure of labor and responsibility.

The decline of the Hartford Seminary after I left it was the necessary result of want of endowment. My successor, though an able teacher, was a man who had a family to support, and could not use all the school income, as I had done, to retain the highest class of teachers, to whom the experience and high reputation they had gained with me brought the offer of superior situations. Had this seminary been endowed with only half the funds bestowed on our poorest colleges for young men, and the college plan of divided responsibilities thus been made permanent, most of my best teachers would have been retained, or, if removed at diverse intervals, their places would have been supplied by the highest class of teachers, as are college professorships.

Before I relinquished this school, Hon. James Birney (afterwards the Abolition candidate for President of the United States) came to me to select a Principal for the Huntsville Female Seminary, Alabama, and then I first proposed the trial of a *faculty of co-equal teachers*, instead of a Principal with subordinates. This was adopted, and four of my teachers made the experiment for six years, with perfect success. But no *endowment* secured the needful permanency, and so one teacher left from ill health, and the others were called to more favorable positions.

Western Female Institute at Cincinnati.

[In 1833 Miss Beecher removed to Cincinnati where her father, Dr. Lyman Beecher, had entered on a new field of Pastoral and Theological labor.* We give a brief notice of her efforts here.]

When I removed to Cincinnati my health was such that it was hazardous for me to attempt any enterprise demanding continuous labor or responsibility. But I was immediately solicited to establish a school there of a higher order than any then existing.

I finally consented to provide superior teachers for a school, and to do myself all I safely could to sustain it. I asked for $500 to buy furniture and apparatus, and it was readily furnished. I secured four of my former teachers and pupils, and organized the school on the college plan of co-equal teachers. Soon there were more scholars than our rooms would accommodate. I then rented a fine building, central, retired, elevated, and surrounded with trees, and

* In Lane Theological Seminary, and as Pastor of the Walnut street Presbyterian Church

it was offered for sale on very low terms. Just at this time my friend, the Rev. Mr. Gallaudet, visited us, and consented to bring before the citizens the plan of purchasing this building for a permanent institution for educating the daughters of the city. A committee was formed to raise funds to buy the place. But there was no man to take the lead, and the committee were absorbed in their own affairs. Meantime, the question was asked, 'Suppose the funds are secured, have you health and strength to take charge of the financial management?' I could only answer in the negative. When asked, Who will do it? I could point to no one qualified who could be obtained. I tried to engage Mr. Gallaudet, but there were no funds for his support, and neither he or any other man competent for the enterprise would relinquish a fine position at such a hazard. The means could not be furnished without the proper man, and the proper man could not be obtained without the means.

When I had secured Mrs. Stowe, Miss Mary Dutton, and two others of my best teachers, to conduct the school on the college plan, they gave general satisfaction. I then attempted to secure an endowment from a large fund given by a Mr. Hughes for general education. The Trustees agreed to bestow it on condition that the citizens would provide a suitable building. I then started a subscription, headed by two gentlemen with a thousand dollars each, and several other gentlemen promised five hundred dollars each. But I had not strength to complete the subscription; the financial crash of 1837 came, the fine building we rented was sold to the Catholics for a nunnery, no other suitable one could be had, and so another of the finest schools I ever knew came to an end for want of endowments, such as then abounded on every side for young men.

School Gymnastics.

At this institution in Cincinnati I invented a course of calisthenic exercises, accompanied by music, which was an improvement on the one I adopted at Hartford. The aim was to secure all the advantages supposed to be gained in dancing-schools, with additional advantages for securing graceful movements to the sound of music. These exercises were extensively adopted in schools, both East and West, but finally passed away. One reason was that they demanded a piano or some other instrument, and a large room without furniture; another was the want of appreciation of physical exercise, and of the importance of training young girls to simple *gracefulness* of movement and person. To meet the first difficulty I arranged a system of exercises which could be used in a school-room without

removing desks and benches, either to be performed with or without music, and this method is found in my work on Physiology and Calisthenics, published by the Harpers, which has been extensively adopted.

Dr. Dio Lewis' system of gymnastics includes many of my methods, with additions which seem objectionable in these respects: they are so vigorous and *ungraceful* as to be more suitable for boys than for young ladies. They also demand a large room, an instrument, and a dress for the purpose. They also demand an attention to the state of health which has sometimes been so affected by them that not unfrequently they have done more harm than good and thus become unpopular with parents.

When physical education takes the proper place in our schools, young girls will be trained in the class-rooms to move head, hands, and arms gracefully; to sit, to stand, and to walk properly, and to pursue calisthenic exercises for physical development as a regular school duty as much as their studies. And these exercises, set to music, will be sought as the most agreeable of school duties.

Text-Book on Domestic Economy.

During the five years in which the Western Female Institute was sustained by my former teachers, I employed my pen in preparing my works on *Domestic Economy*, one as a text-book for schools for young women, and the other as a Receipt Book for all kinds of cooking and other family matters. The one to be used as a text-book was adopted as a part of the Massachusetts School Library. It also was introduced into various schools, both at the East and the West. Mr. George B. Emerson, the most popular and successful teacher of young ladies in Boston, used it in his classes, and advocated its general adoption in other schools, as follows:

'It may be objected that such things can not be taught by books. Why not? Why may not the structure of the human body, and the laws of health deduced therefrom, be as well taught as the laws of natural philosophy? Why are not the application of these laws to the management of infants and young children as important to a woman as the application of the rules of arithmetic to the extraction of the cube root? Why may not the properties of the atmosphere be explained, in reference to the proper ventilation of rooms, or exercise in the open air, as properly as to the burning of steel or sodium? Why is not the human skeleton as curious and interesting as the air-pump; and the action of the brain, as the action of a steam-engine? Why may not the healthiness of different kinds of food and drink, the proper modes of cooking, and the rules in reference to the modes and times of taking them, be discussed as properly as rules of grammar, or facts in history? Are not the principles that should regulate clothing, the rules of cleanliness, the advantages of early rising and domestic exercise, as readily communicated as the principles of mineralogy, or rules of syntax? Are not the rules of Jesus Christ, applied to refine *domestic manners* and preserve a *good temper*, as important as the abstract principles of ethics, as taught by Paley, Wayland, or Jouffroy? May not the advantages

of neatness, system, and order, be as well illustrated in showing how they contribute to the happiness of a family, as by showing how they add beauty to a copy-book, or a portfolio of drawings? Would not a teacher be as well employed in teaching the rules of economy, in regard to time and expenses, or in regard to dispensing charity, as in teaching double or single entry in book-keeping? Are not the principles that should guide in constructing a house, and in warming and ventilating it properly, as important to young girls as the principles of the Athenian Commonwealth, or the rules of Roman tactics? Is it not as important that children should be taught the dangers to the mental faculties when over-excited, on the one hand, or left unoccupied on the other, as to teach them the conflicting theories of political economy, or the speculations of metaphysicians? For ourselves, we have always found children, especially girls, peculiarly ready to listen to what they saw would prepare them for future duties. The truth that education would be *a preparation for actual, real life* has the greatest force with children. The constantly-recurring inquiry, 'What will be *the use* of this study?' is always satisfied by showing that it will prepare for any duty, relation, or office which, in the natural course of things, will be likely to come.

'We think the book extremely well suited to be used as text-book in schools for young ladies, and many chapters are well adapted for a reading book for children of both sexes.'

[To this commendation of the practical importance of the study of domestic economy, and of the book, as a text-book in schools for young ladies, and as a reading book in families, Miss Beecher adds the testimony of a young lady who has used this work with several classes of young girls and young ladies. 'She remarked that she had never known a school-book that awakened more interest, and that some young girls would learn a lesson in this when they would study nothing else. She remarked, also, that when reciting the chapter on the construction of houses, they became greatly interested in inventing plans of their own, which gave an opportunity to the teacher to point out difficulties and defects. Had this part of domestic economy been taught in schools, our land would not be so defaced with awkward, misshapen, inconvenient, and, at the same time, needlessly expensive houses. Nor would there be such waste of health and money in the selection of poor cook-stoves and furnaces, or the mismanagement of good ones. The book deserved the largest success, and the author's labors in this field so long, and so disastrously neglected, entitle her to a high place as a public benefactor.]

Although the writer was trained to the care of children, and to perform all branches of domestic duty, by some of the best of housekeepers, much in those pages was offered, not only as the result of her own experience, but as what had obtained the approbation of some of the most judicious mothers and housekeepers in the nation. The articles on Physiology and Hygiene, and those on Horticulture, were derived from standard works on these subjects, and are sanctioned by the highest authorities.'

WESTERN SCHOOLS AND EASTERN TEACHERS' AGENCY.

During several years that followed my removal to Cincinnati, my health was chiefly sustained by traveling; so that I made yearly visits to New England, and also visited friends and former pupils in the Western States.

Being extensively known at the West as an educator, I was constantly consulted for a supply of teachers. I was again and again told of extensive sections demanding many teachers. For example: a Committee of the Synod of Indiana wrote me that they would find schools for more than twenty women teachers if I would provide suitable ones. A reliable gentleman told me he would be responsible for good schools and good salaries for at least fifteen teachers, if I would select the proper persons.

At the same time I was constantly receiving letters from teachers in New England, asking help in finding schools. I had projected some agency that would bring teachers to Cincinnati, where they could be trained for their difficult duties, so that those seeking teachers would come to this establishment, and the parties thus negotiate face to face.

I then began an attempt to organize women *of all religious denominations*, to prosecute the preparations and employment of educated Christian women, and their transfer from the East to act as teachers in the destitute sections of the West and South.

At this time the agitation about woman's rights and wrongs was exciting public notice, and while I deeply sympathized in the effort to remedy the many disabilities and sufferings of my sex, it seemed to me the most speedy and effective remedy would be to train woman for her true profession as educator and chief minister of the family state, and to secure to her the honor and pecuniary reward which men gain in their professions.

To organize women for this end would escape much of the prejudice and opposition awakened by those who were attempting to introduce women into men's professions, and would be approved by the most conservative and fastidious, if conducted with discretion and propriety. From the commencement of my educational efforts, it was my practice always to seek the counsel of intelligent housekeepers, mothers, and school-teachers, and I never have adopted any important plans or measures till I had secured the approval of women of high culture who had gained practical wisdom in performing such duties.

Therefore my first measure was to consult ladies of influence and

good sense in the chief Protestant sects both at the East and West, and after gaining unanimous approval of what I was attempting, I organized a committee of ladies in Cincinnati to coöperate. Then I addressed letters of inquiry to gentlemen of influence and high position in our more destitute States, asking their counsel as to measures. At the same time, at my request, Professor Stowe, my brother-in-law, organized a committee of gentlemen from several religious denominations in Cincinnati to coöperate with the ladies.

[After accumulating evidence of the existence of a large number of teachers ready to go West, if suitable places and even moderate salaries could be assured, and also that there were places enough, if an intelligent local interest could be awakened, Miss Beecher directed her efforts to find the man who would do the work both at the East and the West.]

But here was an embarrassing dilemma. In order to obtain such a man a salary must be provided for his support, and in order to raise the salary, the right man must be secured. Which horn of the dilemma was to be chosen it was difficult to decide, and so I concluded to take both; that is, to find the right man who would engage to start without any funds pledged for his support, and at the same time to raise funds to support an agent, before a suitable one had been engaged.

My efforts to obtain the right person, when no salary could be secured, were continued for more than a year. I traveled, wrote, talked, argued, and persuaded, in various directions, and when foiled in a sixth application, and was commencing the *seventh*, I bethought me that worse than the distress of Israel's maidens had befallen me, for it was written, 'In that day seven women shall take hold of *one* man' for help, but, now, one woman was obliged to pursue *seven!*

At this period I prepared a volume entitled '*American Women, Will You Save Your Country?*' It came out anonymously, that it might not appear as from a mere individual. It was extensively circulated by the Harpers, who published it, and was sent, with a circular from the committee of ladies and gentlemen I had secured, to various influential ladies of the chief Protestant denominations, East and West. Soon contributions began to come to me. By this means, also, was formed the Boston *Ladies' Society for Promoting Education at the West*, which by sending excellent teachers did a noble work for several years.

It soon was apparent that no gentleman possessing the requisite character could be obtained until a proper salary was pledged. To

gain this I made a tour to many of our large cities with my young brother Thomas, who visited clergymen of the chief denominations, and by their aid secured large meetings of ladies, to whom he delivered the address I had prepared. As the result, such assurances were given as seemed to insure a proper salary to a suitable agent as soon as he could be found.

Meantime, a copy of my book and circular reached Governor Slade of Vermont, and he, through a friend, expressed a wish to aid in some way in such an enterprise.

MODEL HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

After raising needful funds, I made a tour through Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, and Wisconsin, where those needing help were located. Thus I learned their character, their wants, and the peculiar fields of labor in which they were stationed. And the record of zeal, discretion, self-denying labors and success, amid innumerable trials and difficulties of these two classes and of the succeeding ones, is worthy the brightest pages of the primitive church.

It was midwinter when such letters as have been given as specimens seemed to demand almost any risk on my part, and so, with funds furnished by the ladies of Brooklyn, New York, and Philadelphia, and a lady of enterprise and benevolence as traveling companion, I went to Burlington, Iowa, hired a house—spent three hundred dollars of my own in furniture—went to housekeeping—sent for ten of our teachers located on the Mississippi, or its branches, who were either ill or out of employment, and took care of them till I found new and suitable situations for all of them.

On this tour, or soon after, I visited Indianapolis, Davenport, Rock Island, Galena, Jacksonville, Quincy, and Milwaukee, to consult with their leading citizens in regard to the plan I had attempted, and in which Governor Slade and the Executive Committee of the Board of National Popular Education at Cleveland declined to take any part—except that of transferring teachers from the Eastern States, without providing for their protection and emergencies after location.

The plan as I presented it to the most influential ladies as well as gentlemen in those Western cities, was briefly this: To establish high schools at central points on the college plan of *a faculty of co-equal teachers*, instead of having a *principal with subordinates;* to have the trustees of the institutions represent the chief religious denominations, and also the faculty of instructors so far as it could

be done without sacrificing the requisites of superior experience and culture in the teachers selected, thus avoiding the great obstacles of sectarianism; to have a Normal Department in each, including every advantage obtained in Eastern Normal Schools, and one which would be far more economical than the Eastern method; to have a boarding-house for this Normal Department, so endowed as to serve as a *home* for teachers in all emergencies; to have committees of ladies from the larger denominations, both East and West, to aid in the selecting, training, and care of teachers, both from abroad and the State where the institutions were located; to have these institutions in large towns or cities, where pupils abound and can live at home, thus avoiding large outlays for buildings and expenses for board; and finally to employ *women* as agents, with proper salaries, as men employ agents of their own sex, to raise up and endow their colleges and professional schools.

This plan met universal and unanimous approval wherever I presented it. At Jacksonville, Pres. Sturtevant, of Illinois College, organized a committee of gentlemen from five different denominations to coöperate. At that place I found some of the managers of an association of ladies of Illinois, who for *seventeen years* had been raising funds in different parts of the State to educate women for teachers, the daughters of Home Missionaries, and orphan girls being special objects of attention, and the success of this quiet association was most remarkable and encouraging.

Milwaukee Female College.

On the recovery of my health [which had broken down under the harassing and ineffectual efforts to sustain two institutions, one at Burlington, Iowa, and the other at Quincy, Illinois] I was invited to come to Milwaukee, by Mrs. Rev. William L. Parsons, who was conducting a popular school. She offered to merge her school in such an institution and become one of its co-equal teachers if I would attempt to carry out such a plan in that city. Thus invited, I visited the place and was favorably impressed with the advantages it offered. With funds of my own, in addition to those given me by Eastern ladies, I offered to provide teachers, organize an institution on the college plan of co-equal teachers, and provide library and apparatus to the value of one thousand dollars, on condition that the citizens elected trustees from the several denominations, provided suitable temporary accommodations, and warranted a certain amount of tuition fees. Although these terms were not fully

met, the library and apparatus were furnished, and the school organized, which soon numbered over one hundred.

But a suitable building could not be provided by the citizens. For at that time this young city was only twenty years old and contained only twenty thousand inhabitants, a large portion being foreigners. During that short time they had to build their houses, stores, churches, school-houses, grade and pave their streets, and accomplish most of what in older States is done by a former generation. These extracts from a letter of one of the trustees show the difficulties to be met, and the generous character of the people:

Our city within a short time has expended thirty-two thousand five hundred dollars for public schools, having erected one large building in each ward, and the schools being entirely free.

Fifty thousand dollars have been spent in Protestant churches, and more than this has been spent by the Catholics. The city has spent over two hundred thousand dollars for *grading* alone, besides all the other improvements for which the city has been roundly taxed. Our taxes, as near as I can find out, must be *five per cent.* on the valuation of property, which valuation, however, is considerably below the real value. [An Eastern gentleman, residing there, told the author that if any Eastern city were taxed as were the inhabitants of Milwaukee, there would be a rebellion, and the taxes could never be collected.]

The Common Council, tired of waiting for Congress to aid them, have just voted what will involve an expenditure of some twenty thousand dollars for the improvement of our harbor.

Our capitalists are now straining every nerve to finish the 'Mississippi Railroad' and several plank-roads. These are absorbing interests to business men, and, to them, vastly more important than female seminaries.

For the past two years, *wheat*, the grand staple of Wisconsin, has failed, and the city and country around are sorely embarrassed by it. Many of our merchants are discouraged and almost ready to give up. They can not pay their debts, and have 'the blues' the worst way. The impression now is that we are to have another short crop, as much of the wheat is undoubtedly winter-killed. This discourages the farmers and makes them inefficient.

In this state of things, you can perhaps imagine what we should have to meet in attempting to raise funds for such a building as we need. One of our trustees, and a wealthy man, told me he knew not how to get money to pay his taxes, and that many would not be able to pay them. I think it is now out of the question if a building depends on money to be raised *here*. And unless we have a good crop this fall, it will be still more difficult next year. The Congregationalists have just built themselves a new church, and the Presbyterians are to build next year. The Episcopalians are aiming to have a school of their own, managed exclusively by themselves. Recent measures also are tending to influence the Presbyterians to independent sectarian action in establishing schools.

The institution you have established now has the profound confidence of the community. We *know* it to be so, and the attendance and interest shown at our public examinations *prove* it. We need nothing to establish it permanently and securely but a suitable building for its accommodation, and the continuance of such teachers as now constitute our faculty.

It is *the* School of Milwaukee, and destined to exert an amazing influence here if we can be supplied with the requisite accommodations. And success here is vastly important to the whole West, and I dread to have a failure.

The plan for the building which you have sent us is greatly admired. Everybody wants to have it erected. Our editors have talked well for us. But *the money is not here!* We have started a subscription, drawn up by one of our lawyers, who subscribed two hundred dollars, and we are going to try hard and see what we can do.

American Woman's Educational Association.

[Failing to get coöperation and aid from the Board of National Popular Education, Miss Beecher was successful in organizing in New York city, in 1852, another association of which the controlling managers were women.]

In May, 1852, two meetings of ladies selected from eight denominations in that city and elsewhere were convened. These ladies embraced women of large experience as housekeepers, mothers, and practical school-teachers, and to them were added several business and professional men of high position and character, from different religious denominations. This body was incorporated as the *American Woman's Education Association*, and Rev. Wm. L. Parsons was appointed General Agent, and Mrs. Parsons and Miss Mary Mortimer were the chief educational agents, while I relinquished all responsibility except as one of the managers. Mr. Parsons immediately succeeded in raising funds which, added to those raised by the citizens, secured the erection of the building needed, and, though with some mistakes, on the plan I had drawn, which was so much admired and approved by the citizens of Milwaukee.

The object of the Association, as set forth in its constitution, is briefly this: 'To aid in securing to American women a liberal education, honorable position, and remunerative employment *in their appropriate profession*, by means of *endowed* institutions, on the college plan of organization; these institutions to include all that is gained by normal schools, and also to train women to be healthful, intelligent, and successful wives, mothers, and housekeepers.'

In their first Report, the managers say: 'At first the offer was made of a library and apparatus to the value of one thousand dollars, on condition that the citizens of Milwaukee should furnish suitable temporary accommodations, and guarantee the support of four superior teachers by tuition fees. This being done, the institution was organized on the college plan, and soon numbered one hundred and forty pupils. Then it was proposed that the citizens should erect a suitable building, on condition that the Association should *attempt* to raise $20,000 for an endowment. *By the aid of Eastern friends* this was done, and a gentleman in New York became responsible for that sum, and for a time paid the interest on it, intending soon to advance the principal.'

In the second annual report we find these details: 'But two years have elapsed since this Association was formed, and we have secured the establishment of two institutions, one at Milwaukee, Wis., and

the other at Dubuque, Iowa, with noble faculties, training from two to three hundred pupils. At Milwaukee the pupils have numbered one hundred and sixty; twenty-five have gone out as teachers; seven have become honored graduates, and many young ladies are enthusiastically pursuing their studies, so that increasingly large classes will graduate each coming year. Our institution at Dubuque has commenced with most favorable auspices. The city, though numbering only 9,000, has done nobly, expending some $17,000 on grounds and a building like that at Milwaukee. All the leading gentlemen of the city, of every political party and religious denomination, are of one accord in sustaining the school. We are also encouraged by two gentlemen to expect the amount needed to endow these two institutions. The citizens of Kalamazoo, Mich., are deeply interested in our plan, and prominent gentlemen have urged us to make that place the point for our next institution.'

The *economy* of this method of establishing institutions for the higher education of women is deserving of special notice. For by one operation at Milwaukee, and with so small an outlay, were secured a permanent high-school for girls, and a Normal School as valuable as those of Massachusetts and New York, which have demanded large outlays for buildings, and some of them an income of $10,000 a year from the State. By placing the institution in the city instead of a small place, the necessity of large buildings for board and lodging, and the evils of boarding-school life are avoided.

The portion of our plan which was not completed was the endowment and organization of the *Health* and *Domestic* Departments; each to have a Principal and Associate Principal. According to this plan, the Principal of the Health Department would maintain a system of physical training in which both teachers and pupils would take part, the aim being to develop perfectly every bodily organ, to remedy personal habits and defects, to teach a lady-like carriage of the body, the easy and proper mode of walking and sitting, graceful movement of the hand, arms, and body; to sustain a graceful as well as healthful and pleasing system of Calisthenic exercise as part of school duty; to enforce all the laws of health; to lecture on the distinctive duties of wife and mother to the graduating classes; to teach the classes in Physiology; to superintend the teachers of Writing and Drawing, and, finally, to supervise the whole establishment as it respects warming and ventilation.

The Principals of the Domestic Department would have the

charge of all relating to the æsthetic, social, and domestic, and teach both the science and practice of Domestic Economy. They would by lectures and books instruct in the fine arts, and superintend classes in needle-work, and the cutting and fitting, cleansing and mending of clothing. The supervision of the school and family building would belong to this department.

WOMEN MUST BE EDUCATED FOR FAMILY DUTIES.

The most important and influential of all our educational institutions is that of the family, in which the housekeeper and mother is the chief minister, with her kitchen, nursery, and school assistants.

Without discussing the relative intellectual abilities of the two sexes, all will allow that the training of the human mind in early life is unsurpassed in difficulty and importance, and that this is committed to woman more extensively than to man. In this view of the case, no educational question is of such vital importance as the appropriate education of woman for the *Duties of the Family State.*

In offering suggestions on these topics, some additional details of personal history will be introduced to illustrate the importance of certain principles of mind which have been greatly neglected both in family and school education.

The first of these principles is the influence of excited interest to gain some *practical good* in quickening intellectual vigor, and in securing accurate perceptions and consequent long retention of memory. This will be illustrated by my own personal history before and after the period of school education. At the age of twenty, all my knowledge of geography, grammar, and arithmetic had been gained without the interest that would have attended a perception of their practical use, and so nearly all had faded from memory. But the multiplied duties of a housekeeper and mother, which were shared by me as eldest daughter, awakened the highest interest, as the motives of love, duty, and practical usefulness called into vigorous exercise every intellectual faculty. Afterward, by religious motives, and the necessity of self-support by teaching, I was again incited to renewed and more successful efforts at acquiring knowledge from books, in view of a practical good to be gained, while my instructors were exact and thorough. Studying and teaching at the same time, I was only a little in advance of my classes of bright and active minds, excited by entering with me into fields of knowledge hitherto barred from our sex. Thus simultaneously as teacher and pupil, I learned the importance of a practical aim and also the value of frequent repetition in both acquiring and retaining knowledge.

After establishing my school, I found myself on the threshhold of further studies. In Latin, French, and mathematics I took only a short course that would aid me for the practical end of preparing and supervising my teachers, and judging of their methods with their classes. This being attained, my interest and attention were turned to other practical matters. When obliged to teach classes in mental philosophy, and to give daily instruction in the Bible, my interest was again aroused by the supremest motives, in the education of immortal minds, most of them to become future mothers and teachers.

The importance of care and faithfulness in family training is seen in the practice of the Jews. At one of their synagogues I observed that the men wore scarfs with a colored border, and was told that this was their weekly reminder at their worship of these words of their law, so greatly reverenced:

Ye shall lay up these my words (saith Jehovah) in your hearts and in your souls. And ye shall teach them to your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down and when thou risest up. And thou shalt write them on the door-posts of thy house, and upon thy gates, and bind them as a sign on your hand, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes, that your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children.

In none of our educational institutions have there been consistent and successful methods maintained to form the *Habits of System, Order, and Punctuality*, which are even more important in the employments of the family state than in the pursuits of business men. And no where are the diversities of mental organization more marked than in these particulars. Some minds have a natural tendency to system, order, and punctuality, and little effort is needed to form these habits. But in other minds there is a constitutional aversion to conformity to such rules, or, indeed, to any rules. This is specially noticeable in minds in which imagination and fancy predominate. It is by the housekeeper and mother that such habits must be formed in early life, and there are none more important to the comfort and repose of the family.

It will be asked, Can these constitutional defects be remedied by education? My own happy experience is an encouraging reply, for there never was a more unpromising subject to train to habits of punctuality, system, and order. And yet the gentle and persevering discipline of my early educators did secure these habits, and they have proved some of the chief causes of comfort and success. And what has been done for me, the chief of sinners as to natural revolt from these virtues, can be done for all by similar persistent love and efforts. And where it is not accomplished in the family, it can and ought to be secured in the school.

MISS MARY HILLHOUSE.

Among the quiet but efficient laborers in the field of female education at this period [1830–50] was Miss Mary Hillhouse, the daughter of James Hillhouse, of New Haven, sixteen years Senator of the United States, and for many years the Treasurer of Yale College, and the Commissioner of the Connecticut School Fund.*

Miss Beecher in her *Educational Reminiscences* says:

In New Haven, for many years, she made unavailing efforts to have young girls taught to sew in the public schools, and from her I gained the method described in my *Housekeeper's Manual*, which removes many difficulties that have been generally experienced in making this a part of public school instruction.

After vainly interceding with the school committees, she resolved that there should be at least one school where girls of the working classes should be taught to sew properly, and to make and mend family clothing. For this end she established a school for colored girls under the care of an intelligent colored woman, where sewing was taught with the common school branches. Afterward she planned, and in a great measure built with her own funds, the Lincoln school-house, for the instruction of colored girls.

She lived to the age of eighty-five in the full possession of her mental powers. On one day she was bright and buoyant as ever, on the next she began to fail, and on the third she peacefully passed from the earth she had blest so long to her everlasting reward.

MARIETTE AND EMILY INGHAM.

Those two sisters were born in Saybrook, Conn.; and the eldest, having by her skill, industry, and good management, accumulated five thousand dollars, and with this educated her child-sister, and then came with her to Central New York, built a house, and established a school, which soon became so popular that they were invited to Leroy on favorable terms.

Their leading aim, for forty years, has been to give a liberal education to the medium classes of young women; and their catalogue now shows *five thousand* thus provided with a superior education at very moderate expense. Of these not less than 460 have gone forth as teachers, while the value of $30,000 has been bestowed as gratuitous board and instruction. Three hundred and fifty have been

* For memoir and account of his services to the State and Schools of Connecticut, see Barnard's American Journal of Education. Vol. vii., pp. 323–60. Barnard's Educational Biography. Vol. I, ed. of 1875.

graduated as completing the full and liberal course, such as is not surpassed in any institution for women.

Meantime, five large buildings have been erected, and three taken down after they became old and useless. All this, and the purchase of twelve acres of land, has been accomplished by the economical use of school income, with no other contributed outside aid than $10,000 to furnish one building and $4,000 for needed additional land. And now the property thus earned is appraised to the Regents of New York University at $125,000.

All this property is held at this time, not for private ends, but for the benefit of women, and of that class who most need such advantages of education. For many years the founders of this institution have been seeking that stability and permanence secured to nearly *five hundred* colleges and professional schools for young men, *all endowed* by State or private benefactions at the rate of from half a million to two and three millions each. In order to do this the two sisters several years ago transferred their large property to a Presbyterian Synod, on condition that they would raise an endowment not so large as one-tenth of what is given to most of our colleges. They gave up their control to the Synod and to Dr. Cox as the head, hoping thus to secure influence and endowment. But in a short time it was found that no endowment came; the new management failed, and the sisters took back the institution and restored its prosperity and usefulness. Since that time hundreds of thousands have been bestowed on several colleges in the near vicinity, while this noble seminary still is seeking for a pitiful endowment.

Among my most valued 'counselors and co-laborers' should be placed Dr. and Mrs. Parsons and Miss Mary Mortimer, who for twenty years, with faith and patience, have labored with me to bring into existence at least one college for women, with endowments to support women professors. Why our success has been so long delayed appears in other chapters of these Reminiscences, and which finally resolves itself into the want of pecuniary means at the control of competent women.

[Miss Beecher makes warm and honorable mention of the labors of Mrs. Emma Willard and her sister Mrs. Lincoln Phelps, and of Miss Z. P. Grant (daughter of Deacon Grant of Colebrook, Conn., and afterward known as Mrs. Banister of Newburyport), and Mary Lyon, an account of whose educational work will be found in the volumes of the *American Journal of Education*, and in Barnard's *Educational Biography*. Vol. IV.—*Female Teachers and Educators.*]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

PRÆ-ACADEMIC CAMBRIDGE.

THE original Cambridge was a small settlement in what is now the least academical and fashionable part of it, on the left bank of the river Granta or Cam, forty-eight miles northeast of London. A hill rises above the plain, and on that hill stood the Roman Camboritum. The walls of the old camp or stronghold can now be traced, and Roman coins from the time of Vespasian downwards have been found there. In the earliest Anglo-Saxon period it was known as Grantchester, and a little later as Grantabrydge. With the ascendancy of Cam as the name of the stream, the town became known as Cambridge—derived from the ancient Camboritum, or else from the bridge over the Cam—the earliest structure of the kind in this region.

Its position on the river, commanding the fen country, invited the ravages of the Danes and its almost extinction by them in 871, but secured its renewal and resettlement afterwards, as well as the gradual foundation of religious houses and commercial Fairs, as a center of population, traffic, and local influence. The oldest ecclesiastical structure is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, erected in 1001; the castle was built by William the Conqueror about 1009; Pot Fair, so called from the quantity of earthern ware brought to it, and Stourbridge Fair held in a field near Barnwell, and anciently one of the largest in the kingdom, both antedate the foundation of Peterhouse, the first college; and the guild of merchants, afterwards recognized in the charter of the town, was in existence in 1109, when Joffrid, Abbot of Croyland, sent over to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge, Gislebert, with three other learned monks, who first taught their sciences in a hired barn, the germ of what is now the University; and now an Oxford poet thus muses over the grounds, courts, and buildings of seventeen Colleges and Halls on the Cam:

> Were ever river banks so fair,
> Gardens so fit for nightingales as these?
> Were ever haunts so meet for summer breeze,
> Or pensive walk in evening's golden air?
> Was ever town so rich in court and tower,
> To woo and win stray moonlight every hour? —*F. W. Faber.*

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Cambridge Town and Gown in 1575.

In a brief account of Famous Cities by Braunius (George Braun) published at Cologne in 1576, there is a plan of Cambridge with the 16 colleges and halls, the castle, river, and streets, and accompanied by a letter (historical and descriptive) from William Soone—who proceeded to Master of Arts in 1561, and subsequently LL.D., and became Regius Law Professor by appointment of Queen Elizabeth. Adhering to the old faith, he was forced to resign, and about 1576 became Professor of Civil Law in Louvain. On application from Braun he writes this letter 'as a small return to his *alma mater* (*institutrici meæ*) and to rescue her from persons debased by this new superstition, and commend her to one so attached to our most holy religion:'

The university is now [after divers and great devastations by the Cimbri and the Dane-] arrived at such a pitch of splendor as to have 19 houses of students, but only 14 colleges, which for magnificence and wealth deserve the name of royal palaces rather than of houses for scholars. The common dress of all is a sacred cap (I call it *sacred*, because worn by priests; a gown reaching down to their heels, of the same form as that of priests. None of them live out of the colleges in the townsmen's houses; they are perpetually quarrelling and fighting with them; and this is more remarkable in the mock-fights which they practice in the streets in summer with shields and clubs. They go out in the night to show their valor, armed with monstrous great clubs furnished with a cross-piece of iron to keep off the blows, and frequently beat the watch. When they walk the streets, they take the wall, not only of the inhabitants, but even of strangers, unless persons of rank. Hence the proverb, that *a Royston horse, and a Cambridge Master of Arts, are a couple of creatures that will give way to nobody.* (Royston is a village that supplies London with malt, which is carried up on horseback.) In standing for degrees, the North-country and South-country men have warm contests with one another; as at Oxford the Welsh and English, whom the former call Saxons. In the months of January, February, and March, to beguile the long evenings, they amuse themselves with exhibiting public plays, which they perform with so much elegance, such graceful action, and such command of voice, countenance, and gesture, that, if Plautus, Terence, or Seneca, were to come to life again, they would admire their own pieces, and be better pleased with them than when they were performed before the people of Rome; and Euripides, Sophocles, and Aristophanes, would be disgusted at the performance of their own citizens. The officers of the University which are perpetual, are, the Chancellor, who is now William Cecill, Lord Burghley, Principal Secretary of State; High Steward, Robert Earl of Leicester; Syndic, a person well versed in the common law, George Gerard, Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Chancellor's Commissary, John Ithell, LL.D. These offices are held only by persons of the highest rank, who by their influence can protect the rights of the University. The annual officers are, the Vice-Chancellor, to whom all matters are referred; the Proctors, who moderate in the school, take care of the watch, and of the meat, to see that it is wholesome; the Taxers, who take care of the corn; the Scrutators, who collect the votes in the senate house; the Professors, who give lectures extraordinary in divinity, civil law, physic, Hebrew, and Greek, and have each a salary of £140 per annum. The Apparitors, commonly called *Beadles*, have all titles, except one, who is the Vice-Chancellor's Mar hall. In short, though I went to Paris as soon as I left England, thence to Dol, thence to Freiburg, thence over the Alps to Padua, was many years Professor at Lorrain, disputed in the assembly of the learned at Rome, and read lectures at Cologne, and have gone through many other vicissitudes, if any regard is due to experience founded on so much seeing, hearing, reading, and actual use, I may venture to affirm, with a degree of certainty, that the dignity of this form of school government consists in its extensiveness. When the different ranks are assembled in the senate house, which is done by the Marshall going round to all the colleges and halls, and standing in the court with his gilded staff in one hand and his hat in the other, and with a loud voice proclaiming the day and hour of the congregation, you would think the wisest and gravest senators of some great republic were met together. To conclude, the way of life in these colleges is the most pleasant and liberal; and if I might have my choice, and my principles would permit, I should prefer it to a kingdom.

The plan of Cambridge in 1575 is reproduced in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1776, p. 201.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

The University of Cambridge existed in the form of a conventual school in the seventh century, but was not organized on the academical system, partially at least independent of all local ecclesiastical control, until 1109, and received its final charter from Henry III., fifty years before the founding of Peter House, the oldest endowed College. The following is a list of University Officers, Examiners, Professors with the date of the foundation of each professorship, and the College organization for 1873-4:

OFFICERS—EXAMINERS—PROFESSORS.

UNIVERSITY OFFICERS.

Chancellor, His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K. G., LL.D.
High Steward, the Earl of Powis, LL.D., *St. John's.*
Vice-Chancellor, H. W. Cookson, D.D., *Peter House.*
Representatives in Parliament, Right Hon. Spencer . Walpole, Ll. D., *Trinity*; A. J. b Beresford-Hope, LL.D., *Trinity.*
Commissary, W. Forsyth, M A. Q. .
Deputy High Steward, Francis Barlow, M A., *Trinity Hall.*
Public Orator, R. C. Jebb, M.A., *Trinity.*
Registrary, Rev. H. R Luard, M A., *Trinity.*
Librarian, H. Bradshaw, Esq., M.A., *King's.*
Assessor to the Chancellor, J. Tozer, LL.D., *Caius.*
Counsel, Sir R Baggallay, M.A., *Caius*; J. F. Stephen, M.A., *Trinity.*

COUNCIL OF THE SENATE.

The Chancellor; the Vice-Chancellor; the Master of *St Peter's*; the Master of *Pembroke*; the Master of *Clare*; the Master of *Trinity*; Dr. Kennedy, *St. John's*; Dr. Westcott, *Trinity*; Prof Stokes, *Pembroke*; Professor Adams, *Pembroke*; Dr Parkinson, *St. John's*; E H Perowne, *Corpus*; B. H Drury, *Caius*; W. M. Gunson, *Christ's*; A. A. Vansittart, *Trinity*; A. Holmes, *Clare Hall*; R. Burn, *Trinity*; N. M. Ferrers, *Caius*

Every University Grace must pass the Council before it can be introduced to the Senate

Sex Viri, Dr. Phelps; Dr. Kennedy; Dr. Paget; Prof. Stokes; H. Latham, *Trinity Hall*; R. Burn, *Trinity*
Auditors of the Chest, J. Lamb, *Caius*; E Ewbank, *Clare*; A. Rose, *Emmanuel.*
Proctors, F. C. Wace, M A., *St. John's*; F. Pattrick, M.A., *Magdalene.*
Pro-Proctors, F Whitting, M.A., *King's*; E. H Morgan, M.A., *Jesus.*
Moderators, A Freeman, M.A., *St. John's*; J. Wolstenholme, M.A., *Christ's.*
Esquire Bedells, H Godfray, M.A., *St John's*; E. T. Cross, M.A., *Caius.*

EXAMINERS.

Mathematical Tripos, W. D. Niven, M A., *Trinity*; G. Pirie, M.A., *Queen's*; Sir W. Thomson, LL D., *Peter's.*
Classical Tripos, H. C. G. Moule, M.A., *Trinity*; C. E Graves, M.A., *St. John's*; W. M. Gunson, M.A., *Christ's*; J. M. Image, M.A., *Trinity*; J. E. Sandys, M.A., *St. John's*; F. E. Paley, M A.
Moral Sciences Tripos, T. W. Levin, *Catherine Hall*; C R. Mozley, *King's*; J. B Pearson, *St John's*; P Gardner, *Christ's*
Natural Sciences Tripos, J Morris, P. Smith, Prof. Maxwell, F. S. Baff, *Christ's*; J. W. Hicks, *Sidney*; H. P. Gurney, *Clare.*
Theological Tripos, Dr. J. J. S. Perowne, Prof. Mayor, *Christ's*; H. C. G. Moule, *Trinity*; H. M. Gwatkin, *St. John's.*
Law and History Tripos, Dr. Abdy, Prof. Birkbeck, B. E. Hammond, *Trinity.*

PROFESSORS.

Date.
1707 *Anatomy*, G. M. Humphrey, M.D., *Downing.*
1632 *Arabic*, W. Wright, LL D., *Queen's.*
1724 *Arabic* (*Lord Almoner's*), E. H. Palmer, M A., *St. John's.*
1851 *Archæology* (*Disney*), Rev. C. Babington, B.D., *St. John's.*
1749 *Astronomy* (*Lowndes'*), J. C. Adams, M.A., *Pembroke.*
1704 *Astronomy* (*Plumian*), Rev. J. Challis, M.A., F.R.S. *Trinity.*
1524 *Botany*, C. C. Babington, M.A., *St. John's.*
1702 *Chemistry*, G. D. Liveing, M.A., *St. John's.*
1540 *Civil Law* (*Regius*), E. C. Clark, M.A., *Trinity.*
1860 *Divinity* (*Hulsean*), Rev. J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., *Trinity.*
1502 *Divinity* (*Margaret*), Rev. W. Selwyn, D D., *St. John's.*
1768 *Divinity* (*Norrisian*), Rev. C. A. Swainson, D.D., *Christ's.*
1540 *Divinity* (*Regius*), Rev. B. F. Westcott, D.D., *Trinity.*
1871 *Experimental Physics*, J. C. Maxwell, M.A., *Trinity.*
1866 *Fine Art*, S. Colvin, M.A., *Trinity.*
1727 *Geology* (*Woodwardian*), T. M. Hughes, M.A., *Trinity.*
1540 *Greek*, Rev. B. H. Kennedy, D.D., *St. John's.*
1540 *Hebrew*, Rev. T. Jarrett, M A., *Trinity.*
Hulsean Lecturer, S. Leathes, M.A., *Jesus.*
Lady Margaret Preacher, B. H. Kennedy, D.D., *St. John's.*
1869 *Latin*, J. E. B. Mayor, M A., *St. John's.*
1800 *Law* (*Down*), W. Ll. Birkbeck, M.A., *Trinity.*
International Law, Sir W. G. G. V. Vernon Harcourt, M.A., Q.C., M.P., *Trinity.*
1663 *Mathematics* (*Lucasian*), G. G. Stokes, M.A., *Pembroke.*
1801 *Medicine* (*Down*), W. W. Fisher, M.D., *Down.*
1808 *Mineralogy* W. H. Miller, M D., F.R S.
1724 *Modern History*, J. R. Seeley, M.A., *Christ's.*
1683 *Moral Philosophy*, Rev. T. R. Birks. M.A., *Trinity.*
1684 *Music*, Sir W. S. Bennett, M.A., Mus.D., *St. John's.*
1783 *Natural Philosophy* (*Jacksonian*), Rev. R Willis, M.A., F.R.S., *Caius.*
1540 *Physic* (*Regius*), G. E. Paget, M.D., *Caius.*
1863 *Political Economy*, H. Fawcett, M A., M P., *Trinity Hall.*
1863 *Pure Mathematics*, A. Cayley, M.A., *Trinity.*
1867 *Sanskrit*, E. B. Cowell, M.A., *Trinity.*
1866 *Zoology*, A. Newton, M.A., *Magdalene.*

*The Cantab Language.**

To appreciate a description of Cambridge University, and University life, it will be well to understand the phrases which enter into it.

Gownsman.—A student of the University.
Snob.—A townsman as opposed to a student, or a blackguard as opposed to a gentleman; a loafer generally.
Cad.—A low fellow, nearly = snob.
Reading.—Studying.
A reading man.—A hard student.
A rowing man—(*ow* as in *cow*).—A hard case, a spreer.
Shipwreck.—A total failure.
Mild, Shady, Slow.—Epithets of depreciation, answering nearly to the phrases, 'no great shakes,' and 'small potatoes.'
Fast.—Nearly the French *expansif*. A *fast* man is not necessarily (like the London fast man) a *rowing* man, though the two attributes are often combined in the same person; he is one who dresses flashily, talks big, and spends, or affects to spend, money very freely.
Seedy.—Not well, out of sorts, done up; the sort of feeling that a reading man has after an examination, or a rowing man after a dinner with the Beefsteak Club.
Bumptious.—Conceited, forward, pushing.
Brick.—A good fellow; what Americans sometimes call a *clever* fellow.
To *keep* in such a place.—To live or have rooms there.
Hang-out.—To treat, to live, to have or possess (a verb of all work).
Like bricks,
Like a brick or a bean,
Like a house on fire,
To the nth.
To the $n + 1^{th}$.
} Intensives to express the most energetic way of doing any thing. These phrases are sometimes in very odd contexts. You hear men talk of a balloon going up *like bricks*, and rain coming down *like a house on fire*.
No end of.—Another intensive of obvious import. *They have no end of tin*, i.e., a great deal of money. *He is no end of a fool*, i.e., the greatest fool possible.
Pill, Rot.—Twaddle, platitude.
Bosh.—Nonsense, trash, φλυαρία.
Lounge.—A treat, a comfort (an Etonian importation).
Coach.—A private tutor.
Team.—The private tutor's pupils.
Subject.—A particular author, or part of an author, set for examination; or a particular branch of Mathematics, such as Optics, Hydrostatics, &c.
Getting up a subject.—Making one's self thoroughly master of it.
Flooring a paper.—Answering correctly and fully every question in it.
Book-work.—All mathematics that can be learned *verbatim* from books—all that are not problems.
Cram.—All miscellaneous information about Ancient History, Geography, Antiquities, Law, &c.; all Classical matter not included under the heads of Translation and Composition.
Composition.—Translating English into Greek or Latin.
Original Composition.—Writing a Latin Theme, or original Latin verses.
Spirting.—Making an extraordinary effort of mind or body for a short time. A boat's crew make a spirt, when they pull fifty yards with all the strength they have left. A reading man makes a spirt, when he crams twelve hours daily the week before examination.
Commons.—The students' daily rations, either of meat in hall, or of bread and butter for breakfast and tea.
Sizings.—Extra orders in hall.
Don.—A Fellow, or any College authority.
Little-Go.—The University Examination in the second year, properly called the *Previous Examination*.
Tripos.—Any University Examination for Honors of Questionists or men who have just taken their B.A. (The University Scholarship Examinations are *not* called Triposes.)
Posted.—Rejected in a College Examination.
Plucked.—Rejected in a University Examination.
Proctors.—The Police Officers of the University.
Bull-dogs.—Their Lictors, or servants who attend the Proctors when on duty.
Wrangler, Senior Optime, Junior Optime.—The First, Second, and Third Classes of the Mathematical Tripos.
Senior Wranglers.—The head of the First Class in Mathematics.

* Bristed's *Five Years in an English University*—1840–44.

ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION.

The original statutes, if there was a formal organization of the University prior to the year 1318, do not exist, but the following outline of the Constitution and its administration in the first century after its documentary recognition as a public body in 1229, drawn by Dean Peacock in *Observations on the Ancient Statutes*, is accepted by the latest historian (Mullinger in 1873) as sufficiently accurate:

Chancellor—Regents.

The University of Cambridge, in the Middle Ages, consisted of a Chancellor, and of the two houses of Regents and Non-Regents. The Chancellor was chosen biennially by the Regents, and might, upon extraordinary occasions, be continued in office for a third year. He summoned convocations or congregations of regents upon all occasions of the solemn resumption or reception of the regency, and likewise of both houses of Regents and Non-Regents to consult concerning affairs affecting the common utility, public quiet, and general interests of the university. No graces, as the name in some degree implies, could be proposed or passed without his assent. He presided in his own court, to hear and decide all causes in which a scholar was concerned, unless *facti atrocitas vel publicæ quietis perturbatio* required the assent or cognizance of the public magistrates or justices of the realm. He was not allowed to be absent from the university for more than one month during the continuance of the readings of the masters: and though a Vice-Chancellor, or President, might be appointed by the Regents from year to year, to relieve him from some portion of his duties, yet he was not allowed to intrust to him the cognizance of the causes of the regents or non-regents, *ex parte rei*, of those which related to the valuation and taxation of houses or hostels, or of those which involved as their punishment either expulsion from the university or imprisonment. A later statute, expressive of the jealous feeling with which the university began to regard the claim of the Bishop of Ely to visitatorial power and confirmation, forbids the election of that bishop's official to the office.

The powers of the Chancellor, though confirmed and amplified by royal charters, were unquestionably ecclesiastical, both in their nature and origin: the court, over which he presided, was governed by the principles of the canon as well as of the civil law; and the power of excommunication and absolution, derived in the first instance from the Bishop of Ely, and subsequently from the Pope, became the most prompt and formidable instrument for extending his authority: the form, likewise, of conferring degrees, and the kneeling posture of the person admitted, are indicative both of the act and of the authority of an ecclesiastical superior.

It is very necessary in considering the distribution of authority in the ancient constitution of the university, to separate the powers of the Chancellor from those of the Regents or Non-Regents; for the authority of the Chancellor had an origin independent of the Regents, and his previous concurrence was necessary to give validity to their acts; he constituted, in fact, a distinct estate in the academical commonwealth; and though he owed his appointment, in the first instance, to the regents, he was not necessarily a member of their body, and represented an authority and exercised powers which were derived from external sources.

House of Regents.

The ancient statutes recognize the existence of two great divisions of the members of the second estate of our commonwealth, the *houses of regents and non-regents*, which have continued to prevail to the present time, though with great modification of their relative powers. The enactments of these statutes would lead us to conclude, that in the earliest ages of the university, the regents alone, *as forming the acting body of academical teachers and readers*, were authorized to form rules for the regulation of the terms of admission to the regency, as well as for the general conduct of the system of education pursued, and for the election of the various officers who were necessary for the proper administration of their affairs. We consequently find, that if a regent ceased to read, he immediately became an alien to the governing body, and could only be permitted to resume the functions and exercise the privileges of the regency, after a solemn act of resumption, according to prescribed forms, and under the joint sanction of the Chancellor of the university and of the house of regents. The foundation however of colleges and halls towards the close of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century,

as well as the establishment of numerous monasteries within the limits of the univer ity with a view to a participation of its franchises and advantages, increased very greatly the number of permanent residents in the university, who had either ceased to participate in the labors of the regency, or who were otherwise occupied with the discharge of the peculiar duties imposed upon them by the statutes of their own societies.

House of Non-Regents.

The operation of these causes produced a body of non-regents, continually increasing in number and importance, who claimed and exercised a considerable influence in the conduct of those affairs of the university which were not immediately connected with the proper functions of the regency; and we consequently find that at the period when our earliest existing statutes were framed, the non-regents were recognized as forming an integrant body in the constitution of the university, as the *house of non-regents*, exercising a concurrent jurisdiction with the *house of regents* in all questions relating to the property, revenues, public rights, privileges, and common good of the university. Under certain circumstances also they participated with the regents in the elections; they were admitted likewise to the congregations of the regents, though not allowed to vote; and, in some cases, the two houses were formed into one assembly, who deliberated in common upon affairs which were of great public moment.

Proctors or Rectors.

When graces were submitted by the Chancellor to the approbation of the senate, the proctors collected the votes and announced the decision in the house of regents, and the scrutators in that of the non-regents; and when the two houses acted as one body, their votes were collected by the proctors. It does not appear, from the earlier statutes, that the Chancellor was controlled in the sanction of graces, by any other authority; but, in later times, such graces, before they were proposed to the senate, were submitted to the discussion and approbation of a council or *caput*, which was usually appointed at the beginning of each congregation. Under very peculiar circumstances, the Chancellor might be superseded in the exercise of his distinctive privilege, when he obstinately refused the sanction of his authority for taking measures for the punishment of those who had injured or insulted a regent or a community; for, in such a case, as appears by a very remarkable statute, the proctors were empowered, by their sole authority, to call a congregation of regents only, or of both regents and non-regents, notwithstanding any customs which might be contrary to so unusual a mode of proceeding.

The two proctors, called also *rectors*, after Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, were the most important administrative officers in the university. They were chosen annually, on the tenth of October, by the regents, the master of glomery and two junior regents standing in scrutiny and collecting the votes; they regulated absolutely the times and modes of reading, disputations, and inceptions in the public schools, and the public ceremonies of the university; they superintended the markets, with a view to the supply of wine, bread, and other necessaries for the scholars, and to the suppression of monopolies and forestallings and those other frauds, in the daily transactions of buyers and sellers, which furnished to our ancestors the occasions of such frequent and extraordinary legislation; they managed the pecuniary affairs and finances of the university; they possessed the power of suspending a gremial from his vote, and a non gremial from his degrees, for disobeying their regulations or resisting their lawful authority; they collected the votes and announced the decisions of the house of regents, whose peculiar officers they were; they examined the questionists by themselves or by their deputies; they superintended or controlled all public disputations and exercises, either by themselves or by their officers the bedels; they administered the oaths of admission to all degrees, and they alone were competent to confer the important privileges of the regency.

Bedels, Scrutators, Taxors.

The other officers of the university were the bedels, scrutators, and taxors. The bedels were originally two in number, who were elected by grace by the concurrent authority of the regents and non-regents in their respective houses. The first was called the bedel of theology and canon law, and the other of arts, from their attending the schools of those faculties. They were required to be in the almost perpetual attendance upon the chancellor, proctors, and at the disputations in the public schools.

The two scrutators were elected by the non-regents at each congregation, to collect the votes and announce the decisions of their house, in the same manner as was done by the two proctors in the house of regents.

The two taxors were regents appointed by the house of regents, who were empowered, in conjunction with two burgesse (liegemen), to tax or fix the rent of the hostels and houses occupied by students, in conformity with the letters patent of Henry III. They also assisted the proctors in making the assize of bread and beer, and in all affairs relating to the markets.

PAPAL RECOGNITION AS A STUDIUM GENERALE.

It was not until the year 1318 that Cambridge received from Pope John XXII. a formal recognition as a *Studium Generale* or *Universitas*, whereby the masters and scholars became invested with all the rights belonging to such a corporation. Among other privileges resulting from this sanction, doctors of the university, before restricted to their own schools, obtained the right of lecturing throughout Christendom; but the most important was undoubtedly that which conferred full exemption from the ecclesiastical and spiritual power of the bishop of the diocese, and of the archbishop of the province—these powers, so far as members of the university were concerned, being vested in the chancellor.

EARLIEST UNIVERSITY INSTRUCTION.

The instruction which originally prevailed in Cambridge could only have been that of the ordinary grammar school of a later period—the preparatory school almost always found in our day in the opening of an institution of higher learning, which preparatory schools do not observe. The Latin language, or 'grammar' as it was designated, formed the basis of the whole course: Priscian, Terence, and Boethius, were the authors commonly read. There were probably some dozen or more separate schools, each presided over by a master of grammar, while the *Magister Glomeriæ* represented the supreme authority. It is in connection with this officer, whose character and functions so long baffled the researches of the antiquarians, that we have an explanation of those relations to Ely, as a tradition of the earliest times, which formed the precedent for that ecclesiastical interference which was terminated by the Barnwell Process. The existence of such a functionary and of the grammar schools, prior to the university, enables us to understand how, in the time of Hugh Balsham an exertion of the episcopal authority, like that which has already come under our notice, became necessary in order to guard against collision between the representatives of the old and the new orders of things—between the established rights of the Master of Glomery and rights like those which, by one of our most ancient statutes, were vested in the regent masters in the exercise of their authority over those students enrolled on their books. If we picture to ourselves some few hundred students, of all ages from early youth to complete manhood, mostly of very slender means, looking forward to the monastic or the clerical life as their future avocation, lodging among the townsfolk, and receiving such accommodation as inexperienced poverty might be likely to obtain at the hands of practised extortioners, resorting for instruction to one large building, the grammar schools, or sometimes congregated in the porches of their respective masters' houses, and there receiving such instruction in Latin as a reading from Terence, Boethius, or Orosius, eked out by the more elementary rules from Priscian or Donatus, would represent,—we shall probably have grasped the main features of a Cambridge course at the period when Irnerius began to lecture at Bologna, Vacarius at Oxford, and when Peter Lombard compiled the Sentences.

Meagre as such a 'course' may appear, there is every reason for believing that it formed, for centuries, nearly the sole acquirement of the great majority of our university students. The complete *trivium*, followed by the yet more formidable *quadrivium*, was far beyond both the ambition and the resources of the ordinary scholar. His aim was simply to qualify himself for holy orders, to become *Sir* Smith or *Sir* Brown, as distinguished from a mere 'hedge priest,' and to obtain a license to teach the Latin tongue. For this

the degree of master of grammar was sufficient, and the qualifications for that degree were slight:—to have studied the larger Priscian in the original, to have responded in three public disputations on grammar, to have given thirteen lectures on Priscian's Book of Constructions, and to have obtained from three masters of arts ce tificates of his 'learning, ability, knowledge, and moral character,' satisfied the requirements of the authorities. His licen e obtained, he might either be appointed by one of the colleges to teach in the grammar school frequently attached to the early foundations; or he might become principal of a hostel and receive pupils in grammar on his own account; or he might, as a secular clergyman, be presented to a living or the mastership of a grammar school at a distance from the university.

With the latter part of the twelfth century the studies of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, or in other words the discipline of an arts faculty, were probably introduced at Cambridge. This development from a simple school of grammar into a *studium generale* was not marked, it is true, by the same éclat that waited on the corresponding movements at Bologna, Paris, or even Oxford, but it is not necessary to infer from thence that Cambridge was much inferior either in numbers or organization. The early reputation of those seats of learning survives almost solely in connection with a few great names, and the absence of any teacher of eminence like Irnerius, Abelard, or Vacarius, at our own university, is a sufficient explanation of the fact that no accounts of her culture in the twelfth century have reached us. On the other hand, the influx of large numbers from the university of Paris, which we have already noted as taking place about the year 1229, can only be accounted for by supposing that the university was by that time fairly established.

There is good reason however for supposing that originally the masters and students of grammar were not looked upon as occupying an essentially inferior po ition: their decline in estimation was probably the result of those new additions to university learning which have occupied our attention in preceding chapters. With the introduction of that portion of the Organon which was known as the *Nova Ars*, logic, the second branch of the *trivium*, began to engross a much larger amount of the student's time. To this succeeded the *Summulæ* of Petrus Hispanus, and logic was crowned in the schools as the mistress of arts, the science of sciences. In the meantime the stores of Latin literature had been but slightly augmented. Discoveries like those with which Petrarch was startling the learned of Italy, failed for a long time to awaken any interest in the northern universities. The splendid library which Duke Humphrey bequeathed to Oxford, though received with profuse expressions of gratitude, was valued not for its additions to the known literature of antiquity, but for its richness in mediæval theology. Hence the grammarian's art declined relatively in value, and the study of logic over hadowed all the rest. With the sixteenth century the balance was readjusted; the grammarian along with the rhetorician claimed equal honors with the logician, and the course of the grammar student was correspondingly extended. During the latter part of the Middle Ages, however, it was undoubtedly the dialectician's art that was the chief object of the scholar's reverence and ambition. A course of study, moreover, in but one subject and occupying but three years, was obviously not entitled to the same con ideration as a seven years' course extending through the *trivium* and *quadrivium*. Thus the masters and scholars in grammar gradually subsided into acknowledged inferiority to those in arts, an inferiority which is formally recognized in the statute requiring that the funeral of a regent master of arts or of a scholar in that faculty shall be attended by the chancellor and the regents, and at the same time expressly declaring that masters and

scholars of grammar are not entitled to such an honor. The grammarian indeed in those days was nothing more than a schoolmaster, and the estimation in which that vocation was held had perhaps reached its lowest point. The extended sense in which the term *grammaticus* had been originally understood, and in which it was again before very long to be employed, did not apply to the master of a grammar school in the fourteenth century. He taught only schoolboys, and they learned only the elements. It was sadly significant moreover of the character of his vocation that every inceptor in grammar received a 'palmer' (ferule), and a rod, and then proceeded to flog a boy publicly in the schools. Hence Erasmus in his *Encomium Moriæ*, dear as the cause of Latin learning was to his heart, does not hesitate to satirize the grammarians of his time as 'a race of all men the most miserable, who grow old at their work surrounded by herds of boys, deafened by continual uproar, and poisoned by a close, foul atmosphere; satisfied however so long as they can overawe the terrified throng by the terrors of their look and speech, and, while they cut them to pieces with ferule, birch, and thong, gratify their own merciless natures at pleasure.' Similarly, in a letter written somewhat later, he tells us what difficulty he encountered when he sought to find at Cambridge a second master for Colet's newly founded school at St. Paul's, and how a college don, whom he consulted on the subject, sneeringly rejoined—'Who would put up with the life of a schoolmaster who could get his living in any other way?'

Course of Study for an Arts Student.

As the university gathered its members from all parts of the kingdom, and many of the students came from districts a week's journey remote, it was customary for parents to entrust their sons to the care of a 'fetcher,' who after making a preliminary tour in order to form his party, which often numbered upwards of twenty, proceeded by the most direct route to Cambridge. On his arrival two courses were open to the youthful freshman:—he might either attach himself to one of the religious foundations, in which case his career for life might be looked upon as practically decided; or he might enter himself under a resident master, as intending to take holy orders, or perhaps, though such instances were probably confined to the nobility, as a simple layman. In no case however was he permitted to remain in residence except under the surveillance of a superior. Unless it was the design of his parents that he should follow the religious life, he would probably before setting out have been fully warned against the allurements of all Franciscans and Dominicans, until a friar had come to be regarded by him as a kind of ogre, and he would hasten with as little delay as possible to put himself under the protection of a master. The disparity of age between master and pupil was generally less than at the present day: the former would often not be more than twenty-one, the latter not more than fourteen or fifteen; consequently their relations were of much less formal character, and the selection, so far as the scholar was concerned, a more important matter. A scholar from the south chose a master from the same latitude; if he could succeed in meeting with one from the same county he considered himself yet more fortunate; if aspiring to become a canonist or a civilian he would naturally seek for a master also engaged upon such studies. The master in turn was expected to interest himself in his pupil; no scholar was to be rudely repulsed on the score of poverty; if unable to pay for both lodging and tuition he often rendered an equivalent in the shape of very humble services; he waited at table, went on errands, and, if we may trust the authority of the Pseudo-Boethius, was often rewarded by his master's left-off garments. The aids held out by the university were then but few. There were some nine or ten

poorly endowed foundations, one or two university exhibitions, and finally the university chest, from which, as a last resource, the hard-pinched student might borrow if he had aught to pledge. The hostel where he resided protected him from positive extortion, but he was still under the necessity of making certain payments towards the expenses. The wealthier class appear to have been under no pecuniary obligations whatever. When therefore a scholar's funds entirely failed him, and his *Sentences* or his *Summulæ*, his Venetian cutlery, and his winter cloak had all found their way into the proctor's hands as security for moneys advanced, he was compelled to have recourse to other means. His academic life was far from being considered to preclude the idea of manual labor. It has been conjectured, by a high authority, that the long vacation was originally designed to allow of members of the universities assisting in the then all-important operation of the ingathering of the harvest. But however this may have been, there was a far more popular method of replenishing an empty purse, a method which the example of the Mendicants had rendered all but universal, and this was no other than begging on the public highways. Among the vices of that rude age parsimony was rarely one, the exercise of charity being in fact regarded as a religious duty. Universal begging implies universal giving. And so it not unfrequently happened that the wealthy merchant, journeying between London and Norwich, or the well-beneficed ecclesiastic or prior of a great house on his way to some monastery in the fen country, would be accosted by some solitary youth with a more intelligent countenance and more educated accent than ordinary, and be plaintively solicited either in English or in Latin, as might best suit the case, for the love of Our Lady to assist a distressed votary of learning. In the course of time this easy method of replenishing an empty purse was found to have become far too popular among university students, and it was considered necessary to enact that no scholar should beg in the highways until the chancellor had satisfied himself of the merits of each individual case and granted a certificate for the purpose. It would appear from the phraseology of the statutes that a scholar always wore a distinctive dress, though it is uncertain in what this consisted. It was probably both an unpretending and inexpensive article of attire, but however unpretending it is amusing to note that it was much more frequently falsely assumed than unlawfully laid aside. In like manner ambitious sophisters, disguised in bachelors' capes, would endeavor to gain credit for a perfected acquaintance with the mysteries of the *trivium;* while bachelors, in their turn, at both universities drew down upon themselves fulminations against the 'audacity' of those of their number who should dare to parade in masters' hoods. In other respects the dress of the undergraduate was left very much to his own discretion and resources, until what seemed excess of costliness and extravagance, even in the eyes of a generation that delighted in fantastic costume, called forth a prohibition like that of Archbishop Stratford.

BACHELORSHIP OF ARTS—THE SOPHISTER.

The probability is that originally bachelorship did not imply *admission to a degree*, but simply the termination of the state of pupildom: the idea involved in the term being, that though no longer a schoolboy, he was still not of sufficient standing to be entrusted with the care of others. It is probable that as soon as a student began to hear lectures on logic, he was encouraged to attend the schools to be present at the disputations, but it was not until he had completed his course of study in this branch that he was entitled to take part in these trials of skill and became known as a 'general sophister.' After he had attained to this status he was permitted to present himself as a

public disputant, and at least two 'responsions' and 'opponencies,' the defensive and offensive parts in the discussion of a *quæstio*, appear to have been obligatory, while those who showed an aptitude for such contests were selected to attend upon the *determiners*, or incepting bachelors of arts, as their assessors in more ardent disputes. When the student's fourth year of study was completed, it devolved on certain masters of arts appointed by the university to make inquiry with respect to his age, academical status, and private character. If they were satisfied on these points, he was permitted to proceed with the examination which he must pass before he could present himself as a *questionist, ad respondendum quæstioni*. This ordeal took place in the arts schools, where he was examined by the proctors, 'posers,' and regent masters of arts: as a test of proficiency it appears to have corresponded to the present final examination for the ordinary degree or for honors, and when it had been passed the candidate received, either from the authorities of his college or the master of his hostel, a *supplicat* to the chancellor and the Senate. This *supplicat* having been favorably entertained, he was allowed to present himself as a questionist. Of this ceremony, which was probably little more than a matter of form, we have an amusing account in *Stokys' Book*, a volume compiled in the sixteenth century by a Fellow of King's College who had filled for many years the office of esquire bedel, and that of registrary of the university.

The Questionist.

On the appointed day one of the bedels made his appearance in the court of the college or hostel, shortly before nine o'clock, crying, '*Allons, allons*, goe, Misters, goe,' having assembled masters, bachelors, scholars, and questionists, and marshalled them in due order, proceeded to conduct them to the arts schools. As they entered, one of the bedels cried, *Nostra mater, bona nova, bona nova*, and the father of the college took his seat in the responsions' chair, 'his children standing over against him in order.' Then the bedel, turning to the father, said, *Reverende pater, licebit tibi incipere, sedere, et cooperiri si p'acet.* Then the father proceeded to propound his questions to each of his children in order, and when they had been duly answered he summed up his conclusions. This questioning again was probably purely formal in its character, for it appears to have been regarded as unparental in the extreme if he replied to any of his children and involved a feeble questionist in argument, it being expressly provided that if he thus unduly lengthened the proceedings the bedel might 'knock him out,' an operation which consisted in hammering at the school doors in such a manner as to render the voices of the disputants inaudible. When each questionist had responded the procession was again formed, as before, and the bedel escorted them back to their college.

Determination—Standing in Quadragesima.

The above ceremony of Questionist was always held a few days before Ash-Wednesday: on its completion the questionist became an incepting bachelor, and from being required *respondere ad quæstionem*, was now called upon *determinare quæstionem*, that is, to *preside* over disputations similar to those in which he had previously played the part of opponent or respondent,—in the language of Dean Peacock, 'to review the whole question disputed, notice the imperfections or fallacies in the arguments advanced, and finally pronounce his decisions or *determination, scholastico more*.' As he was required to appear in this capacity throughout the whole of Lent, he was said *stare in quadragesima*, and *stans in quadragesima* was the academical designation of an incepting bachelor of arts: as however the minimum number of days on which he was required to determine was never less than nine, and the discharge of such arduous duties for so lengthened a period might prove too

serious a demand on the resources or courage of some youthful bachelors, the determiner was allowed, if he demanded such permission, to obtain the assistance of another bachelor and to determine by proxy. We find accordingly a statute which relates to those *determining for others*, whereby it is required that those bachelors whose services were thus called into request should always be at least a year's standing senior to those whom they represented. But while the timid or incompetent shunned the lengthened ordeal, the aspirant for distinction hailed the ceremony of determination as the grand opportunity for a display of his powers. In the faculty of arts a scholar was *aut logicus aut nullus*, and every effort was made on these occasions to produce an impression of superior skill. A numerous audience was looked upon as essential. Friends were solicited to be present, and these in turn brought their own acquaintance: indiscreet partisans would even appear to have sometimes placed themselves near the entrance and pounced upon passers-by and dragged them within the building, in order that they might lend additional dignity to the proceedings by their involuntary presence. One of the Oxford statutes is an express edict against this latter practice.

The Inceptor—The Great Commencement—The Act.

Before the bachelor could become a master of arts, he must pass through another and yet more formidable ordeal, he must *commence*. On notifying his wish to this effect to the authorities, either personally or through the regent by whom he was officially represented, he was required to answer three questions,—*Sub quo,—in quo loco aut ubi,—quo tempore aut quando,—incipiens*. The day selected was, under ordinary circumstances, the day of the Great Commencement, the second of July, and as this was the chief academical ceremony of the year, it was held not in the arts schools, but in the church of Great St. Mary. It would appear that on the preceding day other exercises took place in the arts schools, which from their immediately preceding the day of inception were known as the *Vesperiæ*. But the crowning day was undoubtedly that of inception. As the disputations were preceded by the celebration of the mass, the assembly was convened at the early hour of seven, when the sacred edifice became thronged by doctors of the different faculties, masters regent and non-regent, and spectators of every grade. When the exercises began, the incepting master, with the regent master of arts who acted as his father, took up his position at an appointed place on the right hand side of the church. The father then placed the cap (*pileum*), the sign of the magisterial dignity, on the inceptor's head, who would then proceed to read aloud a passage from Aristotle. From this passage he would previously have selected and submitted to the chancellor's approval two affirmations of questions, which he proposed formally to defend in logical dispute against all comers. It devolved first of all on the youngest regent, his senior by one year, who was known from his part on these occasions as the *prævaricator*, to take up the gauntlet. The inceptor, if placing a modest estimate on his own powers, would probably have selected some easily defended thesis, and the *prævaricator* would find all his dialectical skill called into request by the attempt to turn an almost unassailable position. He was however indemnified to some extent by the license which he received on these occasions to indulge in a prefatory oration, wherein he was permitted to satirize with saturnalian freedom the leading characters in the university or more prominent transactions of the preceding academical year. When this often dreaded performance was over, and he had fairly tested the defensive powers of the inceptor, the proctor said *Sufficit*, and the place of the regent was forthwith filled by the youngest non-regent. On the latter it devolved to sustain and carry out the attack of his predecessor, and when

he, in his turn, had sufficiently tasked the ingenuity of the candidate, the youngest doctor of divinity stepped forward and summed up the conclusions. Other formalities of admission followed, until at last the inceptor was saluted by the bedel as *Noster magiste*, who at the same time pronounced his name; he then retired from the arena, and the next incepting master stepped into his place.

Expenses and Dissipation of the Ceremony.

It has at all times been a distinctly avowed article of faith with a majority of university students that the depression of spirits incident upon severe mental exertion should be relieved by occasional if not frequent festivities, and Cambridge and Oxford, even in those days of professed asceticism, were no exception to the rule. The different stages of academic progress naturally suggested themselves as fitting opportunities for such relaxations, the main dispute between the authorities and the students being apparently simply a question of degree. Thus even the youthful sophister, at the time of his responsions, indulged in an expenditure which the chancellor at Oxford found it necessary to limit to sixteenpence; bachelors, *stantes in quadragesima*, scandalized the university by bacchanalian gatherings even in 'the holy season of Lent,' until they were forbidden from holding any such celebrations whatever; while at Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge, the papal authority was invoked to prevent inceptors expending more than *tria millia Turonensium* a sum which as thus expressed in the silver coinage of Tours equalled no less than £41 13*s.* 4*d.*, English money of the period, or some five hundred pounds of the present day. It is in the highest degree improbable that the average expenditure of incepting masters of arts made any approach to a sum of this magnitude, but in all cases the expense was considerable.

Incepting for Others.

Presents of gowns and gloves to the different officers of the university, together with their entertainment at a banquet, along with the regents for the time being and the inceptor's personal friends, must at all times have involved a formidable outlay, and enables us to understand how it is that we find the wealthier inceptors sometimes *incepting for others*, a phrase which probably implies defraying the expenses of the ceremony and therewith obtaining increased opportunities for the display of their dialectical skill in the public exercises.

Regent Master of Arts—Lectures.

When the year of his inception was completed the master of arts was required, if called upon, to give an *ordinary* lecture in the arts schools, for *one year at least:* while thus officiating he was known as a regent master of arts.

Such then were the successive stages that marked the progress of the arts student:—that of the sophister, or disputant in the schools,—of the bachelor of arts, eligible in turn to give subsidiary or cursory lectures,—of the incepting master of arts who had received his license to teach in any university in Europe,—and of the regent master of arts who lectured for a definite term as the instructor appointed by the university.

Cursor and Cursorie Lecturing.

The bachelor, after the completion of his year of determination, was, as we have already stated, qualified for the office of a lecturer: as however he discharged this office while his own *course of study* was still incomplete, he was himself known as a *cursor* and was said to lecture *cursorie;* we must be careful not to confound these lectures with the *ordinary* lectures given by masters of arts The staple instruction provided by the university for arts students was given by the regents: and as the funds of the university were

not sufficient to provide this instruction gratis, while the majority of the students could afford to pay but a trifling fee, it was found necessary to make it binding on every master of arts to lecture in his turn, if so required—the fees paid by the scholars to the bedels constituting his sole remuneration. The lectures thus given took precedence of all others. They were given at stated hours, from nine to twelve, during which time no cursory or extraordinary lecturer was permitted to assemble an audience. They commenced and terminated on specified days, and were probably entirely traditional in their conception and treatment of the subject. It would frequently happen that overflowing numbers, or the necessity of completing a prescribed course within the term, rendered it necessary to obtain the assistance of a coadjutor, who was called the lecturer's 'extraordinary' and was said to lecture *extraordinarie*. If this coadjutor were a bachelor, as was generally the case, he would be described as lecturing *cursorie* as well as *extraordinarie;* but in course of time the term *cursorie* began to be applied to all extra lectures, and hence even masters of arts are occasionally spoken of as lecturing *cursorie*, that is to say, giving that supplementary assistance which usually devolved on the bachelors.

Methods of Instruction—The Analytical.

If we now turn to consider the method employed by the lecturers, we shall readily understand that at a time when students rarely possessed a copy of the text of the author under discussion—the Sentences and the *Summulæ* being probably the only frequent exceptions—their first acquaintance with the author was generally made in the lecture-room, and the whole method of the lecturer must have differed widely from that of modern times. The method pursued appears to have been of two kinds, of which Aquinas's Commentary on Aristotle and the *Quæstiones* of Buridanus on the Ethics may be taken as fair specimens. In the employment of the former the plan pursued was purely traditional and never varied. The lecturer commenced by discussing a few general questions having reference to the treatise which he was called upon to explain, and in the customary Aristotelian fashion treated of its material, formal, final, and efficient cause He pointed out the principal divisions; took the first division and subdivided it; divided again the subdivision and repeated the process until he had subdivided down to the first chapter. He then again divided until he had reached a subdivision which included only a single sentence or complete idea. He finally took this sentence and expressed it in other terms which might serve to make the conception more clear. He never passed from one part of the work to another, from one chapter to another, or even from one sentence to another, without a minute analysis of the reasons for which each division, chapter, or sentence was placed after that by which it was immediately preceded; while, at the conclusion of this painful toil, he would sometimes be found hanging painfully over a single letter or mark of punctuation. This minuteness, especially in lectures on the civil law, was deemed the quintessence of criticism. To call in question the dicta of the author himself, whether Aristotle, Augustine, or Justinian, never entered the thoughts of either lecturer or audience. There were no rash emendations of a corrupt text to be demolished, no theories of philosophy or history to be subjected to a merciless dissection; in the pages over which the lecturer prosed was contained all that he or any one else knew about the subject, perhaps even all that it was deemed possible to know.

The Dialectical Method.

The second method, and probably by far the more popular one, was designed to assist the student in the practice of casting the thought of the

author into a form that might serve as subject matter for the all-prevailing logic. Whenever a passage presented itself that admitted of a twofold interpretation, the one or other interpretation was thrown into the form of a *quæstio*, and then discussed *pro* and *con*, the arguments on either side being drawn up in the usual array. It is probable that it was at lectures of this kind that the instruction often assumed a catechetical form—one of the statutes expressly requiring that students should be ready with their answers to any questions that might be put, 'according to the method of questioning used by the masters, if the mode of lecturing used in that faculty required questions and answers.' Finally the lecturer brought forward his own interpretation and defended it against every objection to which it might appear liable: each solution being formulated in the ordinary syllogistic fashion, and the student being thus furnished with a stock of *quæstiones* and arguments requisite for enabling him to undertake his part as a disputant in the schoo's. Hence the second stage of the *trivium* not only absorbed an excessive amount of attention but it overwhelmed and molded the whole course of study. It was the science which, as the student's *Summulæ* assured him, held the key to all the others,—*ad omnium methodorum principia viam habens*. Even the study of grammar was subjected to the same process. Priscian and Donatus were cast into the form of *quæstiones*, wherein the grammar student was required to exhibit something of dialectical skill. It was undoubtedly from the prevalence of this method of treatment that di·putation became that besetting vice of the age which the opponents of the scholastic culture so severely satirized. 'They dispute,' said Vives, in his celebrated treatise, *De Corruptis Artibus*, 'before dinner, at dinner, and after dinner; in public and in private, at all places and at all times.'

The Non-Regent.

When the student in arts had incepted and delivered his lectures as regent, his duties were at an end. He had received in his degree a diploma which entitled him to give instruction on any of the subjects of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* in any university in Europe. He had also discharged his obligations to the university in which he had been educated, and was henceforth known, if he continued to reside, as a non-regent. If he left its precincts he was certain to be regarded as a marvel of learning, and he might probably rely on obtaining employment as a teacher and earning a modest though somewhat precarious income. He formed one of that class so felicitously delineated in Chaucer's 'poor clerke,' and, dark and enigmatic as were many of the pages of his Latin Aristotle, he valued his capacity to expound the rest and was valued for it. But as in every age with the majority of students, learning was seldom valued in those days as an ultimate good, but for its reproductive capacity, and viewed in this light the degree of master of arts had but a moderate value. The ambitious scholar, intent upon worldly and professional success, directed his efforts to theology or to the civil or canon law.

Requirements for Degrees in Theology.

The requirements for the degree of doctor of divinity in these times deserve to be contrasted with those until lately in force. It was necessary (1) that the candidate should have been a regent in arts, *i. e.* he must have acted as an instructor in the ordinary course of secular learning; (2) that he should have attended lectures for at least ten years in the university; (3) that he should have heard lectures on the Bible for two years; (4) that during his career he should have lectured cursorily on some book of the canonical scriptures for at least ten days in each term of the academical year: (5) that

he should have lectured on the whole of the Sentences; (6) that he should, subsequently to his lectures, have preached publicly *ad clerum*, and also have responded and opposed in all the schools of his faculty. It was properly the function of a doctor to delivery the *ordinary* lecture in this course, but the duty would appear to have often devolved upon the bachelors, and thus, though still pursuing their own course of study for the doctorial degree, they were known as *biblici ordinarii* or simply as *biblici*; those of them who delivered the *cursory* lectures were known as *biblici cursores* or simply *cursores*; and those who lectured on the Sentences were known as the *Sententiarii*.

Courses in Canon and Civil Law.

The courses for the doctorial degree in civil and canon law were equally laborious. In the former it was not imperative that the candidate should have been a regent in arts, but failing this qualification he was required to have heard lectures on the civil law for ten instead of eight years; he must have heard the *Digestum Vetus* twice, the *Digestum Novum* and the *Infortiatum* once. He must also have lectured on the *Infortiatum* and on the Institutes, must himself be the possessor of the two Digests and be able to shew that he held in his custody, either borrowed or his own property, all the other text-books of the course. In the course for the canon law the candidate was required to have heard lectures on the civil law for three years and on the Decretals for another three years; he must have attended cursory lectures on the Bible for at least two years; must himself have lectured *cursorie* on one of four treatises and on some one book of the Decretals. In both branches it was also obligatory that the candidate should have kept or have been ready to keep all the required oppositions and responsions. It is to be noted that, with the fourteenth century, the labors of the canonists had been seriously augmented by the appearance of the sixth book of the Decretals under the auspices of Boniface VIII., and by that of the Clementines; Lollard writers indeed are to be found asserting that the demands thus made upon the time of the canonist (demands which he dared not disregard, for the papal anathema hung over all those who should neglect their study) was one of the chief causes of that neglect of the scriptures which forms so marked a feature in the theology of this period.

Courses in Medicine.

Medicine did not obtain a very high position in the Schools of Oxford, It is so pre-eminently a practical study, any high degree of skill depends so much on the condition of each patient and his local surroundings, the knowledge of the human body was so superficial, and the range of the materia medica so limited and so fanciful, and in the absence of hospitals for actual observation or practice, that it was not possible to make it as a subject of dialectic disputation. It was however recognized in the statutes, and Mulligan cites the provision respecting inception for a degree. 'The candidates must already have become Master in Arts, and have followed his medical study in some university for five years. He must have read *Johannicius*, *Philaretus*, *Theophile*, *Isaac* on fevers. He must also have read *Tegnus Galenus*—the book of symptoms, the book of aphorisms, the book of acute diseases—and some treatise on the theory and practice. He must also have opposed and responded in the schools of his faculty, and have had two years practice.'

Such was the character of the highest form of culture aimed at in the Cambridge of those days. Throughout the whole course the maxim *disce docendo* was regularly enforced, and the honored title of doctor was conferred only on those who had discharged the function of a teacher.

Tripos—Prevaricator—Terrae Filius.

[Wordsworth in his *Student Life, or University Society*, gives the following account by Mr. Stokys, Esquire Bedel, and Registrary of the University, 1558–1591, of the regular performances at Commencement, taken by him from Dean Peacock's *Observations on the Statutes.*]

CEREMONIES OF BACHELORS' COMMENCEMENT.

'*The order of the Questionists.* In primis, the Questionists shall gyve the Bedels warnynge upon the Le [i.q. *legibile*] Daye, that they may proclayme before thordynarie Readers [the 4 Barnaby Lecturers on Terence, Logic, Philosophy, and Mathematics, chosen on the 11th of June, the Feast of S. Barnabas. *Ordinary* Lectures included comments of the reader; *Cursory* Lectures consisted in simply reading the text of the author with the common glosses,] in the common Schooles thentrynge of their Questions at the accustomed Hower, which is at ix of the Clocke [this was the entering of *Priorums*, or answering questions (*respondendum quaestioni*) out of Aristotle's *prior* Analytics] at which tyme the Bedells, or one of them shall go to the Colledge, Howse, Hall or Hostell, where the sayd Questionists be, and at their entryng into the sayed Howse, &c., shall call and gyve Warninge in the middest of the Courte, with thees words, *Alons, Alons, goe Mrs. goe, goe*; and then to toll, or cause to be tolled the Bell of the Howse to gather the Messrs. Bachilers, Schoolers and Questionists together, and all the companye in their Habitts and Hoodds being assembled, the Bedells shall goe before the Junior Questioniste, and so all the Rest in their order shall folowe bareheadded, and then the Father, [the Fellow of the foundation who goes as patron of the candidates of his college who are called his *Sons*. In later times his office has been swallowed in that of the *Praelector*], and after all the Graduats and companye of the sayed Howse unto the common Schooles in dew Order; and when they do enter into the Schooles, one of the Bedells shall saye, *noter mater, bona nova, bona nova*, and then the Father being placed in the Responsalls Seate, and his Chyldren standyng over agaynst hym in order, and theldest standyng in the hier Hand, and the rest in their order accordyngly, the Bedyll shall proclayme if he have any thynge to be proclaymed, and furder saye, *Reverende Pater, licebit tibi incipere, sedere et cooperiri si placet.* That done the Father shall enter hys commendacions of hys chyldren, [they kneeling, and the Bedells plucking their hoods over their faces], and propounding of his Questions unto them, which the eldest shall first aunswer, and the Rest orderlye; and when the Father hathe added his conclusion unto the Questions, the Bedyll shall brynge them Home in the same order as they went: and if the Father shall uppon his Chyldrens Aunswer replie and make an Argument, then the Bedell shall knocke hym out, [knock loudly at the door, so as to drown his argument and bring it to a close], and at the uttermost schoole Dore, the Questionists shall turne them to the Father and the Company, and gyve thanks for their commyng with them.'

On Ash Wednesday the bedell was to bring the Determiners, King's college being fetched last, to await the Vice-Chancellor at 8 a.m. in St. Mary's church. If there were no sermon, there was to be common prayer. Then in the N. chapel they swore '*Furabitis quod Determinetis ad placitum Procuratorum*, and then the Proctours appoynt them their Senioritie:' [this constituted the *first Tripos List* as it was *afterward* called, containing the names of the *Wranglers* and *Senior Optimes* or *Baccalaurei quibus sua reservatur Senioritas Comitiis Priori bus:* who, in early times, were arranged according to the fancy of the proctors, though no doubt they paid some attention to merit. As lately as 1790, the Vice-Chancellor and proctors had the right of placing one honorary *Senior Optime* apiece between the 1st and 2nd *Wrangler*. This may puzzle us when we find Bentley, for instance, 6th on the first tripos, through he is rightly called 3rd

wrangler. 'The second Tripos List, or of junior optimes (*quibus sua reservatur senioritas Comitiis Posterioribus*), which was formed on the second Tripos-day, had been, most probably, composed of those questionists, whose superiority was not already recognized, who had most distinguished themselves in the *quadragesimal* exercises.' The rest, οἱ πολλοί, had no seniority reserved till the general Bachelors' Commencement]. They then go to the Philosophy Schools 'where Mr. Vichauncellor, the Doctours, and other worshipfull Straungers shal be placed in the Stage provided for them. The Father shall be placed in the Responsall Seate, his eldest sone standyng at the Stalles ende upon hys right hande, Mr. Proctour shall sytt under the hie Chaire of the Reader [the *lector ordinarius* in philosophy. The arrangement of the schools must have been much as we find it now remaining from the days when Acts and Opponencies were commonly held there.] The Magistri nen Regentes [every M.A. under one year's standing was expected to examine in the schools until the year 1785: the M.A.'s first year from creation was his year *necessariae regentiae:* many of the friars and monks were chased out of the university in 1537, as well as other D.D. who swore to keep a longer term of regency, and it was found necessary to add to the *necessary* regency, first *one*, and then *two* years extra, which were not absolutely binding] in the upper stalles upon the Father's side; and the Mr. Regent Disputers shall sit in the first Stall. And when every man is placed, the Senior Proctor shall, with some oration, shortly move the Father to begyn, who, after his exhortation unto his Children, shall call fourthe his eldest sone, and animate hym to dispute with an OULD BACHILOUR, which shall sit upon a STOOLE before Mr. Proctours, unto whome the sone shall propound 2 Questions, and in bothe them shall the sone dispute, askyng leave of Mr. Proctour untyll the Proctour shall wyll hym to gyve Place unto hys Father. Then shall the Bedels, standyng before the Father, make curtesye, and say in Frenche, *Noter Determinere, Je vous remercie de le Argent que vous aves donner a moy et a meis companiouns: pourquoy je prie a Dieu que il vous veuilles donner tres bonne vie, et en la Fin la Joye de Paradise.* And then make curteseye unto Mr. Proctours and then to the Father agayne, sayinge, *Permissum est Dominationi tue incipere, sedere, co-operiri quando velis.* Then the Father askyng Licens of Mr. Proctours shall dispute with the OLD BACHILOUR, and after hym two Regents; and when the sayed two Regents have ended at thappoyntmente of Mr. Proctours, then shall the Father of thacte, puttynge of his bonet, propounde two other new Questions and discourse upon them in such manner as he wyll defende the same, agaynst whom two other Regents shall dispute so longe as shalbe thought good unto Mr. Proctours, which with some convenient oration shall conclude this dayes dysputation, saying, *Noe continuamus hanc Disputacionem in Horam primam Diei Jovis post quartam Dominicam hujus Quadragesime.* And immediately a Sophister provided by the Proctour shall knele before the Responsall sett, and have for hys labour 4*d.* and 1 Lib. of Figgs. Then the Bedell havyng a Rolle of all the Questionists accordyng to their Senioritie, shall call them, and set them through the Responsall Seat, begynnyng with the Senior, at his entring the Proctour shall saye, *Incipiatis*, and pausyng a whyle, shall saye, *Ad oppositum*, then *Redeatis*, and last *Exeatis:* and with that the Questioniste senior shall goe fourthe of the Stall.' And so on with the rest. The next day four weeks virtually the same ceremony was performed. 'And when all have passed through the Stalle, then shall the senior Procurator saye, *In Dei nomine Amen. Authoritate qua fungimur, decernimus, creamus, et pronunciamus omnes hujus anni Determinatores finaliter determinasse et actualiter esse in Artibus Bachalaureos.*' After this the 'Vichauncellour' and the rest had supper at the charge of the Determiners 'at what Howse the Proctours shall apoynte.' They were to provide the like on the Thursday before 'Shrove Sondaye:' also to give gloves to the 'Father, Mr. Proctours, and

the BACHILER ANSWERYNGE,' and the proctors were to give to each bedel a pair for his pains. Another important point is, that 'All the Determiners dothe sytte in the New Chappel [attached to the divinity schools, afterward part of the library; here each determiner was to say the *de profundis*, &c.] within the schools, from one of the Clocke untyll fyve upon the Mondaye, Tuesdaye, Wensdaye, and Thursdaye in the weeke before Shrove Sondaye abyding there examynation of so many masters [? Regents] as wyll repayre for that cause thether; and from three to four all they have a Potation of Figgs, Reasons, and Almona, Bonnes, and Beer, at the charge of the sayed Determiners, whereat all the Bedells may be present daylye: and upon the Thursdaye they be only examined in Songe and wrightynge. And twoe Magister Regents [afterward called *Moderators*] allowed and appoynted by the whole Universitie upon the Fryday folowyng, maketh by the senior of them an oration before the University standyng by the chaire of the Vichauncelor, declaryng what Towardness they have found in the Tyme of their examination: and if they sayed examiners do dislowe eny, he shall not procede.'

The bedels attend in their 'Hoods and Quoiffys. . . to bryngo every Doctour or Mr. of a Howse thorowghe the Prese with their Staffs turned.'

Beside this there was another ceremony called *Standing in Quadragesima* which continued till rather more than a generation ago. All the Determiners had to stand in the schools every day from Ash Wednesday till the last Act attended by one Sophister or undergraduate in the stage below himself; the two together being prepared (at the word of the Bedel *Incipiatis*) to defend 'three Questions of Dialecte and Philosophye wrytten fayer on a paper, and leyed before him in the Stall, unto the which he shalbe apoynted unto by Mr. Proctours —' against all Scholars and Bachelors; between the hours of 9 and 11 a.m. on *Lee* days (i.e., *dies legibiles*, days when lectures might be read), or between 1 and 5 p.m. on *Disses* (i.e., *dies disputabiles*, whereon the solemn disputations of the Masters of Arts, being preceded by *Dysses* or Dissertations, might be held. Beside these and their contraries,—*non le*, and *non dis*,—there were at the univ. of Paris *Le fe* or *dies legibiles festinanter*, when lectures were read *cursorie*, without elaborate comments). 'And one of the Bedels must daylye, at the ordenarye Lectures and at the Disputation, signifye thorder of their standynge, with thees words, or the licke, upon the Lee Dayes: *Noter Determiners, devaunt Diner sub spe, sub spe longa, vel sine spe.* And upon the Dis Dayes; *Noter*, &c., *Apres diner sub spe*, &c., [indicating, it may be, the various chances of distinction in the morning disputation of the Le days, and the afternoon arguments of the Disses.] Upon the Daye of the last Acte the Bedell dothe proclayme with thees wordes *Noter Determiners, apres diner sine spe cum Putre.*' On the Saturdays each Determiner was to sing Common Prayer and offer 1d. in St. Mary's: 'and the Bedels for gyving their attendance have every daye an Hundred Oysters and Wyne to the same. *Item.* Every of the Proctours appoyntethe one Questioniste to be Stewarde, and to serve the Bevers, which for their labour are discharged of their contribution unto the said Bevers and Suppers.' [The term *Bever* is I believe still applied in some districts (Suffolk, for instance) to the laborer's afternoon refreshment, 'his cold thin drink out of his leathern bottle.' 'Ita postmeridianos vespertinosque haustus in Collegiis academicorum et jurisperitorum vocant Angli.' *Junii Etymologicon.*

'He is not one of those same ordinary eaters who will devour three breakfasts and as many dinners without any prejudice to their *bevers*, drinkings, or suppers,' Beaum. and Fl. *Woman-Hater*, I. 2. *Bevere, bibere, boire, beverage.* At Winchester school it was thus described by Chr. Johnson about 1550 (afterward 'Informator') in his school-boy poem, *De Collegio:*

Tempore at aestivo data comessatio nobis,
Quando horae trinae pars dimidiata relapsa est.

Commencement Exercises in 1620.

The following account of the Great Commencement in 1620, is taken from the Diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes. Of the proceedings of 'the first Act,' or *Bachelors' Commencement*, he writes: 'The Proctors oratorized; the Tripos yelled; the Bachelors replied; and four Masters of Arts disputed.'

After an interval of a month from the first Act belonging to the Bachelors' Commencement came 'THE LATTER ACT' [*Comitia Posteriora*, in Comitiis Minoribus, Thursday, *March* 30]. The *Tripos* on this occasion was a friend of Simonds [D'Ewes, *Diary*, 1620, p. 99], 'one Sir Barret' of St. John's, the author of the Latin Comedy, which had been acted in the Hall at the preceding Christmas: and we are informed that 'both in his position, and in his extempore answering, he made a great deal of sport, and got much credit.' The *senior Brother* also was one of Simonds' friends, a fellow-commoner of Jesus, by name Saltonstall; and the *junior Brother* was 'Sir Tutsham of Trinity, a very good scholar' [author of an ode upon the birth of the princess Mary]. The whole was concluded by a disputation between one of the Proctors [p. 100], termed 'the *Father*,' and two Masters of Arts of St. John's.

A sophister 'came up' in the schools bringing with him a viol: and he commenced his proceedings by playing upon this viol an original *lesson* or exercise. After this he entered upon his *position* 'of sol, fa, mi, la,' which he defended against *three opponents*. When the opponents had left him master of the field, he played another piece, probably in a triumphant strain; which gave the *Moderator* occasion to observe that *ubi* [p. 105] *desinit philosophus, ibi incipit musicus*.

Hobson having failed to bring the parcel with his new clothes, D'Ewes presented himself in his old suit on *Sunday* morning, *July* 2, 1620, 'amid the throng in *St. Mary's* church. The only seat he could find was upon the highest part of the scaffolding behind the pulpit; 'very commodious,' but an indifferent place for hearing.' He complains that the *sermon* was 'palpably read:' but that in the afternoon was preached *memoriter*. On the morning of *Monday* [July 3], the competition for seats was so eager that Simonds found it expedient to 'rise betimes and take an early breakfast, and pass onwards to *St. Mary's*, with as little delay as possible; and he wiled away the time until the business of the day commenced, partly in conversation, partly with a book. At length the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Scott of Clare Hall, opened the proceedings of the day by a speech. After this, the King's Professor of Divinity, Dr. Collins, who filled the office of *Father*, 'oratorized as his manner was most excellently'. . . : the *Respondent* in the DIVINITY ACT, Dr. Beale, afterward the Master of St. John's and a distinguished royalist, came forward to read the questions of his position. Upon these questions the Professor was about to dispute when he was 'cut off' by the Vice-Chancellor, who acted as *Moderator*; and the several *opponents*, all Doctors in Divinity, were directed to proceed with their work. After the disputation was finished, the Moderator pronounced a learned and copious determination, and the Father dismissed his *son*, the Respondent, with some merited encomia. This was 'the full catastrophe.' It being 'about *one* of the *clock*,' the assemblage broke up, excepting such as like Simonds desired to keep their places; and they adjourned for dinner.

At *three o'clock* the combatants were ready for their afternoon's exhibition, which was an ACT IN LAW. After an oration by each of the *Proctors*, the *Praevaricator* 'came up,' and when he 'was hushed,' the disputing commenced, Simonds tells us little of the proceedings, excepting that the wit of the Praevaricator was 'indeed pitiful.' After all was ended, being invited to supper by the *Junior brother*, who was 'of our house,' Simonds had his share of the 'great feasting' which prevailed.

On the *Tuesday* morning, Simonds came late, and was 'fain to rest contented with a very incommodious seat.' In the DIVINITY ACT this day, the *Moderator* was the Lady Margaret's Professor, Dr. Davenant, a learned theologian of the Calvinistic school; and the *Respondent* was Simonds's friend Micklethwaite, afterward Preacher at the Temple. The *opponents* were seven commencing Doctors. When the Act was ended, the *Regius Professor* addressed them in a speech, and then 'gave them the final complemental *investiture*.' There was no interval allowed for dinner: our friend Simonds, however, went to dine with a friend at Trinity, one of the party being George Herbert, then Public Orator. When he returned to St. Mary's, he found that the PHILOSOPHY ACT had commenced, and that the *Praevaricator* was in the midst of his speech. The *senior Brother*, that is, the senior commencing Master of Arts, 'disputed upon the Praevaricator,' and the several *opponents* took their turn with the *Respondent*. Then followed the *oaths*, and the *investiture*. After this was a LAW ACT; and with it 'our commencement had a full end.' The festivities in the evening were kept up till a late hour: supper was not over 'until ten of the clock,' and Simonds did not retire until after twelve. The next morning he 'slept chapel.'

Commencement in 1665.

[The following passages are taken from Beadle Buck's book written in 1665:]

'On Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday, [not Thursday, as before] either in the next or the next week save one after the said 12 day of Jan., the Questionists, at the appointment of the V. C. and Proctors, do sit in the Regent House, there to be examined by the Proctors, Posers, and other Regents.' The senior makes a speech, as of old, setting forth their proficiency, and their graces are passed. The oaths are taken, and the V. C. admits them 'in Dei nomine,' &c., *ad respondendum Quaestioni.* Each having done 'his obeisance to Mr V. C.' kneels at the upper table and 'giveth God thanks in his Private Prayers, &c.' Before Ash Wednesday, each has to *enter his Priorums:* i.e., he as to answer a question out of *Aristotle's Priorums* (Prior Analytics):—the Beadle having previously said 'with a loud voice *Bona Nova Mater Academia, bona nova:*' and having 'set up the *Father,*' and placed his *sons* before him, with the words *Honorande Pater, filiorum nomine, Gratias tibi agimus, liceat tibi sedere, cooperiri, et filios tuos affari, prout tibi visum fuerit.* 'It hath happened some time that 4 or 5 Colleges have kept their *Priorums* in the same morning: then all the 3 Bedels have employment enough to attend so many *Priorums,* and the Master of Arts *Disses.*' Between 7 and 8 a.m. on Ash Wednesday they are brought to St. Mary's to a *Clerum,* by one intending to commence in divinity, or else to Litany.

Then to the School-yard; and, if there be no business, to the Consistory to fit themselves with gloves.

'Then one of the Bedels carrieth the Proctors, Father, Disputants Tripos and the 2 Brothers unto their several Seats. . . Last of all the Door is opened for the Bachelors, Sophisters, and the rest of the Scholars to come in. After a little Pause the senior Proctor beginneth his Speech, and towards the end thereof, speaketh to the Father, to make an Exhortation to his Sons; which, after the Father hath done, the senior Proctor calleth up the Tripos and exhorteth him to be witty, but modest withal. Then the Tripos beginneth his speech or Position, made for the Illustration and Confirmation of his 1st Question. He may, if he will, speak something of his 2nd Question, but if he doth not, then the Senior Proctor commendeth the Senior Brother to reply upon the Tripos; and after him the Junior Brother.' Meanwhile the Bedels 'are to deliver the Tripos's Verses to the V. C., Noblemen, Drs, &c., whilst the 2 Brothers are disputing upon him.' 'Then the senior Proctor desireth the Father to urge his sons argument. The Father Propounding 2 or 3 Syllogisms in either Question, Mr Proctor dismisseth him, and calleth up the first Opponent, being Mr of Arts. Now the Father may go out of the Schools, if he please, with a Bedle before him, and come in again when the 2nd opponent is disputing upon the 2nd Question. Then presently after the Father is in his seat, Mr Proctor doth end the Tripos his Act, with a word or two in his commendation, if he deserves it. Then Mr Proctor speaketh unto the Father to begin his Position towards an ensuing Act in Philosophy, and whilst he is reading it, the Bedles do deliver his Verses to Mr V. C., the Noblemen, Drs, Proctors, Taxers, ancient Bachelors in Divinity, and other grave men, &c.'

The candidates had also to sit in the Schools from 1 to 5 p.m. (except on Saturdays and Sundays), every day for a month, to defend Theses against all comers: a practice which, with some modification, survived till within the last fifty years.

The speeches of the *Tripos* and his two *Brothers*—though originally intended to exhibit genius, rather than frivolity, and serving (it may be) in the first instance merely to raise the old standard ingenious fallacies and logical quibbles, which admitted of a certain degree of humor—tended, especially after the Restoration, to become boisterous and even scurrilous.

And to grace St. *Mary's* now wouldn't make our clothes up in the Spring
In Flounces and Furbelows many experiments have been try'd,
And many an old Gown and Petticoat new scour'd and dy'd.
Some of us for these three months have scarce been able to rest,
For studying what sort of complexion would become us best;
And several of us have almost pinch'd ourselves to death with going straight lac'd,
That we might look fuller in the Chest, and more slender in the Waist.
And isn't it now intolerable after all this Pains and Cost,
To be coop'd up out of sight, and have all our Finery lost?
Such cross ill-natur'd doings as these are even a Saint would vex
To see a Vice-Chancellor so barbarous to those of his own Sex.
We've endeavored to know the Reason of all this to the utmost of our Power,
What has made the Doctors contrive to take us all down a Peg lower,
* * * * * *
As for that Misfortune, the Ladies might e'en thank the Prevaricator,
Who was so extremely arch that they were ready to burst their sides with laughter.

Marsden in his *College Life in the Times of James I.*, remarks:

At this period the University, like every other great establishment, had its privileged jester. As the Fool in a nobleman's household, and as Archie Armstrong at court, so were the *Tripos* and *Praevaricator* at the two *Comitia*. Under the pretence of maintaining some Philosophical question, they poured out a medley of absurd jokes and personal ridicule. By the statutes they were directed to confine themselves to the exercise of refined and classical wit, and all vulgar jesting was prohibited; but in process of time the statutes were constantly set at defiance. In 1626, the Heads issued a decree in which, after referring to those golden days of old when *Praevaricators qua poterant contradicendi subtilitate veritatem philosophicam eluserunt, et Tripodes sua quaesita ingeniose et apposite defenderunt*, they ordered that every future Praevaricator or Tripos who should transgress the rules of decorum by ridiculing any person or office or ordinance whatever, should be degraded or imprisoned; and if the case should seem to deserve a severer punishment, that he should be expelled.

These stringent regulations may have checked the license for a season; but in the year of the Restoration [1660], when the whole University was too outrageous in its mirth to think of any rigid enforcement of the Statute, it appears from a copy of his speech still in existence, that the Praevaricator's jibes were launched forth at all present without mercy and without distinction. [The editor of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, *Diary*, p. 84, proceeds to give a summary of the speech to which the reader is referred. After ridiculing the Undergraduates, Doctors, and Proctors, he compliments a Johnian who had just demolished the arguments of Popery in his public exercise—'*Suis* et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.' The Physicians are asked whether Homer died of the *Iliaca passio*. He banters those who have waited through the troubles for their M.A. degree,—the Doctors, and the visitors from Oxford. He then proceeds to his Questions 'omnis motus est circularis' and another. Then after personalities, he begs for quarter from his hearers.]

Such was the audacity of the Praevaricator in 1660. In 1667, he was threatened with expulsion if he should admit any thing into his speech which had not been previously submitted to the Vice-Chancellor for approval. In 1680, in consequence of a report that he had thrown ridicule upon Oates' plot, the University was visited with a sharp reprimand, and threatened with the interference of Parliament. This blow he [the Praevaricator] never recovered.

Gunning in his *Reminiscences* speaks of Commencement Sunday in 1785:

The college walks were crowded. Every Doctor in the University wore his scarlet robes during the whole day. All the noblemen appeared in their splendid robes, not only at St. Mary's and in the college halls, but also in the public walks. Their robes (which are now uniformly purple) at that time were of various colors, according to the tastes of the wearers,—purple, white, green, and rose color, were to be seen at the same time. [Lord Charbley wore rose color.] The people from the neighboring villages then never ventured to pass the rails which separate the walks from the high road. The evening of *Commencement Tuesday*, if not the most numerous, was always the most splendid at *Pot Fair*, when the merits of the steward and the events of the ball formed the chief subjects of conversation. Pot Fair was held on *Midsummer Common*, and was like other fairs with its china stalls, raffles, &c.; but it was well attended, for few undergraduates were allowed to go down from Cambridge till the Commencement. Noblemen generally took their degree on the Monday, and one of them was elected by the ladies as Steward of the *Commencement Ball*.

THE GREAT COMMENCEMENT—COMMITIA MAJORA.

We will now pass to the *Act* or *Great Commencement* in the summer; till which time the *seniority* of the honor men was reserved from the *first Act* generally in February (*Comitia Priora* of the Wranglers and Senior Optimes) and from the *latter Act* of the 'Bachelors' Commencement' (*Comitia Posteriora* of the Junior Optimes): so that they kept their place above any of the πολλοί, or ordinary-degree men.

At this Great Commencement (*Comitia Majora*) the higher degrees were given, and the PRAEVARICATOR* held a similar position to that which the *Tripos* had taken on the earlier occasion.

The following account is taken from esquire bedel *Matt. Stoky's* Book, just before the Reformation.

The Vepers in Arte.

'[Vesperiae ante Comitia maxima]. . . In the mornyng att vii off the Clocke all the Inceptours in Arte shall assemble att the College or Place where the FATHER [In later days the Proctor took this office at the great Commencement] is abydyng. Then the Father shall call hys chyldren lyke as he wyll have them in Senyoryte, begynnyng at the eldyst, . . . so they shall take upp the Scolys; fyrst the Comyn Scolys, the Master in Ordynarye redyng in everye Scolys, as the Facultye requyryth; And so in everye Howse of Fryers, where any Regent is . . . [Then after some Questions and notice of Disputations: the 'eldyst sonne' beginning to rehearse his arguments 'shall be clappyde out.'] Than the Proctour shall make as many ley their handys on the Boke as may, and he shall say, *Jurabitis quod nunquam resumetis Gradum Bachalariatus in eadem facultate de cetero.* [i.e., 'hereafter.' The Oxonian formula was quaintly personal: *Magister tu jurabis quod nunquam consenties in reconciliationem Henrici Simeonis, nec statum Baccalaureatus iterum tibi assumes.* It is thought that the culprit had, to gain some end, dissembled his degree in king *John's* reign.] After that the Father shall rede hys Comendatyon, his Chyldren folowing and there whodys pluckydde on there Hedys, [to hide their blushes;] and that don, the Bedyll shall say, *Honorande Magister, solent queri Questiones.* [The Father repeats; adding, *sub quo? quando? et ubi?*] *Sub quo? Sub meipso, Deo dante. Quando? Die Lune. Ubi? In ecclesia Beate Marie Virginis.* And thus endyth the Vepers in Arte.

Nota. The Fathers and Bedellys shall dyne wyth the eldest Inceptour that Daye.

The Commensment in Arte.

In the Mornyng on the Commensment Day all the Inceptours shall assemble att the Father's Place, as they dyd the day off the Vepers: than the yongest shall go fyrst, and the Father shall cumme behynde wyth hys eldyst Sonne next hym all to Saynt Marye Chyrche. The Father shall sytt before the Auter, & as many off his Chyldren as may. Iff there be Commensment in Divinite & Lawe that Day, the Father of Dyvinite shall sytt in the middys of the Gresynge [*step*] before the Hyghe Auter, covered iff he wyll, & hys eldyst Sone. . . Than next hym the Father in Lawe. [The Father in Art and each Inceptor offers 1*d.* Mass is said. Then] the Proctour shall say *Incipiatis.* Than the Father shall rede a Texte in Phylosophye, & say, *Ex isto Textu eliciuntur duo Articuli ad presens disputandi:* & he shall reherse the Questyons that shall be dysputyde. Then shall stonde upp THE YONGEST REGENT THAT COMMENSYDE THE YERE BEFORE [i.e.,

* As to the name *Praevaricator;* several instances of the word are cited in Todd's Johnson's *Dictionary.* Archbishop Trench says, '*to prevaricate*' was never employed by good writers of the 17th century, without nearer or more remote allusion to the uses of the word in the Roman law courts, where a 'praevaricator' (properly a straddler with distorted legs) did not mean generally and loosely, as now with us, one who shuffles, quibbles, and evades; but one who plays false in a particular manner; who undertaking, or, being by his office bound, to prosecute a charge, is in secret collusion with the opposite party; and betraying the cause which he affects to support, so manages the accusation as to obtain not the condemnation, but the acquital of the accused; a "feint pleader," as, I think, in our old law language, he would have been termed. How much force would the keeping of this in mind add to many passages in our elder divines.'—*English Past and Present,* Lect. IV.

Cicero, in his Second Philippic, says, 'I shall seem, *quod turpissimum est,* praevaricatorem *mihi apposuisse:*' (i.e., to have set up Antony as *a man of straw* to argue with me, merely to bring out my own powers). It is very easy to see how such an office in academical disputations would degenerate into *badinage.*

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the PRAEVARICATOR OF VARIER; who had at the preceding Commencement sworn, in addition to the ordinary oath, *Jurabis etiam quod sequenti anno in proximis comitiis per te, vel per alium*, VARIABIS, *determinabis questionem, &c.* Compare Peter Gunning's account of himself: 'In the year of our Lord, 1632, I commenced bachelor of arts, and was made senior brother. In the year of our Lord, 1632, ending on new year's day, January 1, I was chosen fellow of the college, (Clare hall,) when I was nineteen years old. At the same year, ending at the latter act, I was made *tripus*. In the year 1635, in July, I commenced master of arts, and was sworn *praevaricator*.' *Baker-Mayor*, 234-5; see also the quotation given by Mr. *Mayor* in the notes, p. 648, where Edw. Stillingfleet is described as giving a 'witty and inoffensive speech' as Tripos: and in 1660, the Praevaricator, Mr. Darby, is said to have been 'witty and innocent.'] 'He was required to preface his argument with an Oration, in which he was authorized by custom, like the TRIPOS at the *lesser comitia*, (in the spring,) to use considerable freedom of language; a privilege which was not unfrequently abused. The praevaricator was so named (says dean Peacock) from *varying* the question which he proposed, either by a play upon the words, or by the transposition of the terms in which it was expressed. 'And he shall ansure to one argument in both maters; fyrst to the Sone & after to the Father, iff he may have reason therto, he shall certyfye the Argument off hys Sone. After the Proctour hath sayde, *Sufficit*, shall stonde up the non Regent & reherse the maters, & the way off *the yong Regent:* after he shall rede hys Lesson, & ansure to the Sone, to the Father, and the non Regentys, in lyke Forme as is sayde in the Vepers. Whan all have arguyde, the Proctour shall say, *Ad Oppositum*. The Sonne shall ansure, *Est Philosophus*. Than the Yongest Doctor off Divynite shall take the Conclusyon, and say thus, *Has Conclusiones, assero et determino esse veras*. [Then an Oath is given to continue regency for five years, and not to incept or read in the faculty elsewhere, except at Oxford. The Inceptor then sits and gives his final *determination* of the questions in the ear of the Father (*Magister*),] and as he is going, on off [i.e., *one of*] the Bedellys shall stonde there & say, *Nouter Mater*, [maitre,] *Mater N.* pronounsyng by name. . . [After the *Vepers in Gramer* follows the Act or *enteryng of a Master in Gramer:* which, though beside our question, is too quaint to be passed over. After beginning with Mass, &c., as in Arts,] Whan the Father, [sitting aloft under the 'Stage for Physyke' in St. Mary's church.] hath arguyde as shall plese the Proctour, the Bedyll in Arte shall bring the Master of Gramer to the Vice-chauncelor, delyveryng hym a Palmer, [some sort of ferule or cane,] wyth a Rodde, whych the Vycechauncelor shall gyve to the seyde Master in Gramer, & so create hym Master. Than shall the Bedell purvay for every master in Gramer a shrewde Boy, whom the master in Gramer shall bete openlye in the Scolys, & the master in Gramer shall give the Boye a Grote for hys Labour, & another Grote to hym that provydeth the Rode & the Palmer, &c. *de singulis*. And thus endythe the Acte in that Facultye, . . .

Nota. That the Inceptour in Gramer shall gyve to the Vicechauncelar a Bonett, and to the Father, and to echo off the Proctours a Bonett. . . .

Vespers and Commensment in Canon and Civell Law.

[Then comes an account of the Vespers in Divinity, and of the Divinity Act which was to take place after 'the Actys in Gramer, Art, Musyke, Physyke, Cyvyll, Canon.']. . .M[d]. Iff ther commense ij Fryers Doctours in on Howse, the on is Regent Claustrall, and shall rede his Lesson in hys owne Scholys, and the other shall rede in the commyn Scolys; and lyke wyse wyth the Dysputatyons. . . .Whan the Dysputatyon is done the Doctour shall not say the Prayers, but be brought home wythe the Bedellys, and the Opposers, and there he shall gyve them Drynke: and the Responsall shall gyve hym xx*d*. towarde the Costys of thys Drynkyng.

M[d]. . . .The Bedell shall gather of every Doctour Comensar for every Doctour ther being present, a Grote for hys Pylyon, and iff ther be moo Commensars Doctours than on, he shall gather of the yongar Commensar a grote for the elder Commensar.' [Bedel Buck's Book—1665.]

The Bedels are to go to the several Colleges, and bring the Inceptors in Arts to the Father in *Philosophy* by 7 of the Clock that morning, in Hoods black. After a little stay at the Father's chamber, we go to the Father of *Physick* . . . to the Father in *Civil Law* . . . to the Father in *Divinity* . . . to the *V. C.*

The Inceptors in all Faculties go this day with Black Hoods turned, and their Caps off. When we come at the V. C[re]. Lodgings, after a little stay there, we are to go to the Schools. . . The V. C., . . . not being a Father, is in his Scarlet

Gown, his Cap being garnished with Gold Lace; but if he be a Father, then he goeth in his Cope; and so do the other Fathers with their Caps garnished.

The Proctors go in white Hoods, and their Caps garnished with gold Lace, carrying their Books in their hands. The Father in Philosophy goeth in like manner, save only he carrieth no Book. When we are come into the Philosophy Schools, one of the Bedels saith unto the Lecturer there reading, *Venerabilis magister, hæc tibi sufficiant.* Then he leaves off his Reading. The Bedel then readeth all the Quaestions *in hunc Modum. Quaestiones his nostris Comitiis disputandae sunt hujusmodi; In Schola Theologica.*—Then he reads them. *In Schola Juris Civilis—In Schola Medica—In Schola Philos.*—He readeth likewise all the Questions for these 3, *in Vesperiis Comitiorum, in Die Comitiorum.*

Then another Bedel saith to the Lecturer, in French, *Monsieur, une Parole s'il vous plaist. Les Seigneurs de notre Commencement vous prient, qu'il vous plaist d'etre present Demain a leurs commencements dans l'Eglise de notre Dame.*

Then the Reader comes down out of his seat; and from thence we go to the Logick Schools, and there do the like; and from thence to the Rhetorick, and so do there likewise. . . [The Fathers take a high seat in their several schools, and a Bedel goes to each, and summons him to the Benedictions 'which are usually very short.' Then they go to S. Mary's Church; where all take their places on the Stages, &c.] Mr V. Ch. (if he be a Divine) doth moderate this Divinity Act, and beginneth with a Prayer; then he maketh a short Speech, at the end of which, he desireth the Father to begin: who, at the end of his speech, calleth up the *Answerer*, who, after his Prayer, readeth his Position. In the mean Time the Bedels deliver his *Verses* to the Vice-Chancellor, Noblemen, &c.

The Position being ended, the Father doth usually confute it, but very briefly, and then he disputeth upon his Son; who, after he hath repeated the first syllogism, doth endeavour to answer the Objections the Father used against it. Now he falleth to his arguments again, and having disputed a little while upon both Questions, the V. C. taketh him off, and calleth up the Senior Opponent; and so all the rest in their Seniority. They having all disputed, the V. C. dismisseth the *Answerer*, with a word or 2 in his commendation, if there be cause for it. Then he beginneth his Determination: which being ended, and also his Prayer, the *Respondent*, and all his Brethren standing with him by the Seat, do take this Oath, which the Proctor giveth, [against taking the degree again.] . . Then they are to sit upon the Form before the respondents Seat; and the Bedel having covered their faces with their Hoods, he holdeth up his Staff and saith, *Honorande Pater, ad Commendationem:* which being ended the Bedel doth uncover the Inceptors' Faces and saith again, *Honorande Pater, solent quaeri Quaestiones*, &c. They then adjourn to dinner at the Answerer's college hall. The University Musicians usually standing by the College Hall, welcome them hither with their loud Music.

At 3 of the Clock the School Bell rings to the Act, and the V. C. and all the Company with him go to the Commencement House, and so soon as they are placed, the Proctor sitting on the South side, beginneth with a short oration.

Then the *Father in Philosophy* sitting on the North side, with his eldest son on his right Hand, doth begin his exhortation: and after he hath ended his Speech, the Proctor calleth up the VARIER or PRÆVARICATOR, who having ended his *Speech*, is dismist by the Proctor: and then the PHILOSOPHER is called for by him: and whilst he is reading his *Position* the Bedels deliver out his *verses* in the like manner as they did in the morning at the Divinity Act.

In Die Comitiorum. . . we all go directly to St. Mary's, where the V. C. is placed with the Dres. of his own Faculty in the upper stage at the West end of the Church. The Father in divinity sitteth in the lower stage, with his Sons on his right hand.

The Lady Margaret's Professor (who is usually the Moderator this Day) sits on the South Side in the same seat the V. C. did the day before. . . All being placed, the *Moderator* beginneth with a Prayer, and a short Speech: which being ended, the *Father in* Divinity maketh a Speech; and when that is done, the Proctor saith, *Honorande Pater, ad Creationem:* Wherein a *Cap*, a *Book*, a *Ring*, a *Chair* and a *Kiss* are used.

Then the Father calleth up the *Answerer*, and showeth him his sons, whom he encourageth, &c.

Then the Answerer beginneth his *Prayer* and *Positions*, and when the Position is reading, the Bedels deliver *verses* and Groats to all Dres. present, as well Strangers as Gremials [Others reply in turn:] Every Inceptor. . .is to make a short speech. . .in which he thanketh the University, and likewise his Father. [Then come *Commendations* and *Prayer:* the Bedel says *Incipe: Ad Oppositum: Pone dextram in Manum Dris.* and gives him the oath, and a *Profession* concerning Holy Scripture. With that exception the same order is observed in the other faculties: the Proctor dismissing each with *Exito.* In the *Philosophy* Act, the Father having created his Son;—] the VARIER or PRÆVARICATOR maketh his

Oration. Then the *Son* maketh a short speech, and disputeth upon him. Then the *Answerer in Philosophy* is called forth, and whilst he is reading his Position, the Bedels distribute his *verses*, &c. When the Position is ended, the eldest son, and 2 masters of Arts reply upon him. The Senior M^r^. of Arts usually makes a speech, before he replieth; but the 2^d^. *opponent* doth not. . .

After some 10 or 12 are thus created in the Church, the Proctor standeth up, and saith, *Reliqui expectabunt Creationem in Scholis Publicis.*

They adjourn for that purpose. Next morning *the Law Act* is performed: *Groats* and *verses* are distributed to the D^rs^. present; verses alone to the noblemen and strangers. Then *the Physick Act* begins.

Now if there be no *Music Act*, Mr Proctor maketh a short Speech, thanking the Auditory for their patience, and desireth their pardon in case there have been any Slips or mistakes in such variety of exercise.

Mem. That the VARIER to be in the future Commencement hath this Oath added, *Jurabis* etiam, &c. *He is sworn last, tho' he be one of the first that is called.*'

What Remains in 1828.

Gunning's edition of Wall's *Ceremonies* (1828), shows that the forms *Incipe*, *Ad Oppositum*, &c., remain unaltered in the Divinity *Commencement*. The office of *Tripos* and Prevaricator have gone; the name of the former have come to signify the *list* on the back of which the verses are printed (and in later times even the *examination* which results in that list).

Under the section concerning the *First Tripos*, Gunning says, 'Each of the Proctors provides a copy of verses in Latin, which he sends to be printed at the University Press.

The Junior Proctor gives directions about the printing, and orders a number of copies to be sent to the vestry, to be distributed by the company to persons in *Status Pupillari*, who assemble in the Law Schools in order to obtain them. . . The Vice-Chancellor, Noblemen, Doctors, and University Officers, fit themselves with gloves, which are provided by the Junior Proctor. Gloves also are given to the Writers of the Tripos Verses, the Marshal, the School-keeper, the Yeoman Bedell, Vice-Chancellor's servant, Proctor's men, and Clerk of St. Mary's. . .

Each of the Proctors makes a speech ['now discontinued'], and the Tripos papers are thrown amongst the Undergraduates.

A Bedell reads from a Tripos paper:

'*Baccalaurei quibus sua reservatur Senioritas Comitiis prioribus.*" '

The like was done at the *Second Tripos* (of the 'Junior Optimes,' *Comitiis Posterioribus.*)

The Degree Symbols Explained.

Of the symbolism of the *insignia doctoralia*, Bentley gives an account, well worth perusing, in the Introduction to his edition of Terence. In the Elizabethan statutes the Doctors are called emphatically *pileati*, cap-wearers. Bentley explains the solemn delivery of the *Cap* to the Inceptor to mean that he was free, and also that he was to set out on a toilsome journey, eloquent like Ulysses, cunning like Mercury, workmanlike as Vulcan: the three who are especially represented in antiques with *petasi*. The *Bible* was handed to them; firstly *shut*, as mysterious; secondly *open*, as to learned expositors. The *Ring* too symbolizes *liberty;* it is also a sign of *birth* to the doctor's degree; of *betrothal* to the chaste spouse Theology. [The gold ring, with the motto COMMENDAT RARIOR VSVS, was the symbol of authority handed by the Head-master (*Informator*) at Winchester to the *Praefect of Hall*, as a sign that a 'Remedye' or whole-holiday was granted. It was returned on the morning of the next 'whole school-day.' This custom is known to have been as old as 1550, and expired only a few years ago]. The *Chair* represents stability: it invites the Inceptor to aim at succeeding the Professor: it calls him to the episcopal Throne, or the decanal Stall. It seems luxurious at first, but it will prove hard to fill. Then the *kiss:* that is a token of *pardon*, of *good-will*, of *kinship* with Alma Mater. It is no kiss of dalliance (*suavium*), but a kiss of holy love (*osculum*).

JOHN ELIOT—THE APOSTLE OF THE INDIANS.

MEMOIR.

Mr. John Eliot, teacher of the Church of Roxbury for fifty years after the first settlement of that town in 1631, will be remembered, by all acquainted with the history of New England, for his early and persistent efforts to civilize and Christianize the native Indians, and is entitled to our grateful recognition for his life-long interest in the mental and spiritual culture of the children and youth, not only of his own people, but of all New England. 'Of his perpetual resolution and activity to support a good school in the town that belonged unto him,' Cotton Mather,* in his elaborate 'Life of the Renowned John Eliot,' writes: "A grammar school he would always have upon the place, whatever it cost him; and he importuned all other places to have the like.' I can not forget the ardor with which I even heard him pray, in a synod of these churches which met at Boston to consider 'how the miscarriages which were among us might be prevented.' I say with what fervor he uttered an expression to this purpose: 'Lord, for schools every where among us! O! that our schools may flourish! That every member of this assembly may go home and procure a good school to be encouraged in the town where he lives! That before we die we may see a good school encouraged in every plantation of the country.' God so blessed his endeavors, that Roxbury could not live quietly without a *free school* in the town; and the issue of it has been one thing, which has made me almost put the title of *Schola Illustris* upon that little nursery; that is, 'that Roxbury has afforded more scholars, first for the colledge, and then for the publick—than any town of its bigness, or if I mistake not, of twice its bigness in all New England.' From the spring of the school at Roxbury, there have run a large number of the 'streams which have made glad this whole city of God.' I persuade myself that the good people of Roxbury will for ever scorn to begrudge the cost, or to permit the death of a school which God has made such an honor to them; and

* *Magnalia Christi Americana.* By Cotton Mather, D. D., F. R. S., and Pastor of North Church in Boston.

this the rather, because the deceased Eliot has left them a fair part of his estate for the maintaining of the school in Roxbury; and I hope, or at least I wish, that the ministers of New England, may be as ungainsayably importunate with their people as Mr. Eliot was with his, for schools that may seasonably tinge the young souls of the rising generation. A want of education for them is the blackest and saddest of all the bad omens that are upon us." Such was the appreciation of the educational labors of the Apostle Eliot by one who was a witness of their abundant fruitfulness, and who included him, in his '*Divine Illustrations*,' among the FIRST GOOD MEN, 'who brought the Gospel into this wilderness, and settled churches here according to the order of the Gospel.'

He was born at Nasing, in Essex, England, Nov., 1604, of Puritan parents, who secured for him a thorough education in Jesus College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1622. After leaving Cambridge, he taught for a time in the school kept by the eminent Thomas Hooker, 'the quiet sanctity of whose household was a rich blessing to his soul.' He came over in the vessel which brought over Gov. Winthrop's wife and children, in Nov., 1631, and supplied the pulpit of the First Church, in a temporary absence of Mr. Wilson in England, with such acceptance that the Church would have made him their Teacher. But he had pledged himself to a company of friends to be their teacher, when they should come over, as they did in 1632, when he settled with them at Roxbury —being ordained Teacher in November, in the church of which Rev. Thomas Weld was invested with pastoral charge in July preceding. In the same year he was married to Ann Mountfort, born in 1604, to whom he was engaged before he left England. To them were born seven children—she died March 24, 1687, aged 84, and he in May 20, 1690, aged 86.

In the year previous to his death, he conveyed an estate of about 75 acres to trustees for 'the maintenance, support, and encouragement of a school and schoolmaster at that part of Roxbury, commonly called Jamaica, or the Pond Plains, for the teaching and instructing of the children at that end of the town, (together with such Indians and negroes as shall or may come to the said school) and to no other intent or purpose whatever.'

Before giving in some detail the original documents, connected with the Free School in the Easterly Part of Roxbury, which illustrates the peculiar character of the early Free schools of New England, we will note briefly the labors of Eliot, for which his contemporaries and posterity call him the Apostle of the Indians.

"[1770.] On file is a list of names of scholars, with their studies.
"'Roxbury School, 1770.'"

Scholars—Latin,		9
	Cypherers,	20
	Writers,	17
	Testament,	10
	Psalter,	10
	Spellers,	19
		85

"The requisitions for admission in 1789 were 'to read tolerably well by spelling words of four syllables.'

"On March 14, 1796, Hon. John Lowell and others were appointed a committee 'to lease the school farm and all the other lands belonging to the Grammar School in the Easterly part of Roxbury, except Mead's orchard, at public vendue, to the highest bidder for the term of 120 years . . . the net proceeds to be vested in other real estate.'

"[1805.] May 11. Another assessment for 'fire money.' If any neglect to pay, 'then the master is requested not to instruct such children.' At the same meeting a vote was adopted requiring the school lands 'to be perambulated and the boundaries renewed once every five years.' This vote has been complied with from the date of its adoption to the present time.

"'The property belonging to this Institution consisted at the time of its first legal incorporation of various pieces of real estate scattered over the town of Roxbury. Soon after the Act of Incorporation was passed, the Board of Trustees appointed under it thought it expedient to raise a capital which would be more productive than the said tracts of land theretofore had been, and for the purpose they solemnly resolved to dispose of said tracts and parcels of land. Among the members of the Board at that time were two gentlemen of high legal standing, who had taken an active part in procuring the Act of incorporation. They recommend the disposal of the land upon *long leases*.

"'So far as we can now perceive, the decision they made was a very wise one. The lands leased at auction for a term of one hundred and twenty years appear to have brought nearly or quite the prices then paid for the fee simple.

"'It was a part of the conditions of the lease, and a very serious one too, that the Corporation should have a right of entry upon the premises leased twenty years before the expiration of the several leases, and to cause the buildings and improvements thereon to be appraised; and there was a provision that there should be no strip and waste made upon the improvements as valued, nor should the same be removed under the penalty of forfeiture of the remaining term of years.'

"Within the last twenty years [1840–60] some of our unscrupulous politicians, in one of those outbursts of zeal for the interests of our adopted citizens which periodically manifest themselves, attempted to create a popular excitement against the trustees. At a public meeting of the citizens a charge was brought that the funds of the school had been misapplied; that they had been given for the "maintenance of poor men's children" exclusively, but the trustees had allowed the children of the rich to share equally the benefit of them. A committee was appointed to inquire and report. The result of their investigation was not what they expected. It appeared that the funds originally contributed, and by which the school was supported from 1645 to 1672, were given by the wealthier class for the benefit of THEIR children; that a few boys, sons of men too poor to contribute, were admitted to the school *gratis;* that Thomas Bell, being desirous that the children of the poor generally should have the benefit of public instruction, left by his will sufficient property for this purpose, intending it evidently for the school already founded, and of which he had been a liberal friend during his lifetime; that legislative authority confirmed this intention, thus establishing on a liberal foundation a free institution, where the rich and the poor can meet together on common ground; and finally, that the trustees had not misapplied the funds, but had acted with a conscientious regard to the interests of the school and the design of its founders."

Past Teachers.

1650. Joseph Hansford.
1665. Daniel Weld.
1666. John Mighill.
1668. John Prudden.
1673. John Howe.
1674. Thomas Weld.
1680. Thomas Bernard.
1695. Joseph Greene.
1698. Andrew Gardiner.
1700. Benjamin Thompson.
1703. John Bowles.
1705. William Williams.
1708. Timothy Ruggles.
1709. Ebenezer Williams.
1712. Increase Walter.
1713. Robert Stanton.
1714. Thomas Foxcraft.
1716. Ebenezer Pierpont.
1718. Henry Wise.
1719. Richard Dana.
1722. Benjamin Ruggles.
1723. Thomas Weld.
1726. Ebenezer Pierpont.
1731. Joseph Mayhew.
1733. David Goddard.
1734. Thomas Balch.
1736. John Ballantine.
1738. Stephen Fessenden.
1740. Nathaniel Sumner.
1741. John Newman.
1743. Job Palmer.
1744. Elisha Savel.
1745. Daniel Foxcroft.
1746. Edward Holyoke.
1747. Solomon Williams.
1750. John Merriam.
1752. William Cushing.
1753. Joseph Coolidge.
1756. James Greaton.
1758. John Fairfield.
1760. Joseph Warren.
1761. Ebenezer Williams.
1763. Benjamin Balch.
1765. Samuel Parker.
1766. Oliver Whipple.
1768. Increase Sumner.
1770. Samuel Cherry.
1771. Ward Chipman.
1772. Joseph Prince.
1773. John Eliot.
1774. Benjamin Balch.
1774. Joseph Williams.
1775. Thomas Marsh.
1776. Oliver Everett.
1777. Robert Williams.
1779. Peter Clark.
1780. Thomas Williams.
1781. John Prince.
1783. Abiel Heywood.
1789. William Emerson.
1791. Calvin Whiting.
1792. Joseph Dana.
1793. Charles Cutler.
1794. James B. Howe.
1795. Joseph Whitcomb.
1796. James Bowers.
1797. Joseph Warren.
1798. Benjamin Rice.
1799. Thomas Bede.
1799. Stephen Longfellow, Jr.
1799. Luther Richardson.
1800. William Pillsbury.
1800. Timothy Fuller.
1801. Samuel Swett.
1801. Joseph Chickering.
1802. Nathaniel Prentiss.
1807. Samuel Newell.
1809. Moses Gill.
1811. Moses Hunt.
1814. James Day.
1814. L. Dam.
1818. Enos Stewart.
1818. John F. Jenkins.
1819. Frederic Crafts.
1820. Charles Fox.
1821. William Davis.
1825. Richard G. Parker.
1828. F. S. Eastman.
1835. George Tower.
1837. John H. Purkit.
1839. John Kebler.
1839. Daniel Leach.
1839. H. B. Wheelwright.
1841. B. H. Rhoades.
1842. John D. Philbrick.
1844. B. A. Gould, Jr.
1847. George Morrill.
1847. Charles Short.
1849. Edward L. Holmes.
1851. T. P. C. Lane.
1853. R. C. Matcalf.

1853–1867,	A. H. Buck.
1860–1866,	Miss Elizabeth Weston.
1864–1865,	Solon Bancroft.
1867–1874,	Miss Marzette Helen Coburn.
1872–1873,	Miss Ellen Jane Collar.
1873–1875,	S. M. Macvane.
1874–1875.	Miss M. Gertrude Mead.
Present Principal,	Wm. C. Collar.

PRESENT CONDITION—1876.

The Roxbury Latin School of Roxbury, (now Boston Highlands), is an endowed free school, to which are admitted applicants residing in Boston, who are ten years of age, and who possess the requisite qualifications of scholarship:—

1. To read English fluently, to know the parts of speech, to be able to analyze a simple sentence, and to spell common words.
2. To know the commonest facts of Mathematical and Physical Geography, to draw outline maps of North America and Europe, with their most important physical features and political divisions, and to have a general knowledge of the geography of the United States.
3. Practical facility in working the first four rules of Arithmetic, and the elements of Fractions or Compound Denominate Numbers.
4. Facility in writing legibly from dictation.

Candidates for admission must present a certificate of good moral character from the principal of the school last attended.

No boy over fifteen years of age is admitted to the lowest class, unless it appears by his examination that he is qualified to enter a higher class in English studies.

The following is the course of study:—

Sixth Class.

FALL TERM.—*Latin:* Grammar and exercises. *Mathematics:* Written and mental arithmetic. *English Language:* English grammar, reading, exercises in elocution, poems learned, spelling, writing from dictation. *Other Studies:* Botany, writing, drawing.

WINTER TERM.—*Latin:* Grammar, reader, exercises. *Mathematics:* Written and mental arithmetic. *English Language:* English grammar, reading, exercises in elocution, selections from Longfellow, poems learned, spelling, writing from dictation. *Other Studies:* Modern geography, writing, drawing.

SPRING TERM.—*Latin:* Reader, Viri Romæ, exercises. *English Language:* English grammar, selections from Whittier, reading, poems learned, spelling, writing from dictation. *Other Studies:* Botany, modern geography, writing, drawing.

Fifth Class.

FALL TERM.—*Latin:* Viri Romæ, writing Latin. *French:* Grammar and reading. *Mathematics:* Arithmetic. *English Language and Literature:* Hawthorne, True Stories; poems learned, spelling, writing from dictation. *Other Studies:* Modern geography, drawing, writing, Roman history.

WINTER TERM.—*Latin:* Phædrus and Nepos, writing Latin. *French:* Grammar and reading. *Mathematics:* Geometry, oral lessons. *English Language and Literature:* Hawthorne, Wonder Books; spelling, writing from dictation. *Other Studies:* Ancient geography, drawing, writing, Roman history.

SPRING TERM.—*Latin:* Nepos, writing Latin. *French:* Grammar and reading. *Mathematics:* Arithmetic. *English Language and Literature:* Macaulay, Lays of Ancient Rome; spelling, writing from dictation. *Other Studies:* Botany, drawing, writing.

Fourth Class.

FALL TERM.—*Latin:* Cæsar, De Bello Gallico; writing Latin. *French:* Grammar and reading. *Mathematics:* Algebra. *English Language and Literature:* Scott, Lady of the Lake; spelling, writing from dictation. *Other Studies:* Grecian history, drawing, writing.

WINTER TERM.—*Latin:* Cæsar, De Bello Gallico; writing Latin. *French:* Grammar and reading. *Mathematics:* Algebra. *English Language and Literature:* Scott, spelling, writing from dictation. *Other Studies:* Drawing, writing.

SPRING TERM.—*Latin:* Ovid, Metamorphoses. *French:* Grammar and reading. *Mathematics:* Algebra. *English Language and Literature:* Scott, spelling, writing from dictation. *Other Studies:* Botany, drawing, writing.

Third Class.

FALL TERM.—*Latin:* Ovid, Metamorphoses; Cicero, extracts; writing Latin. *French:* Reading. *Mathematics:* Algebra. *English Language and Literature:* Irving, Life of Goldsmith. *Other Studies:* Grecian history.

WINTER TERM.—*Latin:* Cicero, extracts; Sallust, De Catilinæ Conjuratione; writing Latin. *French:* Reading. *Mathematics:* Algebra. *English Language and Literature:* Goldsmith, The Deserted Village, etc. *Other Studies:* Grecian and Roman history.

SPRING TERM.—*Latin:* Cicero, In Catilinam. *French:* Reading. *Mathematics:* Arithmetic. *English Language and Literature:* Addison, selections from the Spectator. *Other Studies:* Roman history.

Second Class.

FALL TERM.—*Latin:* Cicero, Orations; writing Latin. *Greek:* Grammar and exercises. *Mathematics:* Logarithms; Metric System. *English Language and Literature:* Tennyson, selections; Bacon, selection from essays. *Other Studies:* Physical geography.

WINTER TERM.—*Latin:* Cicero, Orations; Virgil, Æneid; writing Latin. *Greek:* Xenophon, Anabasis; writing Greek. *Mathematics:* Algebra. *English Language and Literature:* Shakespeare, Julius Cæsar. *Other Studies:* Grecian history.

SPRING TERM.—*Latin:* Virgil, Æneid. *Greek:* Xenophon, Anabasis; writing Greek. *Mathematics:* Reviews. *English Language and Literature:* Shakespeare, As You Like it. *Other Studies:* Botany; Roman history.

First Class.

FALL TERM.—*Latin:* Virgil, Æneid and Eclogues. *Greek:* Greek Reader; writing Greek. *Mathematics:* Geometry. *English Language and Literature:* English grammar; Shakespeare, Hamlet. *Other Studies:* History of the United States.

WINTER TERM.—*Latin:* Cicero, De Senectute. *Greek:* Greek Reader; writing Greek. *French:* Grammar and reading. *Mathematics:* Geometry. *English Language and Literature:* Milton, Comus, Lycidas, etc. *Other Studies:* English history.

SPRING TERM.—*Latin:* Reviews. *Greek:* Homer, Iliad; writing Greek. *Mathematics:* Geometry. *English Language and Literature:* Milton, Paradise Lost. *Other Studies:* English history.

Military drill and vocal music through the course. Declamations and essays monthly in the three upper classes.

There is a small reference library and but very little apparatus except globes, wall-maps and microscopes.

The school annually fits from four to sixteen boys for College.

A list of graduates from 1852 to 1875, in the catalogue for 1875–6, contains two hundred and forty-six names; this list is presumed to be quite incomplete, as no register of the school prior to 1846 has been found; since that time, a period of twenty-nine years, there have been one hundred and forty-seven graduates.

The government of the school is vested in a board of trustees, formerly called *feoffees*.

The corps of teachers (1877) consist of a head master, a master, two sub-masters, an assistant, with an instructor in drawing and in military drill.

ELIOT SCHOOL, JAMAICA PLAIN (BOSTON).

Compiled from items furnished by D. S. SMALLEY, Principal.

Means of Support.—The Eliot School depends for its support upon its endowments, no tuition being charged.

Buildings and Grounds.—There is one building, with three-fourths acre of land.

Course of Study.—The course of study is arranged for three years, and includes a full English course, having particular reference to fitting for practical business life.

The school is free to pupils residing in Jamaica Plain who have graduated at the Grammar School, and to such others as pass a satisfactory examination in Grammar School studies.

The government is in a board of trustees consisting of seven gentlemen.

Teachers.—The School employs a head master and one assistant, female; these are elected annually. D. S. Smalley has been principal of the school since its reëstablishment on Eliot Street.

History.—The first donation for the use of "a school only" in that part of Roxbury called Jamaica was made by John Ruggles, of the triangular piece of land in front of the Unitarian Church, on which the Soldiers' Monument stands. The deed of conveyance is dated October 16, 1676. In the early part of the year 1676, Hugh Thomas and Clement his wife proposed to the people at the Jamaica end of the town to make over to them their house, orchard, home lot and night pasture, provided that they would agree to take care of and provide for them in sickness and health during their natural lives, and decently inter them after their death.

At a meeting of the inhabitants, held March 23, 1676, the proposal of Thomas was accepted, on condition that he should make a legal conveyance of his property to John Weld, Edward Morris and John Watson as feoffees in trust for the use of said inhabitants. This agreement was signed by twenty-five inhabitants, and the said Thomas conveyed all his real estate by deed, dated April 7, 1677; and also by assignment all the real estate of his nephew, John Roberts, which was conveyed to him by the will of said Roberts a short time previous; and in 1687 by another assignment all his bills, bonds, legacies, etc.

In the year 1693, John Watson gave three acres of salt marsh for the use of a school on Jamaica or Pond Plain.

Mrs. Gurnal gave six pounds in money, and Mrs. Mead gave seven pounds, for the use of the Jamaica or Pond School.

On the 10th of July, 1689, the Rev. John Eliot conveyed by deed about seventy-five acres of land "to John Weld, John Gore, John

Watson and Samuel Gore, all of said Roxbury, and to their and to each or to either of their natural heirs successively forever, and to and for the maintenance, support and encouragement of a school and school master at that part of said Roxbury, commonly called Jamaica or Pond Plain, for the teaching and instructing of the children of that end of the town (together with such negroes or Indians as may or shall come to said school), and to no other use, intent or purpose, under any color or pretence whatever."

In 1727, Joseph Weld, the only survivor of this body of men, memorialized the Legislature and prayed that three other persons might be appointed as trustees, with power to fill vacancies as they may occur by death or otherwise. The prayer of this memorial was granted, and Nathaniel Brewer, Jr., Caleb Stedman and John Weld were joined with the memorialist as trustees.

The first or original trustees and feoffees were as follows:—

1. John Weld, Sr., Edward Morris and John Watson, first feoffees, and were appointed for Hugh Thomas and his estate during their feoffeeship, and to their successors as such.

2. John Weld, Sr., and John Watson, trustees of two acres of salt marsh, purchased of Edward Morris by virtue of their being feoffees, and which descends to succeeding feoffees.

3. John Weld, Sr., John Gore, John Watson and Samuel Gore, trustees of the Rev. Mr. Eliot's gift, their or either of their natural heirs, their successors herein forever. John Gore, Joseph Weld, John May, Edward Bridge, trustees of John Watson's gift, and their natural male heirs successors herein.

The property of the Jamaica School was held in trust by several distinct bodies of men, each set having control of a distinct portion of the property.

Under conditions like these, collisions would naturally arise; but no serious difficulty occurred till the year 1803, when recourse was had again to the Legislature, and on the 9th of March, 1804, an Act was passed incorporating seven gentlemen as a body politic, by the name of the trustees of Eliot School, and with power to fill all vacancies that may occur from any cause whatever.

The trustees are to be chosen from the freeholders of Jamaica Plain, and they shall "be the true and sole visitors and governors of the said Eliot School in perpetual succession forever."

In 1818, Mrs. Abigail Brewer (after the decease of her husband) bequeathed to the trustees of Eliot School, in Roxbury, a parcel of land adjoining the estate of the late Dr. John Warren, deceased, containing sixteen acres, more or less, the income of which is to be

applied for the instruction of young females only, children of the inhabitants of the third parish in said Roxbury.

In 1831, the trustees erected the brick school-house on Eliot Street, which would accommodate two hundred scholars. The upper room was occupied by the Primary School, and was supported by the town. The grammar department was taught in the lower room, and was supported from the income of the Eliot Fund, and was entirely under the trustees.

At a meeting of the trustees, held March 31, 1834, "it was voted that Luther M. Harris, in behalf of the trustees, be a committee to act with John James, the committee appointed by the town, for procuring a teacher for the Eliot School for the year ensuing. And on a proposal of Mr. James, to have the Eliot and Primary schools united in one, and that a female be engaged as an assistant to the master, voted, 'That the trustees accede thereto.'" From this time till 1842 the trustees and school committees continued a united supervision of the Eliot School.

It was thought by many of the proprietors that the best interests of education would be promoted, particularly that of the girls, by separating the sexes in our Grammar Schools. A proposition was made by the proprietors to the trustees to place the boys in one building, under the entire supervision of the school committee, and the girls in another school, under the supervision of the trustees. This was acceded to by the trustees, and resulted in a large increase in the girls' department. Most of the young ladies on Jamaica Plain attending Private Schools left and attended the Eliot School.

Up to this time the income of the Eliot Fund had been applied to educating children in the common branches and some of the higher English studies.

The sales of land had increased the income of the fund, and many of the proprietors felt that they were not realizing all the benefits of the fund which they might under a different organization.

A committee chosen by the proprietors submitted a plan for a High School to the trustees, February 1, 1840. The plan was adopted, and the Eliot School served as a High School connected with the Roxbury City Schools till 1874.

In January, 1874, West Roxbury was annexed to Boston. In the following February, the trustees dissolved the connection with the Public Schools, and the succeeding September reopened the Eliot School on Eliot Street, where the school was formerly taught.

FREE SCHOOL IN CHARLESTOWN.

The settlement of Charlestown was begun in 1629, and in June, 1636, 'Mr. William Witherell was agreed with to keep a school for a twelvemonth;' and in the same year, the General Court granted to the town Lovell's Island, which was leased out, and the rent was applied by the town to the support of the school.

In 1647, against a marginal reference in the Town Records—'Allowance granted for the Town School.' January 20, it is recorded—'It was agreed that a rate of fifteen pounds should be gathered of the town towards the school for this year, and the five pounds that Major Sedgwick is to pay this year (for the island) for the school; also, the town's part of the Mistick weir for the School for ever.' The town in 1650 had 'about one hundred and fifty dwelling houses.'

In 1661, Mr. Ezekiel Cheever removed from Ipswich to Charlestown, and took charge of the Town School. On the 3d of November, 1666, he presented to the Selectmen the following motion:—

First, That they would take care the school-house be speedily amended, because it is much out of repair.

Secondly, That they would take care that his yearly salary be paid, the constables being much behind with him.

Thirdly, Putting them in mind of their promise at his first coming to town; viz., that no other schoolmaster should be suffered to set up in the town so long as he could teach the same, yet Mr. Mansfield is suffered to teach and take away his scholars.

From an order of this date (Jan. 12, 1666) it appears that 'many of our youths were guilty of rude and irreverent carriage in the times of the public ordinances of praying and preaching on the Lord's Day,' it was commended to all the inhabitants to further their cheerful endeavors by sitting in turn before the youths' pew during morning and evening exercise—and 'it is our joint expectation that all youths under fifteen years of age, unless on grounded exemption by us, do constantly sit in some one of those three pews made purposely for them, except Mr. Cheever's scholars, who are required to sit orderly and constantly in the pews appointed for them together.'

In 1671, Benjamin Thompson, a celebrated teacher, was engaged by the Selectmen to keep the Town School on the following terms:

1. That he shall be paid thirty pounds per annum by the town, and receive twenty shillings a year from each particular scholar that he shall teach, to be paid him by those who send children to him to school.
2. That he shall propose such youth as are capable of it for the college, with learning answerable.
3. That he shall teach to read, write, and cipher.
4. That there shall be half a year's mutual notice by him and the town, before any change or remove on either side.

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL AT IPSWICH.

BY ABRAHAM HAMMATT.*

FOUNDERS AND BENEFACTORS.

It appears from the records of the town, 'that a Grammar school was set up in Ipswich, in the year 1636,' three years after John Winthrop, the younger, with his twelve companions, commenced a settlement in this place. This school was, probably, not a free school, according to our acceptation of the expression, as there does not appear to have been any public provision made for its support. It was kept by Lionel Chute, who died in 1644; after which event, there does not appear to have been any public school until the establishment of this institution. To the benevolence and personal exertions of Robert Payne, aided by his brother William Payne, William Hubbard, and a few others, we are indebted for the endowment of this establishment.

In the preamble to the deed by which Robert Payne conveys to the Feoffees, the land, on part of which the school-house now stands, and from the product of which most of the income of the institution is now derived, the principal circumstances connected with its foundation, are thus related:

Whereas, after several overtures, and endeavors among the inhabitants of said Ipswich, for settling a Grammar school in that place, it was proffered by the said Robert—That he would erect an edifice for such a purpose, provided it might be put into the hands of certain discreet and faithful persons of the said town, and their successors, which himself should nominate to be ordered and managed by them as Feoffees, in trust for that end, and their successors forever. Provided also that the town, or any particular inhabitants of the town, would devote, set apart, and give any land or other annuity for the yearly maintenance of such one as should be fit to keep a Grammar school. And whereas said town of Ipswich, at a public meeting of the inhabitants, January 11, 1650, granted all that neck beyond Chebacco river, and the rest of the ground (up to Glocester line) adjoining to it to the said Robert Payne and William Payne, to whom, by the desire and consent of the said town, at the same time were added Maj. Denison and William Bartholmew for the use of a school. And also the inhabitants of said Ipswich, at a public meeting, Jan. 26, 1650, did add five more, viz., Mr. Symonds, Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, Mr. John Norton, Mr. William Hubbard, and Deacon John Whipple. And that the said Robert did in the year following, viz., 1652, purchase a house with two acres of land belonging to it, more or less, for the use of the schoolmaster, and did likewise, in the succeed-

* Abridged from *Address by Abraham Hammatt, Esq., on the Two Hundreth Anniversary of the foundation of the Grammar School in Ipswich*, in volume vi. of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, for Jan., 1852.

ing year, 1653, at his own proper cost and charge, build an edifice for a Grammar school, which was erected upon a part of the land so purchased.

Mr. William Hubbard gave about an acre of land, adjoining to the said schoolmaster's house, about the same time.

William Payne gave the island at the mouth of our river called the 'Little Neck.'

Robert Payne, the principal benefactor and the founder of this school, was one of the wealthiest of the early settlers of this town. In a subscription by one hundred and fifty-five of the inhabitants in 1648, by which they enter into an engagement with Major Denison to pay him a certain sum annually 'to encourage him in his military helpfulness,' the sum subscribed by him is the greatest on the list. He was a 'ruling elder' of the church, an officer ranking in dignity between the minister and deacon. He was representative of the town three years, 1647–8–9; county treasurer from 1665 to 1683, when he resigned the office. He died in 1684, aged eighty-three years. He left two sons, John and Robert, both of whom were Feoffees of this institution.

William Payne, probably brother of Robert, seems to have possessed considerable property, and to have been active in enterprises calculated to promote the public welfare. He removed to Boston about 1656, where he died, October 10, 1660. Beside his liberal bequest to this institution, he gave twenty pounds to Harvard college.

Daniel Denison, son of William Denison, of Roxbury, was born about 1612, admitted a freeman at Boston, April 1, 1634. This town granted to him, October 12, 1643, under the title of 'Captain,' 'two hundred acres of land for his better encouragement to settle amongst us.' He was admitted a commoner by vote of the town, February 28, 1644. He had, probably, been in military service, for we find the inhabitants, by voluntary subscription, engage 'to allow him twenty-four pounds seven shillings yearly, so long as he shall be their leader, to encourage him in his military helpfulness.' He rose to great distinction in the colony; was a member of the House of Representatives many years, and Speaker, 1649–52. He was appointed by the General Court, 'Major General,' which was the title of the Military Commander in Chief of the Colony. In 1658, he had granted to him 'one quarter of Block Island, for his great pains in revising, correcting, and transcribing the colony laws.'

The other 'honored magistrate,' Samuel Symonds, it is said, was 'barrister of law in England, and descended from an ancient and honorable family, in Yieldham, in Essex, where he had a good estate

He purchased, September 3, 1637, of Mr. Henry Sewall, a dwelling house which stood near where the female academy now stands, with about three acres of land. This property descended through Daniel Epes, his son-in-law, to Symonds Epes, his grandson, from whom it descended to Edward Eveleth, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Symonds Epes, and great-grand-daughter to Samuel Symonds. He kept the house in town for occasional residence, but usually resided on his large and valuable farm, which he called 'Argilla,' and which has given name to one of our school districts. He was representative from 1638 to 1643, when he was elected one of the 'magistrates' or 'assistants,' which office he sustained thirty years, when, in 1673, he was chosen 'deputy governor,' in which office he remained until his decease in 1678. In addition to his various and distinguished offices, he did not disdain to be clerk of the Feoffees of this school, the earliest records of which are in his handwriting.

TEACHERS.

The first master of this school was Ezekiel Cheever. He kept the school, from its institution in 1650, ten years, when he removed to Charlestown, and in 1670 to Boston, where he became the master of the justly celebrated 'Boston Latin School.' He built a barn and planted an orchard, which, on his removal, were purchased by the Feoffees and added to the property of the institution. Of him and another distinguished schoolmaster it is said, in the 'uncouth rhymes' of a cotemporary,

> 'Tis Corlet's pains, and Cheever's we must own,
> That thou, New England, art not Sythia grown.

He came to New England in 1637, and died in Boston, August 25, 1708, having attained the great age of ninety-three years; having been born in London, January 21, 1615.

In six years from the opening of the school, there were six young men, from this town, pursuing at the same time their studies at Harvard college; all of them, undoubtedly, pupils of Mr. Cheever; a greater number than have been graduated from all the colleges during the last fifteen years. The names of these young gentlemen were Robert Payne, son of the founder of the school, afterward one of the Feoffees; John Emerson, son of Thomas Emerson, who became the minister of Gloucester; Nathaniel Saltonstall, afterward minister of Haverhill, son of Richard Saltonstall, of whom, and of Ipswich, it is glory enough to have it remembered that he, when one of the executive government of the province, was the first to enter a protest against the enormities of the African slave trade; (see Savage's Winthrop, II, 243,) Ezekiel Rogers, son of the Rev.

Nathaniel Rogers; Samuel Cheever; probably, son of the teacher; Samuel Belcher, son of Jeremy Belcher, who was many years a preacher at the Isles of Shoals, and afterward at Newbury. Beside these, there went to Harvard college from this school while under Mr. Cheever's instruction, William Whittingham, son of John Whittingham; Samuel Cobbett, son of the Rev. Thomas Cobbett, and Samuel Symonds, son of the deputy governor.

The successor of Mr. Cheever was Mr. Thomas Andrews, who kept the school from August 1, 1660, twenty-three years, during which time there went from Ipswich to Harvard college, Samuel Bishop, probably, son of Thomas Bishop; Samuel Epes and Daniel Epes, sons of Capt. Daniel Epes, one of the Feoffees; John Norton, son of William, brother of the Rev. John Norton; John Rogers, son of the president, for many years the minister of this town and one of the Feoffees of this institution; John Denison, son of John and grandson of General Daniel Denison, who was elected pastor of the Ipswich Church, April 5, 1686, but was not ordained. He died, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, September 14, 1689; Francis Wainwright, son of Francis, and Daniel Rogers, son of President Rogers, who was for many years master of this school. Mr. Andrews died July 10, 1683.

On the decease of Mr. Andrews, Mr. Noadiah Russell of Cambridge, was appointed master, October 31, 1683. He was graduated at Harvard college in 1681, and kept the school until February 26, 1686–7, when he resigned, 'having a call to go to Charlestown and South. The next master was Mr. Daniel Rogers, son of President Rogers. He was graduated at Harvard college in 1686, and probably took charge of the school in 1687.

Fifteen young men from this town, most of whom were probably his pupils, entered Harvard college while this school was under his instruction. They were John Wade, son of Colonel Thomas Wade, who became the minister of Berwick, in the province of Maine; Francis Goodhue, son of Deacon William Goodhue, who was the minister of Jamaica on Long Island, and died at Rehoboth, when on his way to visit his native town, September 15, 1707; Jeremiah Wise and Henry Wise, sons of the Rev. John Wise, minister of Chebacco parish. Henry was for many years master of this school and afterward became a merchant; John Perkins, son of Abraham Perkins, who first settled as a physician in Ipswich, but afterward removed to Boston; William Burnham, a minister; Benjamin Choate, son of John Choate, who became the minister of Kingston in New Hampshire; Francis Wainwright and John Wainwright,

sons of Col. John Wainwright, the wealthiest and most distinguished merchant of this town; John Denison, son of the Rev. John Denison, who filled several important offices and attained high distinction. In the old 'burying place' there is a tombstone, having a coat of arms sculptured, with a long inscription in Latin nearly obliterated, which was erected to the memory of this gentleman. It records that he was great-grandson ('proncpos') to both the Honorable Daniel Denison and the Honorable Richard Salstonstall; Nathaniel Appleton, son of Col. John Appleton, who became the distingished minister of Cambridge; Francis Cogswell, son of Jonathan Cogswell, who transacted business and acquired wealth as a merchant in this town.

Ebenezer Gay, who was graduated at Harvard college in 1714, kept the school one year, 1715. He is well remembered by many of the more aged people of the 'old colony,' as the celebrated Dr. Gay, minister of Hingham, where his useful life was protracted until he attained the age of nearly a hundred years.

Thomas Norton kept the school in 1716. He was a deacon of the church, and died July 13, 1744, in the seventy-first year of his age. He was father of Thomas Norton, junior, who was graduated at Harvard college in 1725, and was the teacher of this school ten years, 1729–39, while the school was under the direction of the selectmen.

Benjamin Crocker began his work as a teacher of the school, June 4, 1717, which he kept until November, 1719. Long afterward, in 1746–47, and again in 1759–60, he kept the school four years. He was appointed a Feoffee in 1749, which office he held until his removal from Ipswich in 1764. He was father of Deacon John Crocker, who is remembered by the elderly portion of the present generation. Beside school-keeping, it seems he preached occasionally. He received of the town treasurer, April 17, 1726, 'one pound for preaching one sabb. day.' He was graduated at Harvard college in 1713.

For twenty-seven years, there is no recorded act of the Feoffees.

Interregnum—Incorporation.

The town in 1720, by their selectmen, assumed control of the school and its property against the protests of the Feoffees. Mr. Henry Wise accepted the offer of the selectmen to keep the school, and continued in the work for eight years. He was succeeded by Mr. Daniel Staniford, who was graduated at Harvard college in 1738, kept the school five years, 1740–45. He afterward became a successful merchant, and was representative of the town three years,

1755–57. He was succeeded by Mr. Benjamin Crocker, who kept the school in the years 1746 and 1747; after which the town appear to have given up the Grammar school altogether.

In 1740, the town began the practice of granting the Grammar school funds in aid of the district schools, which it continued to do as long as the property was under its control. Since the resumption of the direction of the school and its funds by the Feoffees, the town has continued to appropriate money, raised in the usual way, for the support of free public schools.

In 1756, after the decease of Mr. Wade, who died February 9, 1749–50, an act was obtained from 'the Great and General Court,' 'for regulating the Grammar school in Ipswich and for incorporating certain persons to manage and direct the same. The preamble of the act runs thus:—

Whereas divers piously disposed persons in the first settlement of the town of Ipswich, within the County of Essex, granted and conveyed to Feoffees in trust, and to such their successors in the same trust as those Feoffees should appoint, to hold perpetual succession, certain Lands, Tenements, and Annuities by them mentioned, for the use of school learning in said town for ever; of which Feoffees, the Hon. Thomas Berry, Esq., Daniel Appleton and Samuel Rogers, Esqs., and Mr. Benjamin Crocker, are the only survivors; and whereas, the town of Ipswich did also, in their laudable concern for promoting learning, about the same time and for the same use, give and grant to certain persons, in said grant mentioned, and to such others as said town should appoint, a large farm, then called a Neck of Land, situate in Chebacco in the same town, with some other lands adjoining, all which farm and lands were soon after leased out for the space of one thousand years; the rents to be applied to the uses of learning in said town as aforesaid. But (as is apprehended by some) no power was given by the said town to their trustees to appoint successors in that trust for receiving and applying the rents, or ordering and directing the affairs of the school in said town, as in the first mentioned case is provided; from which difference in the original construction of those grants, which were all designed for one and the same use, considerable disputes have already arisen between the said town and the Feoffees; and not only so, but some doubts are started whether it is in the power of said town or Feoffees to compel the payment of the rents of the farm and adjoining land before mentioned.

And inasmuch as the town of Ipswich, by their vote of the twenty-second day of January, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, by and with the consent of the Feoffees, have agreed to apply to this court for aid in the manner in the said vote mentioned:

The act incorporates the aforementioned 'present surviving Feoffees, on the part of the private persons granting lands as aforesaid, together with Francis Choate, Esq., Capt. Nathaniel Treadwell, and Mr. John Patch, Jr., three of the present selectmen of said town, a joint committee or Feoffees in trust with full power' to grant leases of the land; to receive rents and annuities; to appoint grammar schoolmasters and agree for their salaries; to appoint a clerk and treasurer, 'and if found necessary, to impose some moderate some of money to be paid by such scholars as may attend said school, for making up and supplying any deficiency that may happen in the yearly income and annuities of said lands for defraying the necessary charges that may arise by said school,' &c.

This act was limited to ten years from the first of March, 1756. Before this term expired another act was passed reciting the preamble and enactments of the first with some slight variations in

phraseology. . . . This act, which was limited to twenty years from March, 1766, was made perpetual by an act of the General Court of this Commonwealth, passed in 1787.

On the revival of the school under the act of incorporation, the first teacher appointed by the Feoffees, was Samuel Wigglesworth, son of the Rev. Samuel Wigglesworth, minister of the Hamlet parish. He was graduated at Harvard college in 1752, and kept the school two years, 1757–58. He was a practicing physician in 1765, and, probably, resided at the Hamlet.

Benjamin Crocker, before mentioned, kept the school in 1759 and 1760.

Joseph How, who was graduated at Harvard college in 1758, kept the school one year, 1761. He married Elizabeth, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Berry, and died March 26, 1762, at the early age of twenty-five years. His wife had died May 6, 1759, at the yet earlier age of twenty-two.

Daniel Noyes, the well remembered postmaster and register of probate, kept the school twelve years, 1762–73, and afterward one year, 1780. He was born in Newbury about 1738; was graduated at Harvard college in 1758; died March 21, 1815. He bequeathed to this institution 'three and one-third old rights' and 'six new rights in the Jeffries Neck lands.'

Thomas Burnham was graduated at Harvard college in 1772. He was appointed teacher of this school in 1774, in which office he continued five years, when he entered the army, in which he attained the rank of major. After the peace he resumed the office of teacher, and kept the school six years, 1786–91; again one year, 1793, and afterward eleven years, 1807–17; in all, twenty-three years.

Nathaniel Dodge, a graduate of Harvard college, 1777, kept the school in 1779 and 1784.

Jacob Kimball, a graduate of Harvard college, 1780, kept the school one year, 1781.

The Rev. John Treadwell, who was graduated at Harvard college in 1758, and ordained minister of Lynn in 1763, kept the school two years, 1783–85.

Daniel Dana, a graduate of Dartmouth college, 1788, kept the school in 1792; Joseph Dana, a graduate of the same college, the same year, kept the school in 1793; Samuel Dana, a graduate of Harvard college, 1796, kept the school three years, 1797–99. These were sons of the Rev. Doctor Joseph Dana, minister of the south parish.

Joseph McKean was graduated at Harvard college in 1794. He

kept the school three years, 1794–96. He became a distinguished minister and professor in Harvard university.

Amos Choate was graduated at Harvard college in 1795. He kept the school seven years, 1800–6. He was afterward register of deeds for the county of Essex many years.

George Choate, a graduate of Harvard college, 1818, kept the school four years, 1818–21.

Richard Kimball kept the school nine weeks, in 1822, 'for the income of the School Lands.' Charles Choate, son of Mr. John Choate, kept the school on the same terms in 1823 and 1824. Stephen Coburn was the teacher in 1825; Richard Kimball in 1826; Mr. Ward in 1827; Nathan Brown in 1828; Daniel Perley in 1829; David T. Kimball, Jr., in 1830; Joseph Hale, three years, 1831–33; Tolman Willey in 1834; Dan Weed, ten years, 1835–40, 1842–45; Eben. Stearns in 1841; George W. Tuxbury in 1846; Ezra Gale in 1847; Caleb Lamson, two years, 1848–49. The 'grammar scholars' received private instruction from the Rev. John P. Cowles in 1850.

Compensation Paid to Teachers.

The money of account in this part of the country, from the first settlement to about the close of the seventeenth century,* was the pound sterling of England. But from the poverty of the people, and the consequent great scarcity of coin, most of the trading was carried on in barter, and conventional prices of the ordinary articles of consumption were adopted, called the 'current prices.' Contracts were usually made, referring to certain articles as standards of price. Thus, in 1655, it was voted by the town, 'that the pay of the minister shall be three parts in wheat and barley, and the fourth in Indian.' In private account-books, yet preserved, from 1678 to 1683, wheat is uniformly charged at five shillings the bushel; Indian corn, at from two shillings and eight pence to three shillings and sixpence. . . . The Hon. Samuel Symonds, in his will, made in 1673, among other bequests, gives to his wife 'twelve pound per annum, to be paid to her out of my farm, called Argilla, during her natural life to be paid, one half in wheat and malt, at the price current among the merchants of Ipswich, the other half in pork and Indian corn.' At the conclusion of his will, he adds, 'My mind and meaning is, that the legacies here given to my children, shall be paid not in money, according to money, but in such pay as they usually pass from man to man, which is called the current price.'

* The Pine Tree money, issued by Massachusetts in 1652, was 25 per cent. less in value than the sterling money of England, and gave rise to New England currency.

The earliest intimation I find of the actual difference in value of money and 'pay,' is in a certificate of Philemon Dane and Jacob Foster, who certify that they appraised the estate of Daniel Hovey, 'not as money, but as country pay, and that two shillings in money was with us accounted as good as three shillings in pay, and so passed frequently between men and men.' This is dated November 11, 1700.

About this time, the General Court issued 'bills of credit,' which they loaned to the towns for the purpose of supplying the people with a currency, which, being based on no foundation, soon declined in value.

On the settlement of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, December 23, 1726, it was 'voted that one hundred and thirty pounds in bills of credit be paid to him annually, for the space of three years; and afterward the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds in bills of credit, or in lieu thereof, the like sum in silver money, accounting it at fifteen shillings per ounce; and so to rise or fall in proportion to the value of silver; or pay two-thirds of said sum in barley malt at six shillings per bushel; Indian corn at five shillings; pork at sixpence per pound; butter at twelve pence.'

In 1734, the appraisers of the estate of John Baker, Esq., report the prices to be 'in proportion to the value of our present paper currency; accounting twenty-four shillings thereof to be equal, and but equal, to one ounce of silver coin.'

'The committee on the affairs of the Rev. Nath. Rogers,' 1738, report that 'the sum of £279 4*s.* is an equivalent to the £150, at the time when it was contracted for.'

Thus it appears that the pound currency, in the year 1700, was worth about two dollars and ninety-six cents of our present money. In 1727, it was worth one dollar and forty-eight cents; in 1734, it was worth about ninety-one cents, and in 1738, about seventy-eight cents. It continued to depreciate until it reached what was afterward called 'Old Tenor,' which was one-tenth of the pound sterling.

The revenues of the school during the first period of its history, were derived from the School Farm, as the land in Chebacco, granted by the town, was called, which gave fourteen pounds per annum; 'the Little Neck,' which was leased to John Pengry, in 1680, for sixty years, at a yearly rent of seven pounds, and the 'school orchard,' which comprised the three acres of land given by Mr. Robert Payne, and Mr. William Hubbard, which, with some other small pieces of property, let for about the same rent as the Little Neck, in all about £28, or $250 at this time.

There is no record of the agreement with Mr. Cheever, as to his compensation; and that with Mr. Andrews, is partly obliterated. It appears, however, from what remains, that there was a stipulated allowance 'for every Grammar Scholar'—'But for such as are taught to write, cipher, or read English, he shall agree with the parents or overseers of the children what they shall allow yearly otherwise as he shall think meet.'

There is no record of the compensation paid to Mr. Russell, or to Mr. Rogers. Their engagements were probably similar to that made with Mr. Andrews. Mr. Gay was paid fifty pounds, in 1715, and Mr. Crocker sixty pounds, in 1717. In 1720, Mr. Wise was appointed by the selectmen, with a salary of fifty-five pounds 'in bills of credit.' He seems to have received about the same annual stipend, as long as he continued in the school. Mr. Norton's salary, in 1732, was seventy pounds. Whether it was the same or not, during his whole term of ten years, does not appear. Mr. Staniford received eighty pounds per year, for four years, and seventy-five pounds per year for two years. Mr. Wigglesworth, for the years 1757 and 1758, received for annual salary, twenty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence, together with 'his board at Mr. Samuel Sawyer's, who agreed to board him for seventeen pounds per annum.' In 1759, Mr. Crocker engaged to keep the school 'for all the rents and annuities,' and in 1760, for thirty pounds, three shillings, and seven pence, which amounted to about the same sum. Mr. Noyes, in 1762, had fifty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence, 'and he board himself.' His salary varied from that amount, to forty-six pounds, and probably consisted of the whole income of the property of the institution. Mr. Burnham, received for the years 1774 and 1775, fifty pounds per year. In 1778, he agreed for one hundred pounds, 'if there be a stipulated price agreed to by the State; if not, one hundred and fifty pounds.' In 1780, Mr. Noyes agreed in May, to keep the school three months, at two hundred and forty pounds per month; and in September, agreed to keep three months for one thousand pounds, 'Continental Money,' per month.

The present income derived from the property of the institution, is about three hundred dollars per annum. Of this amount, about two hundred and twenty dollars, besides the land on which the school-house stands, are derived from the donations of the Messrs. Paynes, and Mr. Hubbard; about thirty dollars from the donations of Mr. Cross, Mr. Noyes, and Mr. Judah Goodhue, and about fifty dollars from the grants of the town.

SCHOOL REMINISCENCES OF SAMUEL BRECK.*

BEACON HILL—BARBARISM OF JUVENILE SPORTS.

WHAT native of Boston, born in those days, does not regret the prostration of the famous Beacon Hill? It was a beautiful spot, and gave to the town on its first settlement the classic name of Tremont, that hill being one of the three that stood in conspicuous elevation on the peninsula. The other two, as some say, were Copp's and Fort Hills, while others think that the cluster along *old* Tremont street were the heights referred to in naming the town. It is certain that for a short time it bore that beautiful name, and was changed, unfortunately, to gratify and compliment a clergyman who came from Boston in Lincolnshire, England.

This Beacon Hill was a famous spot, known to every body who knew any thing of Boston. It received its name from a beacon† that stood on it. Spokes were fixed in a large mast, on the top of which was placed a barrel of pitch or tar, always ready to be fired on the approach of the enemy. Around this pole I have fought many battles, as a South End boy, against the boys of the North End of the town; and bloody ones, too, with slings and stones very skillfully and earnestly used. In what a state of semi-barbarism did the rising generations of those days exist! From time immemorial these hostilities were carried on by the juvenile part of the community. The schoolmasters whipt, parents scolded—nothing could check it.

I forget on what holiday it was that the Anticks, another exploded

* *Recollections of Samuel Breck*, with Passages from his Note-Books (1771–1862). Edited by H. E. Scudder. Phila.: Porter & Coates, 1877. Mr. Breck was born in Boston July 17, 1771; traveled much abroad; was educated mainly in France; built his home on the Schuylkill, to which he gave the name of Sweetbrier in 1797, and which is now included in Fairmount Park. He was a member of Congress in 1822-26, alone of the Pennsylvania delegation, he voted for John Quincy Adams for President; was member of the State Senate, in which he was Chairman of the Committee on Colleges and Schools, and as such prepared a valuable Report, noticed in the American Journal of Education, XIII., 139. Mr. Breck took an active and official interest in various charitable, literary, and financial institutions of Philadelphia. He died August 31, 1862.

† The beacon stood, as nearly as can be determined, on the site of the present reservoir. The first one was raised about 1634, and the one described by Mr. Breck in 1768. In November, 1789, it was blown down, and in 1790, a brick monument, sixty feet in height, was built to the memory of those who fell at Bunker Hill. The monument was taken down and the top of the hill leveled in 1811.

remnant of colonial manners, used to perambulate the town. They have ceased to do it now, but I remember them as late as 1782. They were a set of the lowest blackguards, who, disguised in filthy clothes, and ofttimes with masked faces, went from house to house in large companies, and, *bon gré, mal gré*, obtruding themselves every where, particularly into the rooms that were occupied by parties of ladies and gentlemen, would demean themselves with great insolence. I have seen them at my father's, when his assembled friends were at cards, take possession of a table, seat themselves on rich furniture and proceed to handle the cards, to the great annoyance of the company. The only way to get rid of them was to give them money, and listen patiently to a foolish dialogue between two or more of them. One of them would cry out, 'Ladies and gentlemen, sitting by the fire, put your hands in your pockets, and give us our desire.' When this was done and they had received some money, a kind of acting took place. One fellow was knocked down, and lay sprawling on the carpet, while another bellowed out,

> 'See, there he lies,
> But ere he dies
> A doctor must be had.'

He calls for a doctor, who soon appears, and enacts the part so well that the wounded man revives. In this way they would continue for half an hour; and it happened not unfrequently that the house would be filled by another gang when these had departed. There was no refusing admittance. Custom had licensed these vagabonds to enter even by force any place they chose. What should we say to such intruders now? Our manners would not brook such usage.

Connected with this subject and period may be mentioned the inhuman and revolting custom of punishing criminals in the open street. The large whipping-post, painted red, stood conspicuously and permanently in the most public street in town. It was placed in State street, directly under the windows of a great writing-school which I frequented, and from them the scholars were indulged in the spectacle of all kinds of punishments, suited to harden their hearts and brutalize their feelings. Here women were taken from a huge cage, in which they were dragged on wheels from prison, and tied to the post with bare backs, on which thirty or forty lashes were bestowed amid the screams of the culprits and the uproar of the mob. A little farther in the street was to be seen the pillory, with three or four fellows fastened by the head and hands, and standing for an hour in that helpless posture, exposed to gross and cruel insult from the multitude, who pelted them incessantly with rotten eggs and every repulsive kind of garbage that could be col-

lected. These things I have often witnessed, but they have given way to better systems, better manners and better feelings.

LATIN SCHOOL.

The Latin school in my day was kept by Mr. Hunt. He was a severe master, and flogged heartily. I went on very well with him, mollifying his stern temper by occasional presents in money, which my indulgent father sent to him by me. Thus my short career at his school (seventeen or eighteen months) passed without any corporal correction. I was even sometimes selected for the honorable office of sawing and piling his wood, which to most boys is a vastly more delightful occupation than chopping logic, working themes, or dividing sums; in short, a translation from intellectual to any bodily toil was looked upon as a special favor.

The Dark Day of 1780 *at School.**

The winter of 1780 was colder than any that has occurred since. I was then a scholar at Chelsea,† and perfectly well remember being driven by my father's coachman, in a sleigh with two horses, on the ice directly across the bay of Boston, starting from the north part of the town, and keeping for many miles on the ice, which we left to traverse farms, without being stopped by the stone fences, which were all covered with snow. It was the summer that succeeded this cold weather, I think, that the famous Dark Day happened in New England. I was at the same school. It began about eleven o'clock in the morning, when I was standing by the master reading my lesson. The light grew dim, and in a very short time faded into utter darkness. The school was dismissed, and we went below stairs. The cause was wholly inexplicable at the time, nor do I find that it

* The Dark Day was May 19, 1780, and the darkness came on between the hours of 10 and 11 a. m., continuing into the night and prevailing over New England. A paper by Prof. Williams of Harvard college, containing the result of inquiries and observations, was published in the Memoirs of the American Academy of Sciences in 1783. The degree of darkness differed in different places, but candles were required at midday for the reading of common print in all the districts covered by it. 'The birds, having sung their evening songs, disappeared and became silent; the fowls retired to roost; the cocks were crowing all around, as at the break of day; objects could not be distinguished but at a very little distance, and every thing bore the appearance and gloom of night.' Dr. Dwight records the following incident of the Dark Day in Hartford, Conn.:—

The 19th of May, 1780, was a remarkable dark day. Candles were lighted in many houses; the birds were silent and disappeared, and the fowls retired to roost. The Legislature of Connecticut was then in session at Hartford. A very general opinion prevailed that the day of judgment was at hand. The House of Representatives, being unable to transact their business, adjourned. A proposal to adjourn the Council was under consideration. When the opinion of Colonel Abraham Davenport of Stamford, was asked, he answered, 'I am against an adjournment. The day of judgment is either approaching, or it is not. If it is not, there is no cause for an adjournment: if it is, I choose to be found doing my duty. I wish therefore that candles may be brought.'

† The school was kept by Rev. Samuel Phillips Payson, to whose charge the children of General Warren, who fell at Bunker Hill, were consigned. The oldest son was educated at the expense of the United States, on a resolution introduced by Samuel Adams, January 31, 1777. In 1780, Congress, on application for provision for the support of the children, allowed the half-pay of a Major General to begin at the time of Warren's death, and continue till the youngest child was of age.

has ever been satisfactorily explained. Some ascribed it to an extensive conflagration in the backwoods, but I do not remember any heavy smoke or other indication of fire. I know that candles were lit, and the affrighted neighbors groped their way to our house for spiritual consolation and joined in prayer with our reverend principal, and that after we had dined by candlelight—probably about three o'clock—it cleared up and became bright enough to go abroad. The day having been one of terror, and now more than two-thirds spent, we were not called to school in the afternoon, but were permitted to go into the fields to gather fruit and birds' eggs. Yet the succeeding night was 'palpably obscure.' Many accidents happened to those who were on the road. Nothing could exceed the darkness.

Acquisition of the French Language.

The Revolutionary War brought many French ships of the line and others into Boston, sometimes to refit, and sometimes to escape the enemy. It became necessary, therefore, to have a permanent agent to collect supplies. The French king honored my father with that appointment, which he held until the peace, greatly to the satisfaction of the several commanders with whom he held intercourse. He sold their prize-goods, negotiated their bills of exchange and furnished the ships of war with all they wanted. He entered upon this business about the year 1779. . . . My father's agency for the French had become extremely active, and he felt daily the want of a knowledge of the French language. This was a matter of regret with every gentleman in the town. The early intercourse with the French was through the medium of Latin, and the celebrated Dr. Cooper was a useful and general interpreter. Soon after, some Frenchmen slightly acquainted with the English were employed. My father had two in his counting-house (Juteau and Nebonne), who proved intelligent and faithful. Notwithstanding this aid, he found it difficult to act with suitable decision and secrecy, and it led him to a determination to have his children taught the French language, and even inspired him with a desire to learn it himself. Accordingly, a master was procured, and Governor Hancock, being then at home, associated himself with my father in the attempt. It proved abortive with both; their age and numerous occupations were a bar to all progress, and the scheme was given up. But his resolution respecting his children was persevered in, and generally fully accomplished. Three of us spoke French fluently, and all had some knowledge of the language.

For my share, it was settled in the family that I should be sent

to a college in France for my education by the first suitable opportunity. Preparations were soon made, and on the 24th of December, 1782, I embarked in the frigate Iris. M. de Vaudreuil, who commanded the fleet at Boston, and now dispatched this frigate to France, had recommended to my father the College of Sorèze in Lower Languedoc, in the neighborhood of the admiral's castle and village of Vaudreuil. This recommendation was accompanied by letters from him to the principal, the Very Reverend Dom Despaulx, to the Marchioness de Vaudreuil, and to Monsieur Bethman, the Austrian imperial consul at Bordeaux. I was, moreover, placed by that kind nobleman under the care of the Chevalier de Chalvet, a major in Rochambeau's army, who was returning to France, and who, his home being at Toulouse, only twenty-four miles from the college, undertook to see me safe there. To all this kindness, the admiral added special directions to the Marquis de Traversé, who commanded the Iris, to take me into his own cabin.

Having passed several days [at Toulouse] very agreeably, my friend and conductor hired a carriage to take me to the 'Royale et Militaire' College of Sorèze, situate off the post-road, at the foot of the Black Mountains (a spur of the Pyrenees), and twenty-four miles distant from Toulouse. We left the ancient castle of Languedoc (so much resembling an American city by the universal use of bricks in the construction of private houses), and came to Castelnaudary, where we slept. It was at this town that the troops of the Cardinal de Richelieu, in the reign of Louis XIII., defeated Gaston, Duc d'Orleans, and captured the Duc de Montmorency, whose head he caused to be cut off as a warning to the feudal aristocracy of France, which this act of vigor completely humbled. We arrived next morning at the beautiful plain of Revel, in which the little town of Sorèze stands. The first thing that meets the traveler's eye in approaching the place is a lofty tower, built by Pepin le Bref about seven hundred years ago. That prince is said to have founded the monastery, now occupied by about twenty-seven Benedictine monks, to whom was committed the care of more than 400 boys.

St. Benedict, the founder of this religious order, prescribed as a rule, as far back as the fifth century, that in order to banish idleness, his monks should superintend the instruction of youth—a duty to which they have ever been attentive, more especially since the dispersion of the Jesuits. At the time I am speaking of (1783) that order had the entire management of the twelve royal and military schools of France, among which Sorèze, by its size and talented teachers, stood conspicuous.

The letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, of which I was bearer, and those sent on from Bordeaux by Mr. Bethman, together with the personal introduction by the Chevalier de Chalvet, could not fail to procure me, on the part of the principal, a most cordial reception. Cheered as I was by the fine Buildings of the college, the lovely landscape that surrounds them, and already accustomed to the manners of the French, I entered upon my studies with a light heart and contented mind. The venerable and learned superior, Dom Despaulx, embraced me with parental affection, and recommended me to the protection of the sub-director, Dom Crozal, who acted as my prefect, and never intermitted the kindest treatment of a friend and father during our connection of more than four years. Very able lay-teachers assisted the monks, and taught every thing fitted to give a solid education, intermixed with every variety of ornamental or pleasing instruction. Thus, besides the ancient and modern languages and exact sciences, drawing, music, dancing, riding, fencing, military exercises, etc., were a part of our daily occupation; so that, notwithstanding we were at our lessons during ten hours and a quarter every day, except Sundays, a judicious interchange of the serious with the lighter matter prevented fatigue.

About the second year of my residence at Sorèze, the Marquis de Vaudreuil arrived at his castle, and as a very particular favor, I was permitted to accept of an invitation to pass two or three days with the marquis's family, the rules of the college, except on special occasions, not allowing a departure from its walls for a night. The Castle de Vaudreuil is a real fortress, with moat, wall, gateway, towers, etc. It was not more than eight miles from the college. Previous to the day appointed for this visit, I had been required to study a part assigned to me in a play that was to be enacted at the castle as an item in the programme of amusements getting up in honor of the arrival of the lord of the domain. About a mile from the castle we saw conspicuously erected the marquis's escutcheon, to denote the commencement of his estate, and as we came in front of the main gateway a very considerable village, from the name of which the admiral took his title, was seen stretching along the foot of the hill on which the castle stood. I was associated in the play with the three daughters of the marquis, all of whom were exquisitely pretty and possessed of manners the most fascinating.

The eldest, who was afterward married to the eccentric Marquis de Valady (of whom more by and by), was not more than seventeen, and a more bewitching girl was seldom seen. Her sisters wanted only the development of her years to equal her in grace and

beauty. A young brother, Comte Philip, and another sprig of nobility, his friend, made up the *dramatis personæ*. A stage was erected in a building in the court-yard, and here we rehearsed before the marchioness while she was at her toilet in the pit. There sat that remarkable lady whose subsequent history was so full of adventure. She was endowed with a commanding presence and dignified manners. Scarcely past her middle age, her features assumed almost the loveliness of her daughters as her Abigail powdered her dark hair and decorated it with a *toupillion* of pearls or diamonds, and more especially when a delicate tinge of carmine was spread upon her cheek and her temple-veins were penciled with blue. While the wonder-working art of the *dame d'atours* was going on, we went through our piece. My share was to narrate, interlocutorally, the naval exploits of the good admiral on the American station. How these speeches were composed, I can not recollect, but it is very certain that there must have been a large proportion of fiction in them to have made them at all complimentary; for the principal achievement of De Vaudreuil after De Grasse's capture was to bring a division of the defeated fleet to Boston. We went through, nevertheless, *taut bien que mal*, and in the afternoon mingled with the peasantry of the surrounding country, who came in great numbers to huzza and dance in front of the castle. In the evening our theater was crowded, and we again did our best. This was rare sport for a boy who had been shut up between four walls at hard study for eighteen months; it was too delightful to last long, and the third day I was led back to prison. Ah! how long did the sweet image of those young ladies haunt my mind and unfit me for my books! But time, that cures most wounds, healed all mine. Notwithstanding, I was permitted afterward to converse occasionally with them at the college concert, to which they sometimes came on a Sunday evening.

Not far from the castle and village of De Vaudreuil is to be seen the great basin of Saint-Feriol, which is a vast reservoir of water, covering more than five hundred acres, from which the Canal of Languedoc is supplied. These objects, joined to fertile fields, high mountains, and ample vineyards, create views of picturesque beauty and specimens of art of extensive utility; all contributing to justify the character and fame which Languedoc has long possessed for the industry of its people and the richness of its soil.

Education at the College of Sorèze was exceedingly cheap, being for natives of France only seven hundred livres (about one hundred and thirty-seven dollars) a year, including clothing, lodging, board,

physician, etc., etc. For those scholars who came from abroad, the price was one thousand livres (one hundred and ninety-five dollars). This difference arose out of the necessity of taking foreigners whenever they presented themselves, which sometimes created an inconvenience that could not occur with natives, because they were made to wait until a vacancy took place. The king paid for about fifty boys, the sons of officers of decayed fortunes. A number of scholars who did not study the dead languages were denominated *pas-latins* (or non-Latin students), and were separated into four divisions, each division applying itself for a year to some one of the following objects: history; geography; mathematics, including engineering, surveying, fortification for defense and attack; the theory and practice of perspective; every variety of drawing, from the human figure to topography; architecture; natural philosophy; natural history; astronomy; the French, English, German, Italian, and Spanish languages. Chemistry was not taught in my day, but mineralogy and geology were included in the mineral kingdom of natural history. To these were added military tactics, fencing, riding, music, dancing, swimming, etc.

With such various means for a good education, without Greek or Latin, many of the merchants, Creole planters, and small land owners gave to their sons competent instruction; nay, very many of the children of poor officers, as already mentioned, were by the bounty of the king, like Napoleon, taught [at Brienne], who, although enrolled with the *pas-latins*, rose subsequently to posts in the civil and military departments of government of the highest dignity. Very long experience in that seminary has shown that the Latin and non-Latin classes can go on with kindred feeling and perfect harmony in the study of various branches common to them both under one and the same collegiate government. I prefer, undoubtedly, an education bottomed on a full knowledge of the dead languages; yet it may not be deemed indispensable.

Every thing was abundant and exceedingly cheap in this fine country. In good seasons it was customary at the vintage to fill a barrel of wine in payment for an empty cask of like capacity; and the retail price of a small-bodied red wine was two sols, or a little less than two cents a bottle. The fine, large marron chestnuts were brought to us, on days of recreation, for a cent a hundred, all hot and roasted; a hundred English walnuts were purchased for the same price; so that four cents a week—which was the usual sum allowed each scholar for pocket-money—was, trifling as it appears in America, sufficient for the purchase of those luxuries which our

table did not supply. My excellent and ever-indulgent father chose to allow me half a dollar a week, and nothing could give the scholars, and even the monks, a greater idea of my father's boundless wealth, as they said, than this munificent pension. With it I had a small carriage built, in which, on days of recreation, when we walked into the country in classes accompanied by a Benedictine, I caused myself to be drawn by half a dozen boys, who made a frolic of it, and partook afterward of my ample purchases of fruit.

Our college life was always diversified by the variety of our studies, and sometimes by transient visits of distinguished strangers, itinerant showmen, and once a year by the dreaded arrival of the king's inspector. This last was a severe man, and in the eyes of the scholars a surly tyrant. He generally suggested some unpopular regulation, and appeared to execute his duty in a rough and discourteous way, which contrasted very strongly with the mild and truly parental demeanor of the good monks. When a great man paid the institution a visit, these very reverend fathers made every effort to please him; thus, on the arrival of M. de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, a general jubilee prevailed, and it was on that occasion, I think, that we raised the first balloon in that section of France.

During my residence at Sorèze, we were visited, I think, by Dr. Mesmer himself, or one of his pupils, at the time when animal magnetism was in great repute in France. It was said that many cures had been effected by its means. This magnetism was then called 'an universal fluid constituting an absolute plenum in nature, and the medium of all mutual influence between the celestial bodies, and betwixt the earth and animal bodies.' 'The animal body is subjected to the influences of this fluid by means of the nerves, which are immediately effected by it.' This was part of the theory. A commission was given by the king to several learned men, at the head of whom was our celebrated countryman, Dr. Franklin. After many experiments they reported against it in every respect; but the members of the French Academy, who likewise examined the subject, made one exception to its utter uselessness, and in these words: 'It constitutes one fact more to be consigned to the history of the errors and illusions of the human mind, and a signal instance of the power of imagination.' Whoever the magnetizer was that visited our college, the credulous peasantry rushed upon him from all quarters; the lame, the blind, the diseased of every sort who could get abroad threw themselves in his way and entreated him to cure them, as he had done their countrymen wherever he had traveled.

These poor people were not so willing to avert the electric fluid

from their houses as they were to receive the magnetic fluid into their bodies. The fact was this: Our professor of natural philosophy was desirous to erect on the old lofty tower that stood near the church mentioned as having been built by Pepin le Bref a lightning-rod, very properly called at that time a 'Franklin;' but the prejudice and superstition of the people prevented it. 'God casts his thunderbolts,' said they, 'where he lists, and it is presumption in man to endeavor to turn them aside.' Nevertheless, these poor people had, from time immemorial, made use of the bell in the tower to drive away the lightning, so that whenever a thunder-cloud approached, the bell was rung to keep it off. After much altercation with the curate and his people, the professor caused a tower to be built, resembling in miniature the one that stood by the church, and having charged his electric machine, invited the curate to witness the practical effect of the conductor. Having placed a rod to his tower properly pointed, he brought the electric flash to it, and carried it along the rod to a basin of water, where it was extinguished without doing the least injury to the tower. This he repeated several times in order to convince the good curate of the perfect efficacy of the conductor. When he had made some impression upon his mind, he removed the lightning-rod, and directed the electric spark to the tower thus unprotected, which it demolished in a moment; and with it fell all the curate's objections, who forthwith aided in the erection of a rod on the old tower. This was done while I was at college. It was a signal triumph of science over deep-rooted ignorance and prejudice.

One Sunday, as we were going to church in the afternoon, attended by a monk, we saw a man climbing up that very rod. He had got out on the top of the high tower, and was ascending the slender conductor that projected beyond it about twenty feet. His situation was perilous in the extreme, and our good monk, expecting him every instant to fall, stood with his right arm stretched out, in order to give him a blessing when on his way to the other world; but the fellow, who, we afterward heard, was a sailor, had his frolic out, and descended uninjured.

Among our scholars were several foreigners of very distinguished rank. I found there on my arrival the four Seras from Genoa. Whoever has visited that city of palaces, must have seen the palace of Sera. These sons of that *ci-devant* wealthy family were known apart by the comparative designation of Maximus, Major, Minor, and Minimus. The eldest was a brilliant scholar, and left a great reputation for good conduct when he graduated. But his life was

short, for he caught cold at a ball soon after his return home, and died. From Italy we had likewise the Prince de Carignan, under the borrowed name of De Baige. This young gentleman had a Sardinian chamberlain to attend him as governor. I lived under the same prefect with him, and upon intimate terms. He was about fifteen years old, of a kind and social disposition, and wholly devoid of pride. He has been dead many years, and left a son, the present Prince de Carignan, who is heir to the throne of Sardinia, which he came near forfeiting by his participation in the revolutionary commotions of 1818. The Duke de Cassano in the kingdom of Naples had two sons there, and the Count O'Reilly, Governor of Cadiz, sent two of his sons there likewise. The usual number of students was about four hundred and ten.

This is a proper place to mention a very curious passage in the life of my prefect, the reverend monk Dom Crozal, who was preparing to accompany me on a tour through France. That very worthy gentleman was the sub-director of the college, and possessed great authority. It happened one afternoon that the class of geography to which I belonged was left alone in the room without a teacher. More than half an hour passed, and no master came. This was enough to put mischief into the boys' heads, and some one suggested that we might have a good deal of fun by turning the front of the map to the wall when poor Dom Dupain, who was as blind as a bat, should come into school. This reverend father could see no object that was not brought up to the point of his nose. He was a good-natured man, and the boys frequently made a jest of him with impunity. Something had detained him that day, and before he arrived, the large map of Europe was turned wrong side out. At length he came and placed himself in front of the naked back of the map. He held in his hand a short stick and a volume of La Croix's Geography. He whose turn it was went on with a description of Germany until he came to Vienna. There the young rogue stopped, and declared he could see nothing like Vienna. 'Poh, poh, child!' said the monk, putting his stick to the bare canvas, 'there it stands on the Danube. Don't you see it?'—'No, my father, I assure you it is not there.' The monk persisted in affirming it must be there; and as he spoke, he thrust the little rod most vehemently against the map. It was impossible to suppress our smothered laugh any longer, and the room echoed with a loud burst. Upon this the good father approached the map so very near that he discovered the trick. Indignant at such conduct, he seized with both hands the two boys nearest to him. These happened to be a

tall lad by the name of Quétain and myself. I made no resistance, but went upon my knees as ordered by Dom Dupain. Not so Quétain, who was a stout fellow, and refused, alledging that he had nothing to do in the business. It so happened that in the scuffle a piece of iron hoop fell out of the side pocket of Quétain, which the exasperated monk supposed he meant to use against him. This he always maintained, and it was one reason for Quétain's subsequent expulsion.

Meantime, the well-known public whipper, Dujardin, arrived, and without form or process, was directed to chastise me. To this I stoutly objected, bawling out that I had never yet been whipped, and begged the kind father to pause, and discriminate between the guilty and innocent before he inflicted an unjust punishment on me. My expostulation being listened to, Dujardin was turned over to Quétain, who, however, persisted in his resistance, and was sent to prison. This poor fellow was the son of an indigent officer, and was one of the fifty scholars paid for by the king. These royal pensioners were not much in favor with the governors of the college, probably because they were less profitable to them than the other boys, and very likely, too, because they were poor. Be that as it may, they were on all occasions severely judged, and on the present one, Quétain was expelled. Now to a royal pensioner, an expulsion from college closed against him for ever the patronage of the crown. No post could afterward be obtained for him under government; so that when driven from Sorèze, he might be said to have all his prospects ruined. In this expulsion, Dom Crozal had a principal hand. The complaint was referred to him, and connecting, as he no doubt did, this offense with the poor fellow's general conduct, he chose him for an example, and sent him home.

NOTE.—The Recollections of Mr. Breck and the Notes of the Editor are full of interesting anecdotes and notices of the eminent public men of his day. The following sharp epigrams are from a note on the society of Newburyport. One of her (Miss Hannah Gould) shafts was shot at Caleb Cushing in the shape of the following epitaph:—

Lie aside, all ye dead,
Far in the next bed
Reposes the body of Cushing:
He crowded his way
Through the world, as they say,
And perhaps now he's dead he'll be pushing.

To which Mr. Cushing retorted with some gallantry and quite as much truth:—

Here lies one whose wit
Without wounding could hit;
And green be the turf that's above her.
Having sent every beau
To the regions below,
She has gone down herself for a lover.

This arrow also probably shot home, since Miss Gould had lived so far single that there was every prospect of her outliving any eligible candidate for her hand.

The Academy in Philadelphia.

Mr. Graydon, in '*Memoirs of a Life chiefly passed in Philadelphia*,' within the last sixty years [1752–1811], printed in Harrisburgh, by John Wyeth, 1811, after noticing his first teacher in Bristol, where he was born in 1752, as a good-humored Irishman by the name of Pinkerton, and his first teacher in Philadelphia, an Englishman (David James Dove) thus describes his entrance into the English school of the Academy, then under the charge of Ebenezer Kinnersley, A.M., Professor of English and Oratory.

'I was now about eight years of age, and my first introduction was to Mr. Kinnersley, the teacher of English and Professor of Oratory. He was an Anabaptist clergyman, a large, venerable looking man, of no great general erudition, though a considerable proficient in electricity; and who, whether truly or not, has been said to have had a share in certain discoveries in that science, of which Doctor Franklin received the whole credit. The task of the younger boys, at least, consisted in learning to read and to write their mother tongue grammatically; and one day in the week (I think Friday) was set apart for the recitation of select passages in poetry and prose. For this purpose, each scholar in his turn, ascended the stage, and said his speech, as the phrase was. This speech was carefully taught him by his master, both with respect to its pronunciation, and the action deemed suitable to its several parts. Two of these specimens of infantile oratory, to the disturbance of my repose, I had been qualified to exhibit: family partiality, no doubt, overrated their merit; and hence my declaiming powers were in a state of such constant requisition, that my orations, like worn out ditties, became vapid and fatiguing to me; and consequently impaired my relish for that kind of acquirement. More profit attended my reading. After Æsop's fables, and an abridgment of the Roman history, Telemachus was put into our hands; and if it be admitted that the human heart may be bettered by instruction, mine, I may aver, was benefited by this work of the virtuous Fenelon. While the mild wisdom of Mentor called forth my veneration, the noble ardor of the youthful hero excited my sympathy and emulation. I took part, like a second friend, in the vicissitudes of his fortune, I participated in his toils, I warmed with his exploits, I wept where he wept, and exulted where he triumphed.

'A few days after I had been put under the care of Mr. Kinnersley, I was told by my classmates that it was necessary for me to fight a battle with some one in order to establish my claim to the honor of being an academy boy; that this could not be dispensed with, and that they would select for me a suitable antagonist, *one of my match*, whom after school I must fight, or be looked upon as a coward. I must confess that I did not at all relish the proposal. Though possessing a sufficient degree of spirit, or at least irascibility, to defend myself when assaulted, I had never been a boxer. Being of a light and slender make, I was not calculated for the business, nor had I ever been ambitious of being the cock of a school. Besides, by the laws of the institution I was now a subject of, fighting was a capital crime; a sort of felony deprived of clergy, whose punishment was not to be averted by the most scholar-like reading. For

these reasons, both of which had sufficient weight with me, and the last, not the least, as I had never been a willful transgressor of rules, or callous to the consequences of an infraction of them, I absolutely declined the proposal; although I had too much of that feeling about me, which some might call false honor, to represent the case to the master, which would at once have extricated me from my difficulty, and brought down condign punishment on its imposers. Matters thus went on until school was out, when I found that the lists were appointed, and that a certain John Appowen, a lad who, though not quite so tall, yet better set and older than myself, was pitted against me. With increased pertinacity I again refused the combat, and insisted on being permitted to go home unmolested. On quickening my pace for this purpose, my persecutors, with Appowen at their head, followed close at my heels. Upon this I moved faster and faster, until my retreat became a flight too unequivocal and inglorious for a man to relate of himself, had not Homer furnished some apology for the procedure, in making the heroic Hector thrice encircle the walls of Troy, before he could find courage to encounter the implacable Achilles. To cut the story short, my spirit could no longer brook an oppression so intolerable, and stung to the quick by the term coward which was lavished upon me, I made a halt and faced my pursuers. A combat immediately ensued between Appowen and myself, which for some time was maintained on each side with equal vigor and determination, when, unluckily, I received his fist directly in my gullet. The blow for a time depriving me of breath and the power of resistance, victory declared for my adversary, though not without the acknowledgment of the party that I had at last behaved well, and shown myself not unworthy of the name of an academy boy. Being thus established, I had no more battles imposed upon me, and none that I can recollect of my own provoking; for I have a right to declare that my general deportment was correct and unoffending, though extremely obstinate and unyielding under a sense of injustice.

'In March, 1761, I entered the Latin school, and became the pupil of Mr. John Beveridge, a native of Scotland, who retained the smack of his vernacular tongue in its primitive purity. His acquaintance with the language he taught was, I believe, justly deemed to be very accurate and profound. But as to his other acquirements, after excepting the game of backgammon, in which he was said to excel, truth will not warrant me in saying a great deal. He was, however, diligent and laborious in his attention to his school; and had he possessed the faculty of making himself beloved by the scholars, and of exciting their emulation and exertion, nothing would have been wanting in him to an entire qualification for his office. But unfortunately, he had no dignity of character, and was no less destitute of the art of making himself respected than beloved. Though not perhaps to be complained of as intolerably severe, he yet made a pretty free use of the ratan and the ferule, but to very little purpose. He was, in short, no disciplinarian, and consequently very unequal to the management of seventy or eighty boys, many of whom were superlatively pickle and unruly. He was assisted, indeed, by two ushers, who eased him in the burden of teaching, but who, in matters of discipline, seemed disinclined to interfere, and disposed to consider themselves rather as subjects than rulers. I have seen them slily slip out of the way when the principal was entering upon the job of capitally punishing a boy, who from his size would be likely to make resistance. For this had become nearly a matter of course; and poor Beveridge, who was

diminutive in his stature and neither young nor vigorous, after exhausting himself in the vain attempt to denude the delinquent, was generally glad to compound for a few strokes over his clothes, on any part that was accessible. He had, indeed, so frequently been foiled, that his birch at length was rarely brought forth, and might truly be said to have lost its terrors—it was *tanquam gladium in vagina repositum*. He indemnified himself, however, by a redoubled use of his ratan.

'So entire was the want of respect toward him, and so liable was he to be imposed upon, that one of the larger boys, for a wager, once pulled off his wig, which he effected by suddenly twitching it from his head under pretense of brushing from it a spider; and the unequivocal insult was only resented by the peevish exclamation of *hoot mon!*

'Various were the rogueries that were played upon him; but the most audacious of all was the following:—At the hour of convening in the afternoon, that being found the most convenient, from the circumstance of Mr. Beveridge being usually a little beyond the time; the bell having rung, the ushers being at their posts, and the scholars arranged in their classes, three or four of the conspirators conceal themselves without, for the purpose of observing the motions of their victim. He arrives, enters the school, and is permitted to proceed until he is supposed to have nearly reached his chair at the upper end of the room, when instantly the door and every window-shutter is closed. Now, shrouded in utter darkness, the most hideous yells that can be conceived are sent forth from at least three score of throats; and Ovids, and Virgils, and Horaces, together with the more heavy metal of dictionaries, whether of Cole, of Young, or of Ainsworth, are hurled without remorse at the head of the astonished preceptor, who, on his side, groping and crawling under cover of the forms, makes the best of his way to the door. When attained, and light restored, a death-like silence ensues. Every boy is at his lesson; no one has had a hand in the recent atrocity; what then is to be done, and who shall be chastised.

> *Sævit atrox Volscens, nec teli conspicit usquam*
> *Auctorem, nec quo se ardens immittere possit.*
>
> Fierce Volscens foams with rage, and gazing round
> Descries not him who aim'd the fatal wound;
> Nor knows to fix revenge.

'This most intolerable outrage, from its succeeding beyond expectation, and being entirely to the taste of the school, had a run of several days; and was only then put a stop to by the interference of the *faculty*, who decreed the most exemplary punishment on those who should be found offending in the premises, and by taking measures to prevent a further repetition of the enormity.

'The ushers, during the term of my pupilage, a period of four years or more, were often changed; and some of them, it must be admitted, were insignificant enough; but others were men of sense and respectability, to whom, on a comparison with the principal, the management of the school might have been committed with much advantage. Among these was Mr. Patrick Allison, afterward officiating as a Presbyterian clergyman in Baltimore; Mr. James Wilson, late one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States; and Mr. John Andrews, now Doctor Andrews of the University of Pennsylvania. It is true they were much younger men than Mr. Beveridge, and probably unequal adepts in the language that was taught; but even on the supposition of

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this comparative deficiency on their part, it would have been amply compensated by their judicious discipline and instruction.

'With respect to my progress and that of the class to which I belonged, it was reputable and perhaps laudable for the first two years. From a pretty close application, we were well grounded in grammar, and had passed through the elementary books, much to the approbation of our teachers; but at length, with a single exception, we became possessed of the demon of liberty and idleness. We were, to a great degree, impatient of the restraints of a school; and if we yet retained any latent sparks of the emulation of improvement, we were unfortunately never favored with the collision that could draw them forth. We could feelingly have exclaimed with Louis the Fourteenth, *mais a quoi sert de lire!* but where's the use of all this pouring over books! One boy thought he had Latin enough, as he was not designed for a learned profession; his father thought so too, and was about taking him from school. Another was of the opinion that he might be much better employed in a counting-house, and was about ridding himself of his scholastic shackles. As this was a consummation devoutly wished by us all, we cheerfully renounced the learned professions for the sake of the supposed liberty that would be the consequence. We were all, therefore, to be merchants, as to be mechanics was too humiliating; and accordingly, when the question was proposed, which of us would enter upon the study of Greek, the grammar of which tongue was about to be put into our hands, there were but two or three who declared for it. As to myself, it was my mother's desire, from her knowing it to have been my father's intention to give me the best education the country afforded, that I should go on, and acquire every language and science that was taught in the institution; but as my evil star would have it, I was thoroughly tired of books and confinement, and her advice and even entreaties were overruled by my extreme repugnance to a longer continuance in the college, which, to my lasting regret, I bid adieu to when a little turned of fourteen, at the very season when the minds of the studious begin to profit by instruction. We were at this time reading Horace and Cicero, having passed through Ovid, Virgil, Cæsar, and Sallust. From my own experience on this occasion, I am inclined to think it of much consequence, that a boy designed to complete his college studies, should be classed with those of a similar destination.'

SCHOOLS IN PHILADELPHIA.

The following picture of the internal economy of one of the best schools of Philadelphia, is taken from Watson's "*Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania.*"

"My facetious friend, Lang Syne, has presented a lively picture of the 'schoolmasters' in those days, when 'preceptors,' and 'principals,' and 'professors' were yet unnamed. What is now known as 'Friends' Academy,' in Fourth street, was at that time occupied by four different masters. The best room downstairs by Robert Proud, Latin master; the one above him, by William Waring, teacher of astronomy and mathematics; the east room, up-stairs, by Jeremiah Paul, and the one below, 'last not least' in our remembrance, by J. Todd, and severe he was. The State House clock, being at the time visible from the school pavement, gave to the eye full notice when to break off marble and plug top, hastily collect the 'stakes,' and bundle in, pell-mell, to the school-room, where, until the arrival of the 'master of scholars,' John Todd, they were busily

employed, every one in finding his place, under the control for the time, of a short Irishman, usher, named Jimmy M'Cue. On the entrance of the master, all shuffling of the feet, 'scrouging,' hitting of elbows, and whispering disputes, were hastily adjusted, leaving a silence which might be felt, 'not a mouse stirring.' He, Todd, dressed after the plainest manner of Friends, but of the richest material, with looped cocked hat, was at all times remarkably clean and nice in his person, a man of about sixty years, square built, and well sustained by bone and muscle.

After an hour, maybe, of quiet time, everything going smoothly on—no sound, from the master's voice, while hearing the one standing near him, a dead calm, when suddenly a brisk slap on the ear or face, for something or for nothing, gave 'dreadful note' that an erruption of the lava was now about to take place Next thing to be seen was 'strap in full play over the head and shoulders of Pilgarlic.' The passion of the master, 'growing by which it fed on,' and wanting elbow room, the chair would be quickly thrust on one side, when, with sudden gripe, he was to be seen dragging his struggling suppliant to the flogging ground, in the centre of the room; having placed his left foot upon the end of a bench, he then, with a patent jerk, peculiar to himself, would have the boy completely horsed across his knee, with his left elbow on the back of his neck, to keep him securely on. In the hurry of the moment he would bring his long pen with him, griped between his strong teeth, (visible the while,) causing both ends to descend to a parallel with his chin, and adding much to the terror of the scene. His face would assume a deep claret color—his little bob of hair would disengage itself, and stand out, each 'particular hair' as it were, 'up in arms and eager for the fray.' Having his victim thus completely at command, and all useless drapery drawn up to a bunch above the waistband, and the rotundity and the nankeen in the closest affinity possible for them to be, then once more to the 'staring crew' would be exhibited the dexterity of master and strap. By long practice he had arrived at such perfection in the exercise, that, moving in quick time, the fifteen inches of bridle rein (*alias* strap) would be seen after every cut, elevated to a perpendicular above his head; from whence it descended like a flail on the stretched nankeen, leaving 'on the place beneath' a fiery red streak, at every slash. It was customary with him to address the sufferer at intervals, as follows; 'Does it hurt?' 'Oh! yes, master; oh! don't master.' 'Then I'll make it hurt thee more. I'll make thy flesh creep—thou shan't want a warming pan to-night. Intolerable being! Nothing in nature is able to prevail upon thee but my strap.' He had one boy named George Fudge, who usually wore leather breeches, with which he put strap and its master at defiance. He would never acknowledge pain—he would not 'sing out.' Todd seized him one day, and having gone through the evolutions of strapping, (as useless, in effect, as if he had been thrashing a flour bag,) almost breathless with rage, he once more appealed to the feelings of the 'reprobate,' by saying; 'Does it not hurt?' The astonishment of the school and the master was completed, on hearing him sing out, 'No! Hurray for leather crackers!' He was thrown off immediately, sprawling on the floor, with the benediction as follows; 'Intolerable being! Get out of my school. Nothing in nature is able to prevail upon thee—not even my strap!'

'Twas not 'his love in learning was in fault,' so much as the old British system of introducing learning and discipline into the brains of boys and soldiers

by dint of punishment. The system of flogging on all occasions in schools, for something or for nothing, being protected by law, gives free play to the passions of the master, which he, for one, exercised with great severity. The writer has, at this moment, in his memory, a schoolmaster *then* of this city, who, a few years ago, went deliberately out of his school to purchase a cow-skin, with which, on his return, he extinguished his bitter revenge on a boy who had offended him. The age of chivalry preferred ignorance in its sons, to having them subjected to the fear of a pedagogue—believing that a boy who had quailed under the eye of the schoolmaster, would never face the enemy with boldness on the field of battle; which it must be allowed is 'a swing of the pendulum' too far the other way. A good writer says: 'We do not *harden* the wax to receive the impression—wherefore, the teacher seems himself most in need of *correction*—for he, unfit to teach, is making them unfit to be taught!'

I have been told by an aged gentleman, that in the days of his boyhood, sixty-five years ago, when boys and girls were together, it was a common practice to make the boys strip off their jackets, and loose their trowser's band preparatory to hoisting them upon a boy's back so as to get his whipping, with only the linen between the flesh and the strap. The girls too—we pity them—were obliged to take off their stays to receive their floggings with equal sensibility. He named one distinguished lady, *since*, who was so treated among others, in his school. All the teachers then were from England and Ireland, and brought with them the rigorous principles which had before been whipped into themselves at home."

CONNECTICUT—CIVIL POLITY AND SCHOOLS.

SETTLEMENTS ON CONNECTICUT RIVER.

The entire territory now known as Connecticut, became in 1630, according to English law, by conveyance from the old Plymouth Company, the property of Robert, Earl of Warwick, who transferred in 1632, his possessions and interests to Lord Say and Seal, and other proprietors, among whom was John Hampden, Lord Brooke, John Pym, and others, who were at that time identified with, and some of them leaders in the reform and progressive party in church and state in England. The first permanent settlements were made in 1636, at Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, known for that year as Dorchester, Newtown, and Watertown from the towns in which the emigrants had already planted themselves in families, and organized in christian fellowship after the Congregational or independent order of church government.

The leaders of this new movement, for a colony beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, were men of the best education and of large experience in civil and ecclesiastical administration.—Thomas Hooker, graduate and Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge; Samuel Stone, his assistant in the ministry, and graduate of the same college; John Haynes, second to none of the founders of New England for calm practical wisdom in affairs; and Roger Ludlow, father of Connecticut Jurisprudence.

The fundamental principles on which civil government was to be organized, were discussed by Mr. Hooker, in a sermon preached at Hartford, on some occasion of general concourse, on Thursday, May 31, 1638. These principles as set forth by him, were far in advance of the practice of states, or the teachings of publicists of that day:—I. The right divine of the people to appoint their own public magistrates. II. The exercise of this right thoughtfully and in the fear of God. III. The exercise of all power and trusts by officers and magistrates, within the limitations set by the people themselves. Such a discourse, (how recovered two hundred years afterward, *See Conn. His. Society's Collections I.* 21), from a leader so much respected, and at such a juncture of affairs, falling on willing hearts, helped to produce the Constitution of 1638–9.

CONSTITUTION OF CONNECTICUT—JANUARY 1, 1639.

Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield.

FORASMUCH as it has pleased the Almighty God, by the wide disposition of his Divine Providence, so to order and dispose of things, that we, the inhabitants and residents of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, are now cohabiting and dwelling in and upon the river of Connecticut and the lands thereunto adjoining, and well knowing where a people are gathered together, the word of God requireth that, to maintain the peace and union of such a people, there should be an orderly and decent government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons, as occasion should require, do therefore associate and conjoin ourselves to be as one public STATE or COMMONWEALTH; and do, for ourselves and our successors, and such as shall be adjoined to us at any time hereafter, enter into combination and confederation together, to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus, which we now profess, as also the discipline of the churches, which, according to the truth of said gospel, is now practiced amongst us; as also in our civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders, and decrees, as shall be made, ordered, and decreed, as followeth:

I.—*It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed*, that there shall be yearly two general assemblies or courts, the one on the second Thursday of April, the other the second Thursday of September following. The first shall be called the COURT OF ELECTION, wherein shall be yearly chosen, from time to time, so many magistrates and other public officers as shall be found requisite, whereof one to be chosen governor for the year ensuing, and until another be chosen, and no other magistrate to be chosen for more than one year; provided always there be six chosen beside the governor, which being chosen and sworn according to an oath recorded for that purpose, shall have power to administer justice according to the laws here established, and for want thereof according to the rule of the word of God; which choice shall be made by all that are admitted freemen and have taken the oath of fidelity, and do cohabit within this jurisdiction, having been admitted inhabitants by the major part of the town where they live, or the major part of such as shall be then present.

II.—*It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed*, that the election of the aforesaid magistrates shall be on this manner: every person present and qualified for choice shall bring in (to the persons deputed to receive them) one single paper, with the name of him written on it whom he desires to have governor, and he that hath the greatest number of papers shall be governor for that year; and the rest of the magistrates or public officers to be chosen in this manner. The secretary, for the time being, shall first read the names of all that are to be put to choice, and then shall severally nominate them distinctly, and every one that would have the person nominated to be chosen shall bring in one single paper written upon, and he that would not have him chosen shall bring in a blank, and every one that has more written papers than blanks shall be a magistrate for that year, which papers shall be received and told by one or more that shall be then chosen, by the court, and sworn to be faithful therein: but in case there should not be six persons as aforesaid besides the governor out of those which are nominated, then he, or they which have the most written papers shall be a magistrate, or magistrates for the ensuing year, to make up the aforesaid number.

III.—*It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed*, that the secretary shall not nominate any person new, nor shall any person be chosen newly into the magistracy, which was not propounded in some general court before, to be nominated the next election. And to that end it shall be lawful for each of the towns aforesaid, by their deputies, to nominate any two whom they conceive fit to be put to election, and the court may add so many more as they judge requisite.

IV.—*It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed,* that no person be chosen governor above once in two years, and that the governor be always a member of some approved congregation, and formerly of the magistracy within this jurisdiction, and all the magistrates freemen of this commonwealth; and that no magistrate or other public officer shall execute any part of his or their office before they are severally sworn, which shall be done in the face of the court, if they be present, and in case of absence, by some deputed for that purpose.

V.—*It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed,* that to the aforesaid Court of Election, the several towns shall send their deputies, and when the elections are ended, they may proceed in any public service, as at other courts; also, the other general court in September shall be for making of laws and any other public occasion which concerns the good of the commonwealth.

VI.—*It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed,* that the governor shall, either by himself or by the secretary, send out summonses to the constables of every town, for the calling of those two standing courts, one month at least before their several times; and also if the governor and the greatest part of the magistrates see cause, upon any special occasion, to call a general court, they may give order to the secretary so to do within fourteen days warning; and if urgent necessity so require, upon a shorter notice, giving sufficient grounds for it to the deputies when they meet, or else be questioned for the same. And if the governor, or major part of the magistrates, shall either neglect or refuse to call the two general standing courts, or either of them, as also at other times when the occasions of the commonwealth require, the freemen thereof, or the major part of them, shall petition to them so to do; if then it be either denied or neglected, the said freemen, or the major part of them, shall have power to give order to the constables of the several towns to do the same, and so may meet together and choose to themselves a moderator, and may proceed to do any act of power which any other general courts may.

VII.—*It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed,* that after there are warrants given out for any of the said general courts, the constable or constables of each town shall forthwith give notice distinctly to the inhabitants of the same, in some public assembly, or by going or sending from house to house, that at a place and time by him or them limited and set, they meet and assemble themselves together, to elect and choose certain deputies to be at the general court then following, to agitate the affairs of the commonwealth, which said deputies shall be chosen by all that are admitted inhabitants in the several towns, and have taken the oath of fidelity; provided, that none be chosen a deputy for any general court which is not a freeman of this commonwealth. The aforesaid deputy shall be chosen in manner following: every person that is present and qualified, as before expressed, shall bring the names of such, written on several papers, as they desire to have chosen, for that employment; and those three or four, more or less, being the number agreed on to be chosen, for that time, that have the greatest number of papers written for them, shall be deputies for that court; whose names shall be indorsed on the back side of the warrant, and returned into the court with the constable or constables hand unto the same.

VIII.—*It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed,* that Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield shall have power, each town, to send four of their freemen as their deputies, to every general court; and whatsoever other towns shall be hereafter added to this jurisdiction, they shall send so many deputies as the court shall judge meet; a reasonable proportion to the number of freemen that are in said towns, being to be attended therein; which deputies shall have the power of the whole town to give their votes, and allowance to all such laws and orders, as may be for the public good, and unto which the said towns are to be bound.

IX.—*It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed,* that the deputies, thus chosen, shall have power and liberty to appoint a time and place of meeting together, before any general court, to advise and consult of all such things as may concern the good of the public; as also to examine their own elections, whether according to the order; and if they, or the greatest part of them, find any election to be illegal, they may seclude such for the present from their meeting, and return the same and their reasons to the court; and if it prove true, the court may fine the party or parties so intruding, upon the town, if they see cause, and give out a warrant to go to a new election in a legal way, either in part or in whole; also,

the said deputies shall have power to fine any that shall be disorderly at their meeting, or for not coming in due time or place, according to appointment; and they may return said fine into the court, if it be refused to be paid, and the treasurer to take notice of it, and to estreat or levy the same as he doth other fines.

X.—*It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed*, that every general court (except such as, through neglect of the governor and the greatest part of the magistrates, the freemen themselves do call,) shall consist of the governor, or some one chosen to moderate the court, and four other magistrates at least, with the major part of the deputies of the several towns legally chosen; and in case the freemen, or the major part of them, through neglect or refusal of the governor and major part of the magistrates, shall call a court, that shall consists of the major part of the freemen that are present, or their deputies, with a moderator chosen by them; in which said general court shall consist the SUPREME POWER of the COMMONWEALTH, and they only shall have power to MAKE LAWS *or repeal them, to grant levies, to admit freemen, to dispose of lands undisposed of*, to several towns or persons, and also to have power to *call* other courts, or magistrate, or any other person whatsoever, into question for any misdemeanor; and may for just causes displace or deal otherwise, according to the nature of the offense; and also may deal in any other matter that concerns the good of this commonwealth, except election of magistrates, which shall be done by the whole body of freemen; in which court, the governor or moderator shall have power to order the court, to give liberty of speech, and silence unreasonable and disorderly speaking, to put all things to vote, and in case the vote be equal, to have a casting voice; but noné of these courts shall be adjourned or dissolved without the consent of the major part of the court.

XI.—*It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed*, that when any general court, upon the occasions of the commonwealth, have agreed upon any sum or sums of money to be levied upon the several towns within this jurisdiction, that a committee be chosen to set out and appoint what shall be the proportion of every town to pay, of the said levy, provided the committee be made up of an equal number out of each town. 14th January, 1638.

Bancroft, in his history of the United States, observes on the above instrument:—

The constitution which was thus framed was of unexampled liberality. The elective franchise belonged to all the members of the towns who had taken the oath of allegiance to the commonwealth; the magistrates and representatives were appointed among the towns according to their population. Nearly two centuries have elapsed; the world has been made wiser by the most varied experience; political institutions have become the theme on which the most powerful and cultivated minds have been employed and the most varied experiments attempted; dynasties of kings have been dethroned, recalled and dethroned again; pretenders have formed a numerous and little regarded body in the crowd of ambitious aspirants; and so many constitutions have been formed, or reformed, stifled or subverted, that memory may despair of a complete catalogue; but the people of Connecticut have found no reason to deviate essentially from the frame of government established by their fathers.

Palfrey, in his history of New England, thus characterizes this constitution:—

The instrument framed by them has been called 'the first example in history of a written constitution,—a distinct organic law, constituting a government, and defining its powers.' Containing no recognition whatever of any external authority on either side of the ocean, it provided, that all persons should be freemen who should be admitted as such by the freemen of the towns, and take an oath of allegiance to the commonwealth. . . . .

The whole constitution was that of an independent state. It continued in force, with very little alteration, a hundred and eighty years, securing, throughout that period, a degree of social order and happiness such as is rarely the fruit of civil institutions.

The outline and most of the essential features of the present system of common, or public schools in Connecticut, will be found in the practice of the first settlers of the several towns which composed the two original colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, before any express provision was made by general law for the regulation and support of schools or the bringing up of children. The first law on the subject did but little more than declare the motive, and make obligatory the practice which had grown up out of the character of the founders of these colonies, and the circumstances in which they were placed. They did not come here as isolated individuals, drawn together from widely separated homes, entertaining broad differences of opinion on all matters of civil and religious concernment, and kept together by the necessity of self-defense in the eager prosecution of some temporary but profitable adventure. They came after God had set them in families, and they brought with them the best pledges of good behavior, in the relations which father and mother, husband and wife, parents and children, neighbors and friends, establish. They came, with a foregone conclusion of permanence, and with all the elements of the social state combined in vigorous activity—every man, expecting to find or make occupation in the way in which he had been trained. They came with earnest religious convictions, made more earnest by the trials of persecution; and the enjoyment of these convictions was a leading motive in their emigration hither. The fundamental articles of their religious creed, that the Bible was the only authoritative expression of the divine will, and that every man was able to judge for himself in its interpretation, made schools necessary to bring all persons 'to a knowledge of the Scriptures,' and an understanding 'of the main grounds and principles of the Christian religion necessary to salvation.' The constitution of civil government, which they adopted from the outset, which declared all civil officers elective, and gave to every inhabitant who would take the oath of allegiance the right to vote and to be voted for, and which practically converted political society into a partnership, in which each member had the right to bind the whole firm, made universal education identical with self-preservation. But aside from these considerations, the natural and acknowledged leaders in this enterprise—the men who, by their religious character, wealth, social position, and previous experience in conducting large business operations, commanded public confidence in church and commonwealth, were educated men—as highly and thoroughly educated as the best endowed grammar schools in England could educate them at that period, and not a few of them had enjoyed the advantages of her great universities. These men would naturally seek for their own children the best opportunities of education which could be provided; and it is the crowning glory of these men, that, instead of sending their own children back to England to be educated in grammar schools and universities, they labored to establish free grammar schools and a college, here amid the stumps of the primeval forests; that, instead of setting

up 'family schools' and 'select schools' for the ministers' sons and the magistrates' sons, the ministers and magistrates were found,—not only in town meeting, pleading for an allowance out of the common treasury for the support of a public or common school, and in some instances for a 'free (endowed grammar) school,'—but among the families, entreating parents of all classes to send their children to the same school with their own. All this was done in advance of any colonial legislation, and was begun in anticipation of any formal town action.

The first permanent settlement of Hartford was made by the religious friends and congregation of Rev. Thomas Hooker, in 1636, and in 1637 John Higginson, before he became chaplain of the fort at Saybrook, was a resident and 'schoolmaster' at Hartford; and Winthrop mentions 'one Mr. Collins, a young scholar who came from Barbadoes, and had been a preacher, who was established at Hartford to teach a school in 1640.' These masters taught before the first formal vote of the town, so far as the records now show, in April, 1643—and the engagement with Mr. Andrews was not to set up a school, but 'to teach the children in the school,' as an institution already in existence. This first public school was maintained, as all the early common schools of Connecticut were, by the joint contributions of parents and the town—which secured parental and public interest in the management, and did accomplish, what no other mode of supporting public schools has yet effected elsewhere, the universal elementary instruction of the people.

The first settlement in the colony of New Haven was made at Quinnipiac (New Haven) in 1638; and within a year 'Thomas Fugill is required by the court to keep Charles Higinson, an indented apprentice, at school one year, or else advantage him as much in his education as a year's learning comes to.' This transaction proclaims at once the existence of a school in the first year of this infant commonwealth, and the protection which the first settlers extended to those who could not help themselves, and their desire to make elementary education universal. In 1641 it is ordered by the General Court 'that a free school be set up in this town, and our pastor, Mr. Davenport, together with the magistrates shall consider what yearly allowance is meet to be given to it out of the common stock of the town, and also what rules and orders are meet to be observed in and about the same.' Over this school presided master Ezekiel Cheever, one of the principal men of the colony, and who subsequently taught the 'Free School at Ipswich,' and still later the Town Free School at Charlestown, closing his career at Boston, as 'sole master' of the still famous Latin school. To this school, or its successor, was assigned in 1667, a portion of the legacy left by Edward Hopkins, that excellent magistrate and beneficent citizen, 'to give some encouragement for the breeding up of hopeful youth for the public service of the country in future times.'

The strength of the school system of Connecticut lies in the habits of her people of always looking after the education of their children.

HENRY BARNARD, *History of Common Schools in Connecticut.*

The mode of supporting the school in Hartford was adopted in the other towns of the colony of Connecticut,—it was made partly a charge on the general funds, or property of the town, and partly a rate bill, or tuition paid by the parents or guardians of the children who attend school, "paying alike to the head." The following vote was passed at a Town meeting in Wethersfield, held March 12th, 1658:

It was ordered by the Town, that Mr. Thomas Lord should be schoolmaster for the year ensuing, and to have twenty-five pounds for the year, and also the use of the house lot and the use of the meadow as formerly; and the twenty-five pounds is to be raised,—of the children eight shillings per head of such as come to school, and the remainder by rate of all the inhabitants made by the lists of estates.

In all of these and other entries on the early records of the towns, the name of the schoolmaster is introduced with the prefix which indicated a respect equal to that paid to the minister, or the magistrates; and as evidence of this respect, it may be mentioned, that in the bill for fitting up the first meeting-house in Windsor, there is a separate item for wainscotting and elevating pews, to be occupied by the magistrates, the deacon's family, and the schoolmaster.

Roger Ludlow—School Law of 1650.

In April, 1646, Mr. Roger Ludlow, the highest legal authority in the colony, was requested to compile "a body of laws for the government of this commonwealth," which was not completed till May 1650, and is generally known as the code of 1650. It comprised, besides a complete codification of all the laws passed by the general court, and of such local practices as had grown up in any of the towns, which seemed worthy of adoption by the whole colony, many provis-

* Roger Ludlow, styled by Judge Day, "the father of Connecticut Jurisprudence," was brother-in-law of Gov. Endicott of Salem, educated a lawyer, and resided in Dorchester, Eng., at the time (1630) Mr. Warham and part of his congregation left for New England. He joined this company, having been chosen Assistant in England, and located on his arrival in Dorchester. In 1634, he was chosen deputy governor, but did not in due succession become governor, as he thought, by the unauthorized interference of a *caucus*. In 1636 he joined the emigration to the banks of Connecticut, and settled at Windsor with the Dorchester company. He was one of the six magistrates commissioned by the Governor and General Court of Massachusetts, and in April, 1639, and '42, was elected Deputy Governor of the Commonwealth, whose fundamental law he had helped to frame in January. In 1637 and 1638, and from 1643 to 1653, he was chosen magistrate, and 1648, '51 and '53, he was one of the Commissioners from Connecticut to the United Colonies. In 1640 he was requested by the General Court to prepare the draft of a general law on the disposition of estates of persons dying intestate, and other subjects; and in 1646 the request was repeated, and extended "to the preparation of a draft of a body of laws for the government of this Commonwealth." While engaged in this work, he was allowed the service of a man for his own business at the public charge. He did not complete his draft till 1650, when it was entered upon the public record, and became the foundation of the *written* law of Connecticut. It was printed in Cambridge, in 1672.

Mr. Ludlow purchased land in Fairfield in 1641, and in 1643, he had become a settler there with several families from Windsor, and Watertown. He entered into the controversies with the Indians and Dutch with an alacrity which was rebuked by the authorities of Connecticut. He did not harmonize in his aspirations and doings with the good people of the Colony, and about 1664 he disappeared from the public arena. As one of the framers of the Constitution of 1638–9, and the compiler and fashioner of the Code of 1650, Roger Ludlow ranks high with the founders of Connecticut.

ions borrowed from the corresponding experience of Massachusetts, which seemed necessary to perfect the system; and in framing these provisions in Massachusetts originally, there is good reason for believing Mr. Ludlow was concerned. In this code there are the following important enactments under the titles—CHILDREN and SCHOOLS, which remained with trifling modifications, and such only as were calculated to give them greater efficiency, on our statute book for one hundred and fifty years, until the act of 1792, and particularly the revision of the school law in 1801.

CHILDREN.

Forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any commonwealth; and whereas many parents, and masters are too indulgent and negligent of their duty in that kind—

It is therefore ordered by this court and the authority thereof, That the selectmen of every town in the several precincts and quarters where they dwell, shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors, to see, first, that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families, as not to endeavor to teach by themselves or others, their children and apprentices so much learning, as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and knowledge of the capital laws, upon penalty of twenty shillings for each neglect therein; also, that all masters of families, do, once a week, at least catechise their children and servants, in the grounds and principles of religion, and if any be unable to do so much, that then, at the least, they procure such children or apprentices to learn some short orthodox catechism, without book, that they may be able to answer to the questions that shall be propounded to them out of such catechisms by their parents or masters, or any of the selectmen, when they shall call them to a trial of what they have learned in this kind; and further, that all parents and masters do breed and bring up their children and apprentices in some honest lawful calling, labor or employment, either in husbandry or some other trade profitable for themselves and the commonwealth, if they will not nor can not train them up in learning, to fit them for higher employments; and if any of the selectmen, after admonition by them given to such masters of families, shall find them still negligent of their duty, in the particulars aforementioned, whereby children and servants become rude, stubborn and unruly, the said selectmen, with the help of two magistrates, shall take such children or apprentices from them, and place them with some masters,—boys till they come to twenty-one, and girls to eighteen years of age complete,—which will more strictly look unto and force them to submit unto government, according to the rules of this order, if by fair means and former instructions they will not be drawn unto it.

The following enactments constitute section 14 and 15 of the Capital Laws:

SEC. 14. If any child or children above sixteen years old and of sufficient understanding, shall curse or smite their natural father or mother, he or they shall be put to death; unless it can be sufficiently testified, that the parents have been very unchristianly negligent in the education of such children, or so provoke them by extreme and cruel correction that they have been forced thereunto to preserve themselves from death, or maiming.

SEC. 15. If any man has a stubborn, or rebellious son of sufficient understanding and years, viz., sixteen years of age, which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and that where they have chastized him, he will not hearken unto them; then may his father or mother being his natural parents lay hold on him and bring him to the magistrates assembled in court, and testify unto them that their son is stubborn and rebellious, and will not obey their voice and chastisement, but lives in sundry notorious crimes, such a son shall be put to death.

SCHOOLS.

It being one chief project of that old deluder Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the scriptures, as in former times, keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times, by persuading them from the use of tongues, so that at least, the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded with false glosses of saint seeming deceivers; and that learning may not be buried in the grave of our forefathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors:

It is therefore ordered by this court and authority thereof, That every township within this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town, to teach all such children, as shall resort to him, to write and read, whose wages shall be paid, either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those who order the prudentials of the town, shall appoint; provided, that those who send their children be not oppressed by paying more than they can have them taught for, in other towns.

And it is further ordered, That where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the masters thereof, being able to instruct youths, so far as they may be fitted for the university, and if any town neglect the performance hereof, above one year, then every such town shall pay five pounds per annum, to the next such school, till they shall perform this order.

The proposition concerning the maintenance* of scholars at Cambridge, made by the commissioners, is confirmed.

And it is ordered, That two men shall be appointed in every town within this jurisdiction, who shall demand what every family will give, and the same to be gathered and brought into some room, in March; and this to continue yearly, as it shall be considered by the commissioners.

In the revision of 1672, the above laws, respecting "children" and "schools," are re-enacted with a trifling variation in the phraseology, and the omission of the last clause respecting the college.

Before proceeding with the history of the legislation of the original colony of Connecticut, respecting education and the nurture of children, we will glance at the records of the colony of New Haven up to the union of the two colonies under the charter in 1665.

ACTION OF THE TOWN AND COLONY OF NEW HAVEN UP TO 1665.

The first settlement in the colony of New Haven was made at Quinnipiac (New Haven,) in 1638, and within a year, a transaction is recorded which, while it proves the existence of a school at that early period, also proclaims the protection which the first settlers extended to the indigent, and the desire to make elementary education universal.

* This "proposition concerning the maintenance of poor scholars at Cambridge," was presented to the Commissioners of the United Colonies at their meeting at Hartford, in Sept. 1644, by Rev. Mr. Shepard "and fully approved by them and agreed to be commended to the several general courts as a matter worthy of due consideration and entertainment for the advancement of learning, which we hope will be cheerfully embraced." Mr. Shepard, after requesting the Commissioners to consider "some way of comfortable maintenance for that school of the Prophets which now is," suggests that. "if therefore it were commended by you, and left to the freedom of every family which is able and willing to give, throughout the Plantations, to give yearly but the fourth part of a bushel of corn, or something equivalent thereto—and for this end if every minister were desired to stir up the hearts of the people once in the fittest season of the year, to be freely enlarged therein, and one or two faithful men appointed in each town, to receive and seasonably to send in what shall thus be given by them, it is conceived that as no man could feel any grievance hereby, so it would be a blessed means of comfortable provision for the diet of divers such students as may stand in need of some support, and be thought meet and worthy to be continued a fit season therein."

In 1639, Thomas Fugill is required by the court to keep Charles Higinson, an indented apprentice "at school one year; or else to advantage him as much in his education, as a year's learning comes to."

At a General Court held on the 25th of the 12th mon., 1641, the following order was adopted:

It is ordered that a free school be set up in this town, and our pastor, Mr. Davenport together with the magistrates shall consider what yearly allowance is meet to be given to it out of the common stock of the town, and also what rules and orders are meet to be observed in and about the same.

Not content with an elementary school, within three years after the first log-house was built, a public grammar school was established in New Haven under the charge of Ezekiel Cheever, who was afterwards master of the Latin School in Boston. To this school the following order refers:

For the better training up of youth in this town that through God's blessing they may be fitted for public service hereafter, in church or commonwealth, it is ordered that a free school be set up, and the magistrates with the teaching elders are entreated to consider what rules and orders are meet to be observed and what allowance may be convenient for the schoolmasters care and pains, which shall be paid out of the town's stock.

Not content with establishing, what we should now call an elementary or primary, and a grammar or high school, the necessity of a still higher education for those who should aspire, or be summoned to posts of honor and trust, the colony of New Haven responded promptly to the proposition of the Commissioners, in 1644, to make an annual contribution to aid such children as should show the requisite talent, but whose parents were not able to support them at the college at Cambridge. The following order of the General Court, in November 1644, refers to this subject:

The proposition for the relief of poor scholars at the college at Cambridge, was fully approved of, and thereunto it was ordered that Joshua Atwater and William Davis shall receive of every one in this plantation, whose heart is willing to contribute thereunto a peck of wheat or the value of it.

At the next meeting of the court, "Mr. Atwater reported that he had sent forty bushels of wheat, the gift of New Haven, to the college."

This vote was renewed from year to year; and we find from the records of 1647, that the Governor urged the prompt payment of this contribution as follows:

The Governor propounded that the college commissioners might be forthwith paid, and that considering the work is a service to Christ, to bring up young plants for his service, and besides it will be a reproach that it shall be said, New Haven is fallen off from this service.

In the same year, (1647,) in a vote concerning the distribution of home lots, it is added—"and also to consider and reserve what lot they shall see meet, and most commodious for a college, which they desire may be set up so soon as their ability will reach thereunto."

The records of the town of New Haven, from 1641 to 1660, are full of entries, respecting the appropriation of monies to teachers, and reports of committees on the subject of schools; and on those committees, we find either the governor, minister, magistrate, or deputies, always placed. Under date of Nov. 8, 1652, there are the following entries:

The Governor informed the court that the cause of calling this meeting is about a schoolmaster to let them know what he hath done in it, he hath written a letter to one Mr. Bower who is schoolmaster at Plymouth and desires to come into these parts to live, and another letter about one Rev. Mr. Landson a scholar, who he hears will take that employment upon him; how they will succeed he knows not, but now Mr. Janes is come to the town—and is willing to come hither again if he may have encouragement—what course had been taken to get one he was acquainted with, and if either of them come he must be entertained, but he said if another come, he should be willing to teach boys and girls to read and write if the town thought fit, and Mr. Janes being now present confirmed it.

The town generally was willing to encourage Mr. Janes his coming, and would allow him at least ten pounds a year out of the treasury, and the rest he might take of the parents of the children he teacheth by the quarter as he did before to make it up a comfortable maintainance and many of the town thought there would be need of two schoolmasters—for if a Latin schoolmaster come, it is feared he will be discouraged if many English scholars come to him. Mr. Janes seeing the town's willingness for his coming again, acknowledged their love and desired them to proceed no further in it at this time, for he was sure he shall get free where he is—and if he do he doubt it will not be before winter. Therefore no more was done in it at present.

The town was informed that there is some motion again on foot concerning the setting up of a college here at New Haven, which if attained will in all likelihood prove very beneficial to this place—but now it is only propounded to know the town's mind, and whether they are willing to further the work by bearing a meet proportion of charge, if the jurisdiction upon the proposal thereof shall see cause to carry it on, no man objected but all seemed willing, provided that the pay which they can raise here will do it.

That the matter of a college was thus early and seriously agitated in the colony of New Haven, is evident from a vote passed at a general court held at Guilford, June 28, 1652, in which "it is thought to be too great a charge for us of this jurisdiction to undergo alone." "But if Connecticut do join, the planters are generally willing to bear their just proportion for erecting and maintaining of a college there, (New Haven.")

Gov. Eaton seems to have taken the lead, in connection with Mr. Davenport, in all movements connected with schools, or the college. At one time he reports his correspondence with a teacher in Wethersfield, then with one at old Plymouth, and again with one at Norwalk, "so that this town might never be without a sufficient schoolmaster." He seems to have been considerate of the health of the teachers, and proposes to excuse one, "whose health would not allow him to go on with the work of teaching"—which he seems to regard as more laborious than that of the ministry. On another occasion, he introduces to the court a schoolmaster, who has to come to treat about the school.

The committee in this case allow 30 shillings "toward his travel in coming here," and £20 a year, besides his board and lodging, and that he have liberty once a year to visit his friends, "which he proposes to be in the harvest time, and that his pay be such as wherewith he may buy books." These particulars are cited simply to show the constant and thoughtful interest taken by Governor Eaton, and all in authority with him, in the town, in every thing which concerned the school and the education of children. This interest was embodied in the Code of Laws, drawn up by Gov. Eaton in 1655, for the colony, (consisting of seven towns,) and published in London in 1656, with the following title—"New Haven's settling in New England and some laws for government, published for the use of that Colony." The following is the provision in this code respecting the education of children:

CHILDREN'S EDUCATION.

Whereas, too many parents and masters, either through an over tender respect to their own occasions and business, or not duly considering the good of their children and apprentices, have too much neglected duty in their education while they are young and capable of learning. It is ordered that the deputies for the particular court in each plantation within this jurisdiction for the time being; or where there are no such deputies, the constable, or other officer or officers in public trust, shall from time to time, have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors within the limits of the said plantation, that all parents and masters, do duly endeavor, either by their own ability and labor, or by improving such schoolmaster, or other helps and means as the plantation doth afford, or the family may conveniently provide, that all their children and apprentices, as they grow capable, may through God's blessing attain at least so much as to be able duly to read the Scriptures and other good and profitable printed books in the English tongue, being their native language, and in some competent measure to understand the main grounds and principles of Christian religion necessary to salvation. And to give a due answer to such plain and ordinary questions as may by the said deputies, officer or officers be propounded concerning the same. And when such deputies, or officers, whether by information or examination shall find any parent or master one or more negligent, he or they shall first give warning, and if thereupon due reformation follow, if the said parents or masters shall thenceforth seriously and constantly apply themselves to their duty in manner before expressed the former neglect may be passed by; but if not, then the said deputies and other officer or officers, shall three months after such warning, present each such negligent person or persons to the next plantation court, where every such delinquent, upon proof, shall be fined ten shillings to the plantation to be levied as other fines. And if in any plantation there be no such court kept for the present, in such case the constable, or other officer or officers warning such person or persons, before the freemen or so many of them as upon notice shall meet together and proving the neglect after warning, shall have power to levy the fine as aforesaid. But if in three months after that, there be no due care taken and continued for the education of such children or apprentices as aforesaid, the delinquent (without any further private warning,) shall be proceeded against as before, but the fine doubled. And lastly, if after the said warning and fines paid or levied, the said deputies, officer or officers, shall still find a continuance of the former negligence, if it be not obstinacy, so that such children or servants may be in danger to grow barbarous, rude, and stubborn, through ignorance, they shall give due and seasonable notice that every such parent and master be summoned to the next court of magistrates, who are to proceed as they find cause, either to a greater fine, taking security for due conformity to the scope and intent of this law, or may take such children or appentices from such parents or masters, and place them for years, boys till they come to the age of one and twenty, and girls till they come

to the age of eighteen years, with such others who shall better educate and govern them, both for the public conveniency and for the particular good of the said children or apprentices.

Such is the origin of common schools in the original colonies of Connecticut and New Haven—the sources in common with the public schools of Massachusetts, of the wide spread and incalculable benefits of popular education in America.

COUNTY GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

In the revisions of the laws prepared under an order of the Court in May 1671, and approved in 1672, the provisions of the Connecticut code of 1650 are re-enacted, with a trifling variation in the phraseology, and a substitution of the following clause respecting a county grammar school, in place of the provision, respecting the college at Cambridge, and the grammar school in towns having one hundred families.

And it is further ordered, that n every county, there shall be set up and kept a grammar school for the use of the county, the master thereof being able to instruct youths, so far as they may be fitted for college.

There were at this date (1672,) four counties, viz., Hartford, New London, New Haven, and Fairfield, all constituted as judicial districts in 1666. To aid these town in carrying out the above provision of the school law, six hundred acres of land were appropriated by the General Court, at the same session, to each of the four county towns forever, "to be improved in the best manner that may be for the benefit of a grammar school in said county towns, and to no other use, or end whatever."

In 1677, at the May session, the following order was adopted:

Whereas, in the law, title SCHOOLS, it is ordered that every county town shall keep and maintain a Latin school in the said town, which is not fully attended to in some places, to move, excite, and stir up to the attendance of so wholesome an order.

It is ordered by this court, That if any county town, shall neglect to keep a Latin school according to order, there shall be paid a fine of ten pounds by the said county towns to the next town in that county that will engage and keep a Latin school in it, and so ten pounds annually till they shall come up to the attendance of this order. The grand-jury to make presentment of the breach of this order to the county court, of all such breaches as they shall find after September next.

It is also ordered by this court, Where schools are to be kept in any town, whether it be county town or otherwise, which shall be necessary to the maintaining the charge of such schools, it shall be raised upon the inhabitants by way of rate, except any town shall agree to some other way to raise the maintenance

of him they shall employ in the aforesaid works, any order to the contrary notwithstanding.

At the same session, it was ordered, that any town "that shall neglect to keep a school above three months in the year, shall forfeit five pounds for every defect, which said fine shall be paid toward the Latin school in their county. All breaches of this order to be taken notice of and presented by the grand-jury at every county court."

In the year following, in answer to a petition, "the court doth *recommend* it to the county court of Fairfield, to grant unto the inhabitants of Paquanake so much out of their county revenue by customs, fines, &c., so much as their rates shall come to, toward the maintenance of a grammar school at Fairfield, and also this court doth recommend it to the said court of Fairfield, to improve so much of their county revenues as they can spare besides, for the settlement and encouragement of a grammar school there."

Not content with providing grammar schools in the four county towns, the court endeavored, in 1690, to make two of these county schools of a higher order, and to declare them free.

This court considering the necessary and great advantage of good literature, *do order and appoint* that there shall be two good free schools kept and maintained in this colony for the schooling of all such children as shall come there after they can distinctly read the psalter, to be taught reading, writing, arithmetic, the Latin and English languages—the one at Hartford and the other at New Haven—the masters whereof shall be chosen by the magistrates and ministers of the said counties, and shall be inspected and displaced by them if they see cause—each master is to receive sixty pounds, thirty pounds of which is to be paid out of the county treasury, and the other thirty out of the school revenue given by particular persons or to be given for this use so far as it will extend, and the rest to be paid by the respective towns of Hartford and New Haven.

By the "school revenue given by particular persons" probably was intended the avails of the legacy left by Gov. Hopkins, in his will executed March 7, 1657, and the more extensive and special enjoyment of which avails by the towns of Hartford and New Haven, was probably the ground of imposing on them the obligation of maintaining the free schools of the higher character above ordered. As these schools, under many forms of administration have been maintained for nearly two centuries, much of the time as free, and always as public schools, and for most of that long period have provided facilities for preparing young men for college, in accordance with the will of Gov. Hopkins, a brief notice of this instrument, and the application of the bequests will be appropriate in this place as part of the educational history of the State.

EDWARD HOPKINS, AND THE HOPKINS BEQUESTS.

MEMOIR.

Edward Hopkins, whose beneficent life work will be perpetuated beyond our times by the Schools which his Bequests have helped to found or maintain, was born near Shrewsbury, England, in 1600, educated in the Royal Free Grammar School of that town, and followed mercantile and commercial pursuits in London, by which he accumulated a considerable fortune. He became early in life a convert to the religious doctrines and observances of the Puritans, and in 1637 embarked his fortunes with a company of personal friends of the same faith, among whom was his father-in-law, Theophilus Eaton, and Rev. John Davenport, to find, if not a "refuge and receptacle for all sorts of consciences," at least an opportunity to worship God in their own way, and administer their civil affairs "more according to the rule of righteousness," than was then the fashion in the old world. After a brief sojourn at Boston, where he received many overtures to settle, he joined the settlement at Hartford, where his character and confidence in business immediately called him to share in the administration of public affairs. In the same year of his arrival, his name is found among the "committee" at the general court at Hartford, and we can easily suppose that he took part in that assembly of 1638, by which the "inhabitants and residents of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, did associate and conjoin themselves to be one Public State, or Commonwealth," "to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus which we now profess," and "in civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders and decrees, as shall be made, ordered, and decreed," not by the king and council—not even by Royal Parliament, but by the General Court, elected by the whole body of freemen," in which "THE SUPREME POWER OF THE COMMONWEATH" was declared to reside. That constitution, was the nearest approach to a republican and organized democracy,—a democracy in which the people, and the whole people of the several towns acting through representatives in a legislature, elected twice a year by all the inhabitants thereof—which the world had yet seen.

Mr. Hopkins was elected the first secretary of the colony of Connecticut, and deputy governor under the constitution of 1638, and

succeeded Mr. Haynes as governor in 1640, and again in 1646, 1648, 1650, 1652, and 1654.

In the alternate years he usually filled the office of deputy governor, and was frequently chosen assistant, and also one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. In this last capacity, he signed, in behalf of Connecticut, the articles of Confederation in 1643, by which the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, united for future help and strength under the name of the United Colonies of New England, and was president of that body, when a settlement was made with the Dutch, in 1650. In 1640, he was one of the committee appointed to negotiate the purchase from Mr. Fenwick, the post and appurtenances at Saybrook. And, indeed, there was hardly a committee raised on "the foreign relations" of the colony with Massachusetts, the Dutch, or the Indians, in which he did not occupy a prominent place, with Gov. Haynes, Capt. Mason, Mr. Whiting, and Mr. Wyllys. Like the other public men of the colony, in the intervals of public duties, he was diligently engaged in business on his own account.

Governor Hopkins went to England in 1653, on the occasion of his brother's death, with the intention of returning to his family and friends in New England; but he was, soon after his arrival, made warden of the fleet, (an office filled by his brother at the time of his decease,) commissioner of the admiralty, and member of parliament. Detained by these new duties, he sent for his family, and died in London in March or April, 1658. By his will, dated London, March 7, 1657, after disposing of much of his property in New England, in legacies, and particularly to the family of Rev. Mr. Hooker, his pastor, he makes the following bequests:

"And the residue of my estate there, [in New England,] I do hereby give and bequeath to my father, Theophilus Eaton, Esq., Mr. John Davenport, Mr. John Cullick and Mr. William Goodwin, in full assurance of their trust and faithfulness in disposing of it according to the true intent and purpose of me the said Edward Hopkins, which is to give some encouragement in those foreign plantations for the breeding up of hopeful youths both at the grammar school and college, for the public service of the country in future times."

"My farther mind and will is, that within six months after the decease of my wife, five hundred pounds be made over into New England, according to the advice of my loving friends, Major Robert Thomson and Mr. Francis Willoughby, and conveyed into the hands of the trustees beforementioned in further prosecution of the aforesaid public ends, which, in the simplicity of my heart, are for the upholding and promoting the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ in those distant parts of the earth."

As there is a very general misapprehension as to the language of Gov. Hopkins' will, and particularly as to the objects and places to which the bequests were to be applied, we give below the document entire from a copy in the library of Yale College—it being the in-

strument deposited with the town court of New Haven, in 1660 by Mr. John Davenport.

"The sovereign Lord of all creatures giving in evident and strong intimations, of his pleasure to call me out of this transitory life unto himself,—it is the desire of me, Edward Hopkins Esq., to be in readiness to attend his call in whatsoever hour he cometh,—both by leaving my soul in the hands of Jesus, who only gives boldness in that day, and delivers from the wrath to come,—and my body to comely burial, according to the discretion of my executors and overseers,—and also, by settling my small family, if it may be so called, in order, and in pursuance thereof, do thus dispose of the estate the Lord in mercy hath given me.

"First my will is, that my just debts may be first paid out of my entire estate, where the said debts shall be found justly due, viz., if any debts shall be found to be justly due in New England, then they be paid out of my estate there. And if any shall appear to be due here in Old England, that they be paid out of my estate here.

"As for my estate in New England, (the full account of which I left clear in book there, and the care and inspection whereof was committed to my loving friend, Mr. John Culliek,) I do in this manner dispose: Item, I do give and bequeath unto the eldest child of Mrs. Mary Newton, wife to Mr. Roger *Newton of Farmington, and daughter to Mr. Thomas Hooker, deceased, the sum of £30; as also the sum of £30 unto the eldest child of Mr. John Cullick by Elizabeth his present wife. Item, I do give and bequeath to Mrs. Sarah Wilson, the wife of Mr. John Wilson, preacher of the gospel, and daughter of my dear pastor, Mr. Hooker, my farm at Farmington, with all the houses, outhouses, buildings, lands, &c., belonging thereunto, to the use of her and the heirs of her body forever. I do also give unto Mrs. Susan Hooker, the relict of Mr. Thomas Hooker, all such debts as are due to me from her, upon the account I left in New England. And the residue of my estate there I do hereby give and bequeath to my father, Theophilus Eaton, Esq., Mr. John Davenport, Mr. John Cullick, and Mr. William Goodwin, in full assurance of their trust and faithfulness in disposing of it according to the true intent and purpose of me the said Edward Hopkins, which is, to give some encouragement in those foreign plantations for the breeding up of hopeful youths, both at the grammar school and college, for the public service of the country in future times. For the estate the Lord hath given me in *this* England, I thus dispose, and my will is, that £150 per annum be yearly paid per my executor to Mr. David Yale, brother to my dear distressed wife, for her comfortable maintenance, and to be disposed of per him for her good, she not being in a condition to manage it herself;† and I do heartily entreat him to be careful and tender over her; and my will is, that this be paid quarterly by £37.10 each quarter, and to continue to the end of the quarter after the death of my said wife, and that my executor give good security for a punctual performance hereof. My will also is, that the £30 given me per the will and testament of my brother Henry Hopkins, lately deceased, be given to our sister Mrs. Judith Eve, during her natural life, and that it be made up to £50 per annum during her life. I do give to my sister Mrs. Margaret Thomson the sum of £50, to be paid her within one year after my decease. I do give unto my nephew Henry Thomson £800, whereof £400 to be paid within sixteen months after my decease, and the other £400 within six months after the death of my wife. I do likewise

* First minister of Farmington.

† Governor Winthrop, senior, in his Journal of Occurrences in New England, under date of 1644, makes mention of Mrs Hopkins in the following language:

"Mr. Hopkins, the governor of Hartford upon Connecticut, came to Boston, and brought his wife with him, (a godly young women, and of special parts,) who was fallen into a sad infirmity upon her divers years, by occasion of her giving herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books. Her husband, being very loving and tender of her, was loath to grieve her; but he saw his error, when it was too late. For if she had attended her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, &c., she had kept her wits, and might have improved them usefully and honorably in the place God had set her. He brought her to Boston, and left her with her brother, one Mr. Yale, a merchant, to try what means might be had here for her. But no help could be had.—*Savage Ed. of Winthrop History of New England*, vol. ii., p. 216."

give and bequeath to my niece Katharine Thomson, but now Katharine James, (over and above the portion of £500 formerly given her,) £100. I do also give and bequeath unto my nieces Elizabeth and Patience Dalley, unto each of them, £200, provided they attend the direction of their brother or aunts, or such as are capable to give them advice in the dispose of themselves in marriage. I give unto my brother Mr. David Yale, £200; to my brother Mr. Thomas Yale, £200, and to my sister Mrs. Hannah Eaton, £200. My farther mind and will is, that, within six months after the decease of my wife, £500 be made over into New England, according to the advice of my loving friends Major Robert Thomson and Mr. Francis Willoughby, and conveyed into the hands of the trustees beforementioned, in farther prosecution of the aforesaid public ends, which, in the simplicity of my heart, are for the upholding and promoting the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ in those parts of the earth. I do further give unto my beloved wife a bed, with all the furniture belonging unto it, for herself to lie on, and another for the servant maid that waits on her, and £20 in plate for her present use, besides one-third part of all my household goods. I give unto Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, Mr. Cullick, each of them, £20, to be made over to them into New England where they are; and my will and pleasure is, that £20 be put into a piece of plate, and presented in my name to my honored friend Dr. Wright, to whom I owe more than that, being much engaged, desiring him to accept it only as a testimony of my respects. I do give unto my servant James Porter, £10; unto my maid Margaret, £5; unto my maid Mary, 40s. . I do give unto my honored and loving friends Major Robert Thomson and Mr. Francis Willoughby, £20 apiece, in a piece of plate, as a token of my respects unto them; and I do give unto my servant Thomas Hayton, £20. I do give unto my sister Yale, the wife of Mr. David Yale, £20; as also to John Lollo, a youth now with my sister Eve, £20, to farther him out to be an apprentice to some good trade, and £20 more at the time of his coming to his own liberty, to encourage him to set up his trade, if he continue living so long. I do give unto my nephew Henry Dalley, master of arts in Cambridge, my land and manor of Thukor in the county of Essex; and, for the payment of all debts, dues and legacies, do give unto him all my personal estate, and, by these presents, renouncing and making void all other wills and testaments, do declare, constitute, and make him my sole executor, and my good friends Major Robert Thomson and Mr. Francis Willoughby overseers, of this my last will and testament. Signed, sealed, declared and published by the said Edward Hopkins, Esq., at his house at London, on the 7th day of March in the year of our Lord 1657, to be his last will and testament."

For reasons which do not always appear on the face of the transaction, but which may be gathered from a knowledge of the relations of the trustees to certain controversies which then divided the town of Hartford, and kept the two colonies in a ferment, the General Court of Connecticut by sequestering the estate, and by directing the payment of all rents or debts, not to the trustees, but to the selectmen of the several towns where the property was situated who were also held accountable to the General Court, delayed for six years the final settlement of the estate.*

* The following abstract of the proceedings of the general court, is gathered from Trumbull's Colonial Record, Vol. 1., p. 322, et. seq., and from original records.

"The first mention of the will of Gov. Hopkins, occurs under date of Aug. 23, 1658, when the general court directs that the several towns "where any of the estate of Edward Hopkins, Esq., is known to remain shall speedily take an inventory of said estate and present it under the hands of those that order the prudentials of the town to the court in October next." From a vote passed June 15, 1659, it appears that the above order had been neglected, and it was then voted, "that whatsoever person or persons in this colony have in their present possession or improvement any estate that either is, or has been reputed the estate of (Geo. Fenwick or) Edward Hopkins Esq., that they secure and preserve the said estate in their own hands, or the value thereof, (casualities accepted) to be accountable to this court, when re-

The probable reason of this action on the part of the General Court was to retain the estate in the colonies of New Haven and Connecticut, according to what appeared to be the intent of the donor, by selecting his trustees equally from these colonies, from his former relation to them, and his previous declarations. After Mr. Hopkins departure

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quired thereunto, until the wills and inventories of the said gentlemen be exhibited into this court and right owners to the estate appear and administration be granted according to law."

Oct. 6, 1669. "The last will of Edward Hopkins Esq., being exhibited into this court, it is thought meet by the court that the former restraint laid upon the estate should be taken off, and that the debts due to the said estate should be required and gathered in to prevent damage in the estate" This order probably originated in the fact that owing to a council held at Hartford, in June 1659, to compose the difficulties in the church at Hartford, Elder Goodwin and his friends temporarily gave up the design of removing to Hadley, but resuming their intentions to leave, the sequestration was removed by the following order of the general court Feb. 23. 1659, "Whereas, there hath been a repealing of the former restraint laid upon the estate of Edward Hopkins, Esq., that debts due to the estate might be taken in. Upon further consideration, this court orders that the estate aforesaid be secured within this colony, until the said estate be inventoried and the inventory presented, and administration granted by this court."

By an order passed May 17, 1660, it appears that an inventory of the estate had not been presented, whereupon individuals holding the estate, and the selectmen of the several towns, were required to make presentment thereof at the next court, on penalty of £5. for each neglect. By a subsequent order dated June 8, 1661, the treasurer was required to take the custody of the rents of portions of the estate occupied by John Cole and by William Hills.

In pursuance of this order (May 17,) Joseph Mygatt, John Allen, James Steele, and William Kelsey, "townsmen" of Hartford, presented to the general court, June 18, 1660, a month after the order was passed,—an Inventory of Mr. Hopkins' estate, amounting to £1382. 03. 06—"Besides the *Nagar*." On the back of this Inventory, is the following indorsement: "Hartford, June 16, 1660. Concerning Mr. Hopkins' estate, we underwritten having presented the order of court to Dea. Stebbing and Lieut. Bull, desiring their return; they answered as followeth:—that the Inventory on this paper, was a true inventory, as far as they knew, only his farm at Farmington and some trifles excepted, come to hand since, and they do engage to preserve the said estate and make return of it to the court at any time it is demanded: until the Will and Inventory of Mr. Hopkins be proved in the court at Hartford." In this Inventory, "his housing and land in Hartford and Wethersfield" are set down at £629, which deducting £84 for Wethersfield, leaves £545 for the value for his real estate in Hartford.

On the third of October 1661, "The will and testament of Edward Hopkins, Esq., being presented to this court legally attested, is accepted as authentic. This court do likewise order and impower Edward Stebbing and Lt. Thomas Bull, to take the management of the estate of Mr. Hopkins deceased, into their hands, and the gathering in the debts due to the estate, and to be accountable to the court for the same, when called thereunto."

Deacon Stebbing and Lieut. Bull, had the charge of Gov. Hopkins estate in Connecticut, not only by appointment of the general court, but by a prior appointment of the trustees in Sept., 1658, under authority given by Henry Dalley, sole executor of the will.

"Upon a proposition presented from Mr. Goodwin, in reference to the legacy belonging to this colony, by the last will of Mr. Hopkins, and whereas there was by a writing a tender of £350 to this colony out of that estate; this court doth declare that they do not reject the tender. And further, this court doth appoint Major Mason, Mr. Matthew Allyn, Mr. Wyllys and Capt. John Talcott, as a committee to treat with the trustees of Mr. Hopkins' estate about the foresaid legacy, and what the major part of those that meet do conclude, shall stand as an issue of that business, and the secretary is to write a letter to the trustees to appoint time and place of meeting." This committee corresponded with Mr. Goodwin desiring the trustees to appoint a time and place to meet with the committee, "to put a final issue to the business respecting the legacy." This proposition was declined, but Mr. Goodwin writes under date of Feb. 24, 1661, that the committee have ordered £350, to be allowed to Hartford on these conditions, (1.) "That it be by them improved according to the mind of the donor expressed in his will. (2.) That the court do also engage to remove all obstructions out of our way, that we may not be disturbed, nor any way hindered, from, by, or under them, in the management of the rest of the estate, according to our trust, that so love and peace may be settled and established between us. (3.) That you will deliver us back the attested copy of the will sent us from England, or else a true copy of it under the seals of the colony."

On the 8th of October 1663, the court appoint another committee consisting of the Governor, (Winthrop,) Mr. Matthew Allyn, Mr. Wyllys, and Capt. Talcott, to consider what is meet to be attended to in reference to Mr. Hopkins' estate, "and report their thoughts to the next court." This committee also correspond with Mr. Goodwin, who in reply claimed that the estate should be returned to the trustees who only have right to dispose thereof, with due satisfaction for all damage that shall appear to be done unto it since it was taken out of our hands," "the which if you shall decline to do after the end of March, the tendry is to be judged a nullity, and we shall forthwith endeavor the freeing of the estate elsewhere." At its next session, March 10, 1663-4, the general court ordered, "This court do see cause upon good advice to take off the sequestration formerly laid upon the estate of Edward Hopkins, Esq." The subject is not again introduced in the records of the general court, but in the records of the government council under date of Jan. 13. 1664-5, we find the following order, "This council doth hereby declare that the estate of our honored friend Edward Hopkins, Esq., shall not be molested by sequestering in the behalf of the country."

to England, differences of opinion as to discipline, baptism, and church-membership had grown up in the church at Hartford, between the pastor Rev. Samuel Stone, and Mr. William Goodwin, (one of the trustees of Mr. Hopkins' will,) the ruling elder, which in its progress not only rent the church but involved all the neighboring churches, and almost every church in the colony. At the date of sequestering the estate, Mr. Goodwin and his friends had decided to withdraw from the church, and from the jurisdiction of Connecticut, which was finally consummated by removing to Hadley, in the spring of 1659. Mr. Cullick, who sympathized with Mr. Goodwin, removed to Boston in 1659. Mr. Davenport was known to sympathize with the "disaffected party," as Mr. Goodwin and his friends were called. In this state of things, it seems to have been the intention of the trustees in 1660, to divide the estate between New Haven and Hadley—but in the year following, an offer was made by them, through Mr. Goodwin, of an allowance of £350 to the General Court of the Colony of Connecticut upon these conditions—1. "That it be improved according to the mind of the donor, expressed in his will. 2. That the court do also engage to remove all obstructions out of our way, that we may not be disturbed or hindered in the management of the estates according to our trust." The offer was not accepted—and the order of sequestration was continued. In October, 1663, Gov. Winthrop, Mr. Allyn, Mr. Wyllys, and Capt. Talcott, were appointed by the General Court, "to consider what is meet to be attended to in reference to Mr. Hopkins' estate by him bequeathed to be improved for the promoting of learning, and to make report of their thoughts to the court." On the 1st of February 1664, in reply evidently to a communication received from this committee, Mr. Goodwin insists on the removal, by the court, of all obstacles to the legal settlement of the estate, "the which if you shall decline to do betwixt this and the end of March next ensuing the date hereof, this tendery (of £350) is to be judged a nullity, and we shall forthwith endeavor the freeing of the estate elsewhere." This determination of the trustees to apply "elsewhere," (meaning thereby, the English Court of Chancery, or direct application to the king, for power of administration on the estate,) and other considerations were sufficient to induce the General Court, at its next session in May 1664, to remove the restraint.

On the 13th of June following, (1664,) the surviving* trustees, Rev. John Davenport of New Haven, and Mr. William Goodwin of

* Governor Eaton, died in New Haven, January 7th, 1658, before the death of Gov. Hopkins was known to him. Mr. Cullick, who was for several years one of the magistrates, and secretary of the colony, removed to Boston in 1659, and died there on the 22d of January, 1663.

Hadley, signed an instrument under seal, by which, after allotting £400 to the town of Hartford, for the support of a grammar school according to the will of the donor, they ordered that "the residue of the estate, both that which is in New England, and the £500 which is to come from Old England, when it shall become due to us after Mr. Hopkins' decease, be all of it equally divided between the town of New Haven and Hadley, to be in each of these towns respectively managed and improved toward the erecting and maintaining of a grammar school in each of them, and the management thereof to be in the hands of our assigns." "The assigns" for New Haven, subject to alteration by the trustee, were the town court of New Haven, and for Hadley, Rev. John Russell, Jr., and four others named, who were constituted "trustees for the ordering of the estate," "in choosing successors," with "full power to pursue and put in execution the pious end and intendment of the worthy donor; yet reserving to ourselves while we live, the full power of a negative vote for the hindering any thing that may cross that end."

The language quoted in the foregoing account of the distribution of Gov. Hopkins' bequest, is taken from the original documents preserved at Hadley, which contain more than the first instrument, executed by Mr. Goodwin. We add a literal transcript made by E. C. Herrick, Esq., Librarian of Yale College, from the "Records of the Hopkins' Grammar School of New Haven," of "The agreement between Mr. Davenport and Mr. Goodwin about disposing Mr. Hopkins his Legacy," which is as follows:

Whereas the Worp^ll Edward Hopkins, Esqr. a faithfull servant of the Lord, and our worthily honoured ffrend hath in his last will and testament (proved according to law in England and Demonstration thereof made to the Generall Court att Hartford in New England) given and bequeathed all his estate in New England (his debts there and Legacies being paid out of ye same) unto Theophilus Eaton, Esqr. John Davenport Pastor to ye Church of Christ att Newhaven, Capt. John Cullick and William Goodwin, sometyme of Hartford, since of Boston and Hadley in ye colony of ye Massachusets, confiding in theire faithfullnes[se] for the Improvem^t of the same for ye Educaton of youth in good Littertature to fit them for the service of Christ in these fforraign parts. Wee therefore ye said John Davenport and Wm. Goodwin the only survivo^rs of ye said Trustees that we may answe^r the s^d trust Reposed in us, Doe order and dispose of ye s^d Estate, as ffolloweth, viz.: To ye towne of Hartford we do give ye sum of ffower hundred pounds of wch Hills ffarme shall be a part att ye same price att wch it was sold by us and the pay Ready to be delivered, if there had ben noe Interuption, the Rest of the 400^lb in such debts, and goods as we or o^r Agents shall see mett, provided that this part be Improved according to ye ends of the Donor, viz., for the erecting and maintaining of a schoole at Hartford. Provided also y^t the Gen^ll Court att Hartford doe graunt and give unto us a writing legally confirmed, engaging y^t neither themselves will, nor any by, from or under them shall disturbe or hinder us in o^r Dispose, or Executing o^r dispose of ye Rest of the estate. Which don this guift is in all Respects valid. We doe also desire and Request that the schoole house may be set upon ye house lot wch was lately in the occupation of Jeremy Adams where o^r Worthy ffrend did much desire and endeavo^r y^t a schoole house might be set ffurther, o^r desire is y^t the managem^t of ye s^d estate

att Hartford may be in ye hands of Deacon Edward Stebbing and Leu^{t} Thomas Bull and their Assigns. We doe further order and appoint the Rest of ye estate of the said Edward Hopkins Esq., (the debts being paid) to be all of it equally divided betweene the townes of Newhaven and Hadley to be in both those townes managed and Improved for the erecting and maintaining of a schoole, in each of the s^{d} townes. And the managem^{t} thereof to be in the hands of o^{r} assignes, wch are the towne court of Newhaven, consisting of the magistrats or Deputyes together wth the officers of ye church there in ye behalfe of the said Mr. John Davenport, and John Russell, Junr. Leu^{t}. Samuel Smith, Andrew Bason and Peeter Tilton of Hadley, in the behalf of Mr. Wm. Goodwin. Only provided y^{t} one hundred pounds out of y^{t} halfe of ye estate wch Hadley hath, shall be given and paid to Harvard College soe soone, as we the said John Davenport and Wm. Goodwin soe meet, and to be ordered as we or o^{r} assignes shall judge most conducing to the end of ye Donor.

Hereunto as to o^{r} last order, dispose and Determinacon touching the said estate as we have set o^{r} hands and seales in severall instruments before witnesses, the far Distance of o^{r} habitators and o^{r} unfitness for such a Jorney, denying us oportunity of a Joint acting otherwise than by writing. Therefore with mutual consent we thus Declare o^{r} agreem^{t}. I the s^{d} Wm. Goodwin, doe signe, and seale this Instrm^{t} as my true Agreem^{t}. for Mr. John Davenport of Newhaven.

The words (of Hadley) betweene ye 25 and 27 line were Interlined before the subscribing and sealing. WM. GOODWIN [Seale.]

The 13th day of ye 4 month, 1664.

Signed, sealed, and recorded.

THE HOPKINS BEQUEST AT HARTFORD.

PRE-HOPKINS PERIOD.

The school to which that portion of the bequest of Edward Hopkins 'for the training up of hopeful youths for the public service of the country,' was first applied in Hartford about 1665, was in existence anterior to that date, and was never designated on the records of the town or the school as the Hopkins school—but as the 'Grammar,' the 'Latin,' the 'Free Grammar,' and 'Hartford Grammar' school, conforming, in this respect, to the term used at the period in the statutes of the State, or to the will of earlier benefactors for similar purposes. The school taught in Hartford as early as 1639 by John Higginson, who had been a pupil of the Leicester Grammar school in England, was of that grade; so was that of William Collins, who according to Winthrop, 'a young scholar and preacher from Barbadoes, was entertained to teach a school in 1640;' and so was that of Mr. Andrews, who received 'for teaching the children in the school one year, from the 25th of March, 1643, for his paynes, 16*l.*,' and toward which the townsmen who send, shall pay after the proportion of twenty shillings the year, and if they go more than one even quarter then, 6*d.* per week,'—those not being able to pay to be at the town's charge. In 1648, Winthrop, in his Journal, notes that out of 'three hopeful young men who commenced masters of arts' in that year, 'one is schoolmaster at Hartford.' This hopeful young man was John Russell, son of Rev. John Russell, of Wethersfield, who graduated at Harvard in 1645, and married Mary, daughter of John Talcott, in June, 1649. In that year John Talcott added a codicil to his will, giving 'Four pounds towards the mayntayning a Latin skole at Hartford, if any be kept here.'

In Feb., 1648, 'for better conveniency than hitherto hath been attained for the keeping of a school,' 'which is looked upon as conducing much to the good of the present age and that of the future,' provision is made for the building of a house, 'which shall not be devoted to any other use or employment.' In the same year, Mr. Andrews received a grant of 10*l.*; and 20*l.* out of a vote of 60*l.* is appropriated to the school-house.'

After the provision in the code of 1650 respecting schools, Hartford having over one hundred families or householders, was required 'to set up a Grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youths so far as they may be fitted for the university.'

* Barnard's American Journal of Education, Vol. xxiii., 341–80.

* In this year 'Goody Bets, the school-dame,' died, implying, that beside the Grammar school, there was a school for the rudiments taught as in these latter days by females—then they were dames, now they are girls—our witches are no longer old.

In 1650, 'the town agrees to give Mr. Samuel Fytch 15*l.* by the year, for every one of the three years that he should teach such children as shall be thought fit to be sent to him, besides that which the parents of the children shall pay.' In 1655–6, Mr. Talcott, Mr. Fitch, Goodman Stebins, and Jno. Barnard were authorized to conclude the business of building or buying a house for the school.

In 1654–55, William Gibbins, by his will, dated Feb. 26, 1654 [*i. e.*, 1655] gave his land in Peniwise* (Wethersfield Cove), 'towards the mayntenance of a Lattin Schole at Hartford;' 'and until the lease to John Sadler be expired, I give out of the rent due from him fifty shillings yearly.'

During the period of controversy, from 1657 to 1664, respecting the will of Gov. Hopkins, between the General Court of Connecticut and the trustees, the town of Hartford maintained the Grammar school required by the code of 1650. In 1660, William Pitkin was authorized to keep a school in Hartford, and the townsmen promised 'to encourage Mr. Pitkin to teach such scholars as should be sent to him.' At the same meeting, Mr. Wyllys, Mr. Stone, Capt. Talcott, Edward Stebbing, Mr. Wadsworth, and John Barnard were chosen a committee 'to consider what way may be best for founding a free school'—meaning by *free*, an endowed Grammar school—having reference to the bequest of Gov. Hopkins, and other benefactions for that purpose before noticed.

From these and other items on the records of the town of Hartford, and from other sources of information, it is certain that a teacher competent to teach a school of the grade then known as the Latin, or Grammar, or Free Grammar school was maintained here from the first gathering of families in 1637. A son of the Rev. Thomas Shepard of Newtown, two sons of Gov. John Winthrop of Boston, were here at school, and ten graduates of Harvard college, from Hartford, prior to the reception of Gov. Hopkins's bequest in 1664–5, were fitted for college by these teachers. The fact of the teacher's name appearing on the records at all is evidence of his belonging to the learned profession.

The death of Mr. Hooker, and Gov. Haynes, and the withdrawal of Elder Goodwin of Hartford, and Mr. Russell of Wethersfield, to Hadley, and of Mr. Ludlow to Fairfield before the educational policy of the town and colony was fully settled according to the wise and simple provisions of the code of 1650, was a serious hindrance to the educational development of Hartford and Connecticut. It did not receive here the careful and persistent attention, which was paid to it in the town and colony of New Haven from Gov. Eaton and Rev. John Davenport, as will be seen in our subsequent memoir of these two eminent men. Although there was want of system, schools and the college were not suggested in the large, as well as the small towns of the state.

* This land [about thirty acres of meadow and upland] came into possession of the committee charged with the care of the property belonging to the Latin or Grammar school, and was let by them, in 1756, on a long lease which will not expire for centuries to come.

The house built in 1863, by Edmund G. Howe, on the Cove in Wethersfield, and now (1878), owned and occupied by Frank S. Brown, of the firm of Brown, Thompson and McWhirter, stands on part of this leased land.

Gov. Hopkins' Estate.

From the following vote, it appears that the town took possession of that portion of the estate of Gov. Hopkins set apart by the surviving trustees, Mr. Goodwin and Mr. Davenport, in 1664:—

Voted, That Mr. Samuel Wyllys, Mr. James Richards, and Mr. William Wadsworth, have power as a committee for the towne to receiue four hundred pounds appointed by the trustees of the Wor[ll] Mr. Edw. Hopkins to be d[el]iuered to this towne by Mr. Edw. Stebbing and Mr. Tho. Bull to bee imployed in this towne for the promoteing of learning here, w[ch] was given by the s[d] Mr. Edw. Hopkins for that end, which said committee, together with the said Mr. Edw. Stebbing and Mr. Tho. Bull are desired and impowered to imploy that said sume with whatsoeuer elce is allready giuen or shall be raised to that intent, for the end afore named, according to such instructions as shall be giuen them by this towne or for want of, according to their owne discretions.

It appears from the Land Records of the town that this committee received a part of the £400 *in land*. The following list includes, these as well as other lands purchased or belonging to the estate of Gov. Hopkins.

Land in Hartford upon the River of Connecticut, belonging to Mr. Samuel Willys, Mr. James Richards, and Wm. Wadsworth in the behalfe and for the proper use and behoofe of the Towne of Hartford for and towards the maintenance of a *lattin* schole in the sayd Towne for ever.

One parcell of Land with a messuage or Tenement standing thereon, together with all the out houses, Barnes, orchards, pastures, and gardens therein Being, which sayd parcell of Land was purchased of Wm. Loveridg and containes, by estimation, Two Acres (be it more or less), abutting on the high way, lyeing on the south side of the little River, on the North, on the high way leading from George Steele into the South Meadow on the South, on Samuel Wakeman's land on the east and on the Nath. Ward's land, west.

More—One parcell of wood land containing, by estimation, thirty Acres (more or less) which was purchased of Wm. Loveridg, abutting on the highway that runs on Rocky hill east, on Mr. Willys land south, on common land on the west, and on John White's Land, North.

More—One parcell of land in Hockanum with a messuage or Tenement standing thereon, which sayed parcell of land contains, by estimation, forty Acres (be it more or less), viz., Twenty acres of meadow and Twenty Acres of pasture land, abutting on Gregory Winterton's land South, on Edward Andrews's land North, on Mr. Thom. Wells' upland east, on the great Riuer west, together with all the said Mr. Hopkins' upland on the east side of the great Riuer at Hockanum, which sayd parcels of land, the 18th of January, 1665 (1666), was deliuered to Mr. Samuel Willys, Mr. James Richards, and Mr. Wadsworth (on the behalfe and for the proper use and behoofe of the Towne of Hartford, for and towards the maintenance of a lattin schole for ever), by Deacon Edw. Stebbing and Luit. Tho. Bull, by the appoyntment of Mr. John Davenport and Mr. Wm. Goodwin, Feofees in trust for the dispose of the estate of Edward Hopkins, Esq., according to his last will.

More—One parcell of laud which they bought of Wm. Hill, lying in Hockanum, containing, by estimation, three Acres and a halfe of meadow (be it more or less) abutting on the great Riuer west, on the upland east, on George Graues' land South, and on Andrew Bacon's land North.

More—One parcell of Land in Hockanum meadow which they bought of Wm. Hill, containing, by estimation, eight acres and a halfe and twenty rod (be it more or less) abutting on the Land of Mr. Hills South, Steuen Davies North, and on the great Riuer west, and on the sayd Hills' land on the east.

More—One parcell of Land in Hockanum meadow which they bought of Wm. Hill, containing, by estimation, Three Acres, Three roods, and twenty rod (be it more or less) abutting on the great Riuer on the east and on the west, and on Gregory Winterton's land on the South, and on James Olmstead's land on the North, which sayd parcell of land Wm. Hill doth bind himself, his heirs and executors to defend from all claimes.

Management.

The property, of which the Town came into possession under the will, and by the action of the Trustees, of Gov. Hopkins, was managed in the interest of a Grammar School, in common with other property given or bequeathed before, and after, for the same purpose. The General Court in 1671 exempted all such property, given for the support of religion, learning, and the poor, from taxation, and by legislation from time to time aimed to establish by such bequests and other aid, in the chief centers of population, schools of a higher order, to which only the term 'free' was originally applied—free in the sense in which our ancestors had known of its use, in the mother country, that is, available to children, always boys, of certain classes, or individuals or localities, and not in any case absolutely free of all payments or contributions towards tuition, fuel, and other incidental expenses, by the parents and guardians of the pupils.

For more than one hundred years, the institution, to which the income of the Hopkins and other benefactions was applied, is known on the Records, as 'the school,' or 'the Free School,' until 1753, when and afterward it is designated as the Grammar School, or the Free Grammar School. The management both of the property and the school was left to a committee, composed of a variable number from three to eight, chosen, superseded, or dismissed at the good pleasure of the freemen. There are only occasional references to the internal economy of the school, save in general instructions to the committee to make it more efficient, and on one occasion (in 1786), they are directed to give written instructions to the master as to the admission of pupils, and to his having a care of their morals as well as their learning. Until 1793, the committee was composed of prominent laymen. In that year, it was strengthened by the addition of all the settled ministers of the town; and their advent was signalized by attempts at more systematic administration. The proceedings hence forward are recorded in a separate book—special committees are assigned for the examination of candidates, and the visitation of the school—and rules for the general management of affairs are adopted. This dispensation continued until the Town applied to the Legislature for a transference of the management of the property and the school to a Board—styled the Trustees of the Hartford Grammar School, in whose recorded proceedings we can get some insight into the internal economy of the institution. From the records of the Town, the Board of Trustees and the Reminiscence of Pupils and Teachers, we present the following account of the Hartford Grammar School, and of the Hopkins Bequest, as an important portion of its means of support, until its connection with the Public High School of Hartford, in 1847. From that date the management of the Funds still continues in the hands of the Trustees, they being responsible for the selection and payment of the Hopkins Classical Teacher.

1749, Dec. 20.—It being by the school committee at this meeting represented that the greater part of the lands lying on the east side of the Great River, in the town of Hartford, anciently given and granted to and for the use of a Grammar school in said town, have been hitherto in great measure, useless to said purpose, and by frequent trespasses thereon secretly committed, greatly endamaged; and also that the past and present improvements and profits of the whole estate to said school belonging are found insufficient to answer the necessary charges thereof; by which means the good ends of the said donations are in great measure defeated. It is therefore now

Voted and agreed, that all the lands anciently given and granted to the purpose above said, situate and lying in this town on the east side of the Great River, be by lawful demise or otherwise disposed of for the term of five hundred years, or for such longer or shorter time as the committee hereafter named, and to that purpose appointed, think best; and that the moneys thereon arising and received, be by said committee carefully loaned out, in such manner, as shall effectually save the principal sum from any loss; and the interest on such loan from time to time arising forever hereafter, be by the committee of said Grammar school, for the time being, carefully applied to the proper use or uses designed in the original donation or grants of said lands; and that Nathaniel Stanly, Esq., Mr. Joseph Buckingham, Capt. James Church, Mr. Daniel Edwards, and Mr. Jonathan Seymour, the present school committee, be and they are hereby appointed a committee, with full power to lease out and dispose of said lands as above said, and of all sum or sums of money or securities therefor, as said committee may or shall receive and take for, or on account of said parcels of land, said committee are desired and directed to execute proper receipts under their hands, and lay the same before the inhabitants of this town assembled in town meeting next after they shall make any dispositions of the land aforesaid.

From the Land Records it appears that, Feb. 15, 1749–50, the committee of the 'Free Grammar School,' in accordance with this vote, leased several tracts of school land to different parties. Two pieces, one containing seven acres, the other two acres eighteen rods, were leased to John Vibbert for £108 14*s.* 5*d.* The lease was for '900 years,' and, by its terms, Vibbert was to pay to 'said Nathl. Stanly, Joseph Buckingham, James Church, and Jonathan Seymour, committee, or to their successors in said capacity, on the first Monday of January, annually, one silver penny, if especially thereunto required.'

One piece, containing seventeen acres and one rood, situated on the road to Glastonbury, was leased to Joseph Keeney, Jr., for £72 16*s.* 8*d.*

One piece, containing forty-one acres, running east three and a half miles, on the east side of highway leading to Glastonbury, was leased to Charles Burnham for £45 11*s.* 2*d.*

The following day, Feb. 16, three pieces, containing twenty-five acres, fifty-five rods, situated in 'Hoccanum,' were leased to Samuel Wells for £10 26*s.* 8*d.* These leases were each for '900 years,' and each contained the stipulation for the 'silver penny.'

As far as can be gathered from the Records, three pieces of land were all that was left of the school land east of the river. The next entry in the Town Records, relating to the school, directs an examination into the state of the funds, and calls for a report. Subsequent action of the town implies that some of the land may have been taken possession of by 'squatters.'

Jan. 8, 1753, it was 'voted, that William Pitkin, Esq., Mr. Daniel Edwards, Mr. Joseph Buckingham, Col. Samuel Talcott, Capt. Thomas

Seymour, and Capt. Stephen Hosmer, be a committee to inspect and inquire into the state and circumstances of the *Grammar School* in this town, and of the several grants, donations, and allowances that have been made for the maintenance and support of such school, and make report of what they find concerning the same, together with their opinion thereupon to the inhabitants of this town in their adjourned meeting, to be holden in Hartford, in April next.'

At the 'adjourned meeting,' April 9, it was 'voted, that Capt. Samuel Wells, Capt. Stephen Hosmer, and Mr. Samuel Flagg, or any two of them, be a committee or agents for the *Grammar School* in Hartford, to see that the bounds of the lands belonging to said school in the township of Hartford be resurveyed and renewed; and to prosecute in the law all such persons as have trespassed or shall trespass thereon.'

In May of the same year, 1753, the general assembly passed a resolution, affecting the income of the school, as follows:—

Resolved by this assembly that, instead of the forty shillings upon every thousand pounds in the list of the respective towns in this colony, by law ordered to be paid for the support of schools, the treasurer shall deliver and pay according to law, the sum of ten shillings, lawful money, upon every thousand pounds in the lists aforesaid, out of the tax or rate of three farthings, lawful money, now granted, and no more.

The same act was repeated the next year, at the October session, and made applicable to 'all other taxes hereafter.'

The Grammar School formally Established.

The following vote relates to the *establishment* of the '*Grammar School*,' and allows it to be a *continuation* of the 'Free School.'

1753, Sept. 18.—Voted and agreed that the incomes or rents of the lands, and interest of the moneys belonging to the *Free School* (so called) in this town, shall be applied to the use and support of a *Grammar School*, to be kept in the town of Hartford for the future; and Nathl. Stanly, Joseph Pitkin, Daniel Edwards, Samuel Talcott, Esqs., and Geo. Wyllys, are appointed a committee to take into their hands and care, the said lands and moneys and all the interests appertaining to said school, and apply the profits and incomes of the same to the setting up, maintaining, and supporting of a *Grammar School* as aforesaid; and the said committee are to have and take the care, charge, and oversight of the said *Grammar School*, and make and give such general orders as they shall think best for the well ordering and managing said school.

The school having changed its name, soon changed its location. Fortunately we can determine exactly where the first *Grammar School* lot in Hartford was situated. December 21, 1753, Abigail Woodbridge, 'widow,' deeded to the above named committee of the Grammar School, a parcel of land 'bounded east and south on the residue of my said lot, south on the highway which runs east and west on the north bank of the little river, and west partly on land by me lately sold to Timothy and Josiah Shepard, and partly on land also by me lately sold to Ebenezer Balch, of said Hartford, and partly on the residue of my said lot still to me belonging, and is to extend in breadth east and west full four rods and two feet, and in length north and south full sixteen rods of equal breadth at both ends, and in quantity containing about sixty-five rods

of land,' 'for the only proper use, benefit, and behoof of the free Grammar School in said Hartford. To have and to hold the said granted and described premises, with the appurtenances thereof unto the said (names the committee), and to such others as shall from time to time hereafter be lawfully appointed to provide for, superintend, order, and regulate the interest and concern of said school forever, upon this special trust and confidence, that the said granted and described premises, and the whole and entire produce, issues, and profits thereof, by the best discretion of the said (names the committee), or of such others as above said be hereafter to such purpose appointed, or of the major part of them, or of the survivors of them, be applied to and for the sole and entire use, benefit, and behoof of said school, from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter.' The land was deeded 'in consideration of the sum of £600 old tenor bills of credit.'

1765, Dec. 30.—The inhabitants of this town, taking into consideration the declining state of the Grammar School, and sensible that the interests and moneys belonging to it may yet be improved to better advantage to encourage and answer the ends preposed by the donors of such interests; but that some emendations may yet be made in the regulations thereof: it is therefore voted, that George Wyllys, Samuel Talcott, and William Pitkin, Jr., Esqs., or the major part of them, be and they are hereby appointed a committee in the room of the former committee, to hire a schoolmaster, and to take into their care all the interests, moneys, and securities belonging to said school, and to manage, regulate, and order the same for the best advantage thereof.

That said committee make full and clear entries in a book to be procured for that purpose, of all the stock, securities, and moneys that belong to the said school, and of all dispositions and disbursements thereof that shall be made from time to time. That the securities given, or to be given, for any of the said moneys, be renewed once in two years at least, without exception; or otherwise to be put in suit, and to review the present state of securities and see that they are good. That the said committee, for the time being, do give written instructions to the master or masters that shall be employed to keep or teach in said school with regard to the rules he shall observe:—The method of teaching and admitting of scholars into the same; and it is especially recommended that such masters be instructed to take due care of the morals, as well as of the learning of the scholars. That said committee are empowered to impart to the committees of the first and second parishes in said town, what of their moneys are or shall come into their hands, and to treat with them, and to make such division of the said several interests as shall be just and right on the request of said parish committees. That said committee examine into and find the amount of the whole moneys belonging to said school, and state a fair account of the same, that it may be known, from time to time, how much the interest or annual revenue thereof may be.

The two following extracts from the Town Records are of interest and will explain themselves:—

1766, Dec.—Voted that Messrs. Daniel Sheldon, Benjamin Payne, and Thomas Seymour, Jr., be a committee to join with the present school committee and devise some method for the better regulating of the Grammar School, and lay the same before the next meeting of the town in order for their approbation.

1767, Dec. 13.—Whereas we were appointed by this town, at their annual meeting in December last, to devise some method for the better regulation of the Grammar School, and lay the same before this meeting for their approbation; and having considered of the circumstances of said school and the interests, securities, and moneys belonging to the same, do now report it as our opinion, that the following things and regulations are still further necessary in order to the promoting and advancing good literature and the interests belonging to said *school*, according to the original design thereof.

First.—That the committee, for the time being, do, as soon as may be, review the present state of the moneys and securities belonging to said school, and see that they are safe and good, and immediately renew such as they shall think necessary.

Second.—That the said committee find and deliver over to the several committees of the north and south districts, in the first and second societies in said town, the just proportion of the moneys in their hands belonging to the parish schools, taking their receipts for the same.

Third.—That said committee call in all such sums of money under fifty pounds belonging to said *school;* and again loan out the same on good personal security, in such sum or sums as they shall think proper, not less than fifty pounds, unless any number of persons who have the use of said moneys in small sums will unite and put the same into one security, so as to make up the sum of fifty pounds money or revenue.

Fourth.—That said committee be especially directed to demand and recover into their hands from such person or persons that now have or hereafter may have any of said moneys, upon their neglecting or denying annually to pay up the interest that may be due thereon; and that said committee do keep clear and fair entries, in a book prepared for that purpose, of their doings relative to said moneys, and of all the receipts, charges, and disbursements arising and belonging to said school, agreeable to the vote and direction of said town, at their meeting, December, 1765.

Fifth.—That said committee, as soon as may be, use their utmost endeavors to obtain some meet person, duly qualified to undertake the keeping of said *school*, and to settle therein; and for that purpose, if need be, to make such alterations, or erect and make such additions to the buildings belonging to said school as will best serve and promote the good ends and designs of the same.

Sixth.—That said committee, from time to time, give directions and prescribe rules to the master for the well ordering of said *school;* that they inspect and visit the same at least once every quarter of each year, and hear and attend the exercises and performances of the youth belonging to said *school*, on said quarter days, and desire some or all the ministers of said town, for the time being, to visit, assist, advise; and consult the best measures for the advancement of good literature in said school; and said committee, or the major part of them, do determine concerning the admission and number of scholars proper for said school. And we do also heartily recommend it to the several districts within said town, that schools be immediately set up and kept within the same, which will, in our opinion, greatly advance the best interests of the Grammar School, as well as virtue and education in general among all; all which is humbly submitted by the town's most obedient and humble servants,

George Wyllys, Saml. Talcott, Danl. Sheldon, Thos. Seymour, Jr.; Benj. Payne, Committee. *Hartford*, 13 Dec., 1767.

Voted, That the foregoing report of the committee, relative to the Grammar School, be and is accepted and approved by this town.

Voted, That Messrs. Daniel Sheldon, Thos. Seymour, Jr.; and Benj. Payne be added to and joined with this committee, appointed and empowered by the inhabitants of this town, in their meeting on the 30th day of Dec., 1765, to have and take the oversight and care of the *Grammar School* in this town, together with the lands, moneys, and all the interests appertaining to said school, in form and manner, as by the votes of the town, passed at any former or this present meeting, appointing and directing said committee and relating to said school is fully expressed and set forth.

The money to be divided with the 'committees of the first and second parishes,' was not, probably, any that had been given by private bequests to the 'Latin School,' 'Grammar School,' etc., but that derived from the public treasury under grants of the General Assembly. The preceding year, 1776, at the May session, an act had been passed, directing the 'excise on liquors, teas, etc.,' to be collected and appropriated to the use of schools.

Reorganization in 1789.

In 1789 (Dec. 14), by vote of the town, the pastors of the several churches in Hartford were added to the committee—viz., Nathan Strong of the First, Benjamin Boardman of the South Ecclesiastical Society, and Nathan Perkins of the West. These new members were present at a meeting of the trustees held on the 28th of the same month with

George Wyllys, Thos. Seymour, Ephraim Root, John Trumbull, *Esquires.*

Hon. Jeremiah Wadsworth, Chauncey Goodrich, Thos. Y. Seymour, Ephraim Root.

George Wyllys was chosen *Chairman;* Thos. Y. Seymour, Esq., *Register;* and John Trumbull, *Treasurer* of the Board.

The committee thus constituted took hold of the Free Grammar school with new vigor, and from that date we have a record of their proceedings under the title of '*A Book of Entries and Notes of the Trustees of the Free Grammar School in Hartford*'—the earliest book of the committee now extant.

Voted, That John Trumbull, Chauncey Goodrich, and Ephraim Root, Esquires, be, and they are hereby appointed, a committee with full power and authority to examine into the present situation of the funds of said Grammar school, and the securities thereunto belonging, and to take all necessary measures for further security of said funds, and to settle and adjust all accounts open with said school, and report thereof make to this Board.

Voted, That the Revd. Mr. Strong, Mr. Boardman, and Mr. Perkins be requested to join Mr. Trumbull, appointed at a former meeting of said trustees, to digest a system of Rules and Regulations for the government of said school, and lay the same before said trustees at their next meeting.

John Trumbull, Chauncey Goodrich, and William Mosely, Esquires, were appointed a committee to examine candidates for admission, and 'for examining s^d school monthly.' Thos. Y. Seymour was added to same.

The records give accounts of two examinations under this regulation, but 'as nothing in particular had happened, there was no particular report made by the master.'

The town still manifested a desire to be kept informed in regard to the affairs of the school. At a town meeting, April 9, 1792, it was 'voted that the committee of the Grammar school report to the town meeting, to be holden in December next, the general state of that school, the nature of the grants and appropriations, the number of scholars in it, and the advantages which arise therefrom to individuals and the public.' What report was made is not recorded.

In April, 1793, it was voted by the trustees, 'that, that part of the regulations heretofore adopted for said school, that permits English to be taught two days in every week, be, and the same is, hereby annulled and repealed.' The free use of the Grammar school building was voted the preceptor for teaching the pupils 'English branches and arithmetic in those hours not appropriated to said school, at the expense of the parents and guardians of said youths.'

At a meeting of the trustees of the Grammar school, holden at the house of the Revd. Mr. Strong, on the 6th day of January, 1790—

Voted, That the following Rules and Regulations [drawn up by a committee consisting of John Trumbull, Esq., and the Revd. Messrs. Strong, Boardman and Perkins,] for the government of said school be, and the same are hereby established.

Rules and Regulations—1790.

First.—No scholar shall be admitted, but such as can read English without hesitation, write a good copy-hand, and have some knowledge of arithmetic.

Second.—Every scholar, previous to his admission, shall be examined by two or more of the trustees of the school, who shall be appointed a committee for the purpose, whose approbation of such scholar, as qualified for admission, shall be certified in writing to the master.

Third.—The books used for instruction in said school shall be viz:—

Perry's or Entick's Dictionary, Introduction; Latin Dictionary; Accidence; Grammar; Clarke's Corderius; Erasmus; Eutropius; Justin; Davidson's Virgil; Duncan's Cicero; Greek Lexicon; Greek Grammar; Greek Testament; English Grammar; Salmon's Geographical Grammar; Moore's Geography; Dilworth's Assistant; Moore's Navigation; Wild's Surveying; and such other useful books in addition to, or in lieu of any of them, as shall be recommended by the master and approved of by the trustees of said school.

No scholar shall be admitted into said school until he be furnished with said Latin Dictionary, Accidence and Grammar, Corderius and Erasmus, and said English Dictionary.

And all scholars now members of said school, or who may hereafter be advanced to higher classes, who shall neglect to procure any of the books before mentioned, necessary for their instruction, within one month after a notification from the master, shall be liable to dismission from the school by the trustees, or their committee.

Fourth.—Every scholar shall constantly attend on the duties of the school, except only in case of sickness, or absence by leave of the master. Any scholar who shall be absent six half days in one month without leave shall be liable to dismission, unless satisfactory reasons for such absence be given to said committee.

If any scholar shall attend the school half an hour later than the hour of attendance, two such instances shall be considered as half a day's absence. The master shall cause a regular Monitor's Book to be kept, and shall report the same once in every month to the committee of the trustees for their advice and direction.

Fifth.—Every scholar shall be liable to dismission for incorrigible misconduct or neglect of study, to be judged of by the trustees on report of the master.

Sixth.—The master shall principally attend to the instruction of his scholars in the study of the learned languages, and of those branches of the arts and sciences usually taught in collegiate schools. Two days in every week shall be devoted to the study of English grammar, writing, arithmetic, and geography, reading and spelling. English public speaking and composition shall be attended to, as important objects, so far as they may be consistent with the other studies before mentioned.

If any scholar be desirous of particular instruction in navigation, surveying, or any other branch of the arts and sciences taught in said school, he may be allowed to apply himself principally to that study three days in every week, at the discretion of the master.

Seventh.—At the end of every three months, there shall be a public exhibition and examination of the scholars before the trustees and other gentlemen, who will honor the school by their presence; at which time premiums will be given by the trustees to those scholars who excel in the various branches of learning taught in the school. The first of said examinations to be held on the first Monday of April next, and on the first Monday of every month hereafter a committee of the trustees shall examine the school, and receive and adjudge upon the report of the master relative to the conduct of the scholars.

Board of Trustees Incorporated in 1798.

On 23d of Dec., 1797, it was 'voted that the trustees make application to the town of Hartford, at their next meeting, for the appointment of agents to apply to the legislature for an act incorporating a Board of Trustees for the Grammar school in this town, to manage the interests of said school and the funds thereof, with powers and capacities of suing and being sued, impleading and being impleaded, and for such other powers as may be necessary for effectuating the objects of such an institution and of perpetuating the same.'

At the next town meeting, 'The foregoing application of the trustees of the Grammar school being approved,' it was

Voted, That the Rev. Nathan Perkins and Ephraim Root, Esq., be, and they are appointed, agents to apply to the Honorable Legislature of this State for an act to incorporate a Board of Trustees for said Grammar school, for the purposes and with the powers mentioned in the said above application.

On the 10th of January, 1798, the committee voted 'that John Trumbull, Esq., be desired to confer with Rev. Mr. Perkins and Ephraim Root, Esq., and to give them his aid in drafting a petition to the next General Assembly to obtain for the Board of Trustees of the Free Grammar school in this town, an act of incorporation, and also for such act in such manner as to give effect to the object of such institution, and that the funds of said school may be managed and preserved as the local interest of said school may require.'

A petition was drafted and presented to the legislature in May following, and an Act or Resolution of incorporation granted, of which the following is printed from a copy taken from the Record, 'and examined by Samuel Wyllys, Secretary.'

At a General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, holden at Hartford on the second Thursday of May, 1798.

Upon the petition of the town of Hartford—RESOLVED, That the Honorable *Thomas Seymour*, the Honorable *Jeremiah Wadsworth*, the Reverend *Nathan Strong*, Reverend *Nathan Perkins*, Reverend *Abel Flint*, *John Trumbull*, and *Thomas Y. Seymour*, Esquires, all of said town of Hartford, and their successors, be, and they are hereby, constituted and declared to be from time to time and forever hereafter, one body corporate and politic, in fact and in name, by the name of the Trustees of the Grammar school in the town of Hartford; and by that name, they and their successors forever, shall, and may have, perpetual succession, and shall be persons in law, capable of suing and being sued; pleading and being impleaded in all suits of what nature soever; and also of receiving, purchasing, holding, and conveying any estate, real or personal, and may have a common seal, and may exchange and alter the same at pleasure.

And be it further resolved, That all the estate, real or personal, bonds, notes, and all other debts or property, of what nature and kind soever, belonging and appertaining to said Grammar school, in the hands and possession of the committee of said school, who have been heretofore appointed by said town of Hartford, or any of them, or of any other person or persons whatsoever, or in any other way or manner, shall be and the same is hereby vested in said trustees and their successors forever, with full power to receive, recover in law, and forever hold the same in their aforesaid capacity; and the said estate, real and personal, and all other property or estate which said trustees and their success-

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ors may hereafter have or receive, shall be and remain appropriated to the sole use and benefit of said Grammar school forever: *Provided always*, That the productive funds of said Grammar school, shall not at any time exceed the sum of *Twenty Thousand Dollars.*

And be it further resolved, That the Grammar school in said town of Hartford, be, and the same is hereby constituted and appropriated, according to the original intent of the donor for the education of youth in the rudiments of the higher branches of science not taught in Common schools—of the Latin, Greek, and other useful languages—of the grammar of the English tongue—of geography, navigation, book-keeping, surveying, and other similar studies, preparatory to an education at the university, or a life of active employment; and that for said purpose, no youth may or shall hereafter be admitted as a student in said school, unless he shall be adjudged, on examination, capable of reading and spelling the English language with accuracy, writing a handsome copy and small hand, and resolving questions in the four first rules of arithmetic; to be determined by order of said trustees, according to their discretion.

And be it further resolved, That the said Board of Trustees shall consist of seven persons, and upon the death or resignation of any of said trustees, or their successors, the remaining trustees shall and may, at a legal meeting, proceed to nominate, elect, and appoint a successor on every such vacancy, out of the inhabitants and freemen of said town of Hartford; and that the removal of any of the said trustees or their successors, into any other town or place, shall forever hereafter be considered as a resignation of said trust. And that said trustees and their successors forever, may and shall have full power and authority to manage and direct the affairs, interests, and concerns of said school, and in their lawful meetings to elect and appoint a chairman, clerk, treasurer, and committee for transacting the business of said school; also a preceptor and other instructors, for the education of youth therein, and to change said officers at pleasure, and by their said clerk to keep records of all their votes and resolves.

And be it further resolved, That it shall be the duty of said trustees, to make out and exhibit annually to the inhabitants of said town of Hartford, at a legal meeting of said inhabitants, for their acceptance and approbation, an accurate statement of the funds of said Grammar school; also, an account of all moneys belonging thereto, annually received and disbursed.

The Free Grammar school is henceforth to be known as the Grammar School of the Town of Hartford. At a meeting of the trustees held in July (23d) of the same year, 1798, John Trumbull, Esq., Rev. Nathan Perkins, and Abel Flint were appointed a committee 'to report a system of rules for the regulation and instruction of said school.' On the 30th, the committee reported that 'it was advisable that the regulations formerly established by the trustees be, for the present, considered as the regulations of the school.' They also recommended 'that the school be opened for the reception of scholars on the first day of November next, and that notice be given to those who wish to preserve a place in the school to leave their names with the clerk of the board.' They also advised that a suitable instructor or instructors be elected. Messrs. Perkins, Flint, and Seymour were appointed a committee to examine applicants and to visit the school monthly.

From 1798 to 1828 the Hartford Grammar School was a classical school, with an average attendance of thirty pupils, supported mainly by the income of property left avowedly for this style of education; until 1817 there appears to have been no charge even for incidental expenses. In that year and down to 1828, the sum of one dollar, payable quarterly in advance, was collected of every scholar as a ticket of admission.

Teachers Prior to 1664.

A Grammar school, or teachers who actually taught young persons the studies of a school of that grade, and fitted them to enter college, existed in Hartford from the first year in which families were gathered in permanent residence. The entries before 1648 in the first book of Town Records are mutilated or lost.

JOHN HIGGINSON, born in 1616, and educated in the Grammar school in Leicester, England, was a landholder in Hartford in 1637, and according to Cotton Mather, was a schoolmaster here, before he became chaplain at the fort in Saybrook, in 1639.

WILLIAM COLLINS, whom Winthrop, in his Journal, mentions as having been 'entertained to teach a school in Hartford in 1640,' was a young preacher from Barbadoes.

WILLIAM ANDREWS, one of the original emigrants from Newtown, had thirty acres assigned to him in the first division of lands in 1639, was paid for teaching the school in 1648. He was Town Clerk, and as such, copied the proceedings of the Commissioners of the United Colonies in the book belonging to Connecticut. Mr. Andrews was an educated man, and held in high consideration by his townsmen. He was also paid for 'schooling' in 1665.

JOHN RUSSELL, a son of Rev. John Russell, and a graduate at Harvard in 1645, was a schoolmaster in Hartford in 1648; and in June, 1649, married Mary, daughter of John Talcott, who, in a codicil of his will, dated Aug. 12, 1649–50, gave £5 'towards the mayntayning of a Latin Skole.'

MR. DAVIS, who assisted Mr. Stone [who was sick] in preaching, was also paid for 'schooling,' by vote of the town, in 1656.

SAMUEL FITCH, in March, 1659, engaged himself 'to teach such children as shall be thought fit to be taught by him,' the town to give him £15 by the year, for the three years, for his encouragement, 'besides that which he is to have of the parents of the children for teaching them.'

WILLIAM PITKIN, an eminent man in the affairs of the colony, and the ancestor of many men eminent in church and state, was authorized, in 1660, to teach school, and the townsmen were directed 'to encourage him to teach such scholars as shall be sent to him.' Mr. Pitkin was employed for three years. He was educated for the legal profession in Norwich, England, and was the first State's or Colony's attorney, regularly employed to prosecute suits in the name of the colony, after he became freeman in 1662. He was deputy in 1665, and treasurer in the year following.

Under these teachers ten graduates of Harvard from Hartford before 1665 were fitted for college—viz., Samuel Wyllys, John Whiting, Samuel Hooker, and John Stone in 1653; John Haynes in 1656, and Joseph Haynes and Samuel Talcott in 1658. Wait Winthrop and Samuel Stone, and — Seymour were students at Harvard in 1656–9, and Samuel Shepard of the same class was fitted for College in Hartford.

Teachers Subsequent to 1664.

Of the Teachers of the Grammar, Free, or Latin School who followed Mr. Pitkin until 1674, we have no information.

MR. CALEB WATSON, who became teacher of the Grammar school at Hartford in 1674, and continued in its service until Dec. 25, 1705, was born in Roxbury, Mass., the son of John Watson and Alice Prentice, and graduated at Harvard college in 1661. He was for seven years (1665 to 1673) master of the Hopkins Grammar school at Hadley. In the original contract, his salary was to be £60, of which the town was 'to lend their help to the extent of £30.' The sum paid by the town varied from year to year, and was in addition to the amount paid by the committee. In 1681, the General Court granted to the teachers of the county Grammar school each 200 acres. Mr. Watson did not come into possession of his grant until 1703, when it was located by a committee 'in the wilderness between Norwich and Lyme.' He was accepted as freeman in May, 1675—having ten pound estate in land beside personal estate. Mr. Watson supplied the pulpit occasionally, and officiated on committees charged with ecclesiastical matters. His services as teacher were discontinued in Dec., 1705, when the committee of the school are empowered 'to provide a suitable schoolmaster.' 'In consideration of his good services done in this colony, the General Court released him from this time forward, during the term of his natural life, from paying county rates for his person and estate whatsoever, and the town abated his interest on a mortgage to the fund of the school, of which his necessities had compelled him in 1701 to be a borrower. In 1714, his difficulties were adjusted through the intervention of Samuel Mighill, and he and his wife Mary were assured the possession of their mortgaged premises as long as they both should live, to have a comfortable and honorable subsistence. The town continued to vote £10 till the end of his life, which took place in 1725. In that year, 'on petition of Peter Pratt of Saybrook, for aid to the Rev. Mr. Caleb Watson, now advanced to an exceeding old age, spent in the office of schoolmaster, a very great and constant benefactor to the colony,' the Upper House of the General Court ordered £10 to be paid him out of the public treasury. The Lower House dissented.

SOLOMAN PORTER, born in Windsor (Hill) in 1754, graduated at Yale college in 1775, was master of the Grammar school in 1790, and continued till near the end of 1792. Mr. Porter was a man of mark in his day. He was commissioned by Washington in 1795 Inspector of Revenue for the Port of Hartford, made a survey of Connecticut River in reference to deepening its channel, and was employed by the town to make a plan of the streets from actual survey. The original plan is now in the Connecticut Historical Society. Mr. Porter died in 1821.

GEORGE JAFFREY PATTEN, the son of Rev. William Patten [colleague-pastor of the Rev. Elnathan Whitman from 1767 to 1773], taught the Grammar school from Dec. 10, 1792, till 1799. He taught a private school in Hartford until 1818, assisted by his two sisters. He died in 1830.

ELISHA CHAPMAN, a graduate of Yale college in the class of 1797, was born in Saybrook in 1776, where he taught school in his college vacations, became teacher of the Grammar school for six months, from Dec. 4, 1798, while he was pursuing his medical studies with Dr. Mason F. Cogswell. He commenced the practice of his profession in New London in 1800, and died in 1801.

ALANSON HAMLIN, a graduate of Yale college in 1799, with the honors of valedictorian, was recommended by Dr. Dwight for the post of instructor, which he assumed in July, 1799, with a salary of £100. He began the practice of the law in Danbury, and removed to Bridgeport in 1828, where he died in 1839.

THOMAS ADAMS, a graduate of Yale college in 1800, was engaged by Mr. Flint from July of that year at £140, and continued till the close of the term in 1804. His pupils, Thomas H. Gallaudet, George Goodwin, and James Root, presented him with a gold ring on leaving the school for college. He died in 1806.

STEDMAN ADAMS, a graduate of Yale college in 1801, was a teacher of the Grammar school in 1805, on a temporary engagement, and was succeeded by

JOHN MCCURDY STRONG, of the class at Yale of 1806, a son of the Rev. Dr. Strong of Hartford. He was drowned in Connecticut River, September, 16, 1806. His place was filled temporarily by

SHELDON CANDEE, a graduate of Yale in 1805. After teaching the Grammar school, he studied and practiced law in Hartford, where he died in 1821.

AMASA LOOMIS, a graduate of Yale in 1807, taught the school from July 8, 1808, to the close of 1810, when he was succeeded for one year by

ISAAC PARSONS, of the Yale class of 1811. Mr. Loomis succeeded Dr. Backus in the church at Bethlehem, and died in 1830. Mr. Parsons became pastor of the church at East Haddam, where he died in 1868.

JOHN WITTER, a graduate, of high standing as a classical scholar, of Yale in 1812, succeeded Mr. Parsons in that year. His praises, with stinging criticisms on his predecessors and successors, were perpetuated in the school down to a late period in the '*Scholiad—a poetical history of the Hartford Grammar school*,' from 1811 to 1819.

That the reputation of Mr. Witter among his pupils was well founded is evident from the following letter written by Enoch Perkins, Esq., President of the Trustees of the Grammar school, in reply to some inquiries of Joseph Kirkland, Esq., of Hamilton college, as to his fitness for the professorship of languages in that college.

Mr. Witter graduated at Yale college in the year 1812. He then came to Hartford, and taught our Grammar school three years. He came highly recommended; and we found him equal to the recommendation, an excellent linguist and able instructor. He had proposed to leave the school at the end of the second year; but he was so acceptable to several gentlemen, whose sons were under his instruction, that they subscribed two hundred dollars in addition to

the salary allowed him by the trustees, to induce him to continue his instruction the third year.

Being appointed a tutor in Yale college, he accepted the office, and continued in it two or three years. He then resigned that office, and was appointed preceptor of the academy at Colchester. I have known much less of Mr. Witter, since he left Hartford; I have understood that he was considered an able instructor in Yale college; but that he was not so popular there as he was with us. I have also understood that of late his health has been indifferent. [He was for ten years preceptor of the academy at Plainfield, Conn., from which he sent many pupils to college, and gave that institution a high reputation in the eastern part of Connecticut.]

Horace Hooker, a graduate of Yale college in 1815, succeeded Mr. Witter for two years, on the latter's accepting the post of tutor in that institution. Mr. Hooker was an excellent scholar and faithful teacher, although his presence and oratory were not of a kind to make him an effective public speaker. He was twelve years editor of the Connecticut Observer, Secretary of the Connecticut Missionary Society, and succeeded Rev. Thomas Gallaudet as chaplain of the Retreat for the Insane. He served for many years on the Board of Trustees of this school, and wrote its history, after a diligent search through the Town Records. He was tutor in Yale college in 1817–18. Mr. Hooker died in 1864.

Lyman Coleman was a graduate of Yale college in 1817, and a tutor there, after serving two years as master of the Grammar school, from 1817 to 1819. He was tutor in Yale college from 1819 to 1822; professor of Latin and Greek in the college of New Jersey in 1823 to 1829; principal of the English department and Teachers' seminary of Phillips academy at Andover, from 1835 to 1840; and professor of the Greek language and Biblical literature in Lafayette college at Easton, Pennsylvania, from 1840 to 1872. He is the author of a *Biblical Geography*, &c.

Soloman Stoddard, who succeeded Mr. Coleman in the mastership of the Grammar school in 1820, graduated with high honors of his class. In 1822, he became tutor; and in 1825, left Yale for the professorship of mathematics and natural philosophy in Middlebury college, and subsequently of the Latin and Greek languages. He was associated with Prof. E. A. Andrews in the preparation of Andrews and Stoddard's Latin grammar, and Latin reader. He died in 1847.

Edward Beecher, valedictorian of the class of 1822 in Yale, where he became tutor in 1824, was two years master of this school, from 1822 to 1824. He was subsequently president of Illinois college at Jacksonville, and afterward was settled as clergyman in Boston from 1846 to 1856, and at Galesburg, Illinois. He is author of the *Conflict of Ages*.

William Moseley Holland, salutatorian in the class of 1824, when he became master, and after two years of service here, passed to the tutorship at Yale, and in May, 1831, to the preceptorship of Friends Academy in New Bedford. In Oct., 1831, he became tutor, and subsequently professor of Greek and Latin in Washington (now Trinity college) Hartford until 1837. He was, in every position, a successful teacher —thorough, conciliating, and a waker-up of the faculties of his pupils.

He was author of *Life of Martin Van Buren*, and took an active interest in public affairs. He died in 1847.

ELIJAH PORTER BARROWS, born at Mansfield, Conn., Jan. 5, 1805, graduated at Yale in 1826, was sole principal of the Grammar school for two years, and associated with Carter, Barnard, and Skinner for three years more. Under these teachers the attendance rose to one hundred—the highest limit, and its reputation for discipline and scholarship was never surpassed. Mr. Barrows was pastor of the first Free Presbyterian church in New York city, from 1835 to 1837; professor of sacred literature in Western Reserve college, 1837–52; of Hebrew language and literature in Andover Theological seminary, from 1852 to 1866; and of the same in Oberlin college in 1872. He published *Memoir of Judson*, in 1860; *Companion to the Bible*, in 1869; *Sacred Geography*, in 1872; and contributed largely to the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. He received the degree of D.D. from Darthmouth in 1858.

ASHBEL SMITH, a native of Hartford, and graduate of Yale, where he won the Berkeley scholarship, and studied medicine, who took charge of the Grammar school in the summer of 1826, completed his professional studies in Paris, and entered on the practice in Salisbury, N. C. Removing to Texas in 1832, he shared in its administration as an independent State, representing her interests as Chargé at London and Paris. He embarked his fortunes with the South in the war of the Rebellion, and has since resided at Evergreen, near Galveston.

WILLIAM CARTER, one of the best scholars at Yale of the class of 1828. He had special charge of the classics until the spring of 1830, when he became tutor at Yale, and subsequently minister of a Congregational church at Pittsfield, and from 1838 at Jacksonville, Illinois. He died Feb. 2, 1871.

FREDERICK A. P. BARNARD, born in Sheffield, Mass., in 1809, was second to none in his class at Yale (1828) in literary and scientific studies, was connected with the school from 1828 to the fall of 1830, when he became tutor at Yale. After several years experience in deaf mute instruction in the Hartford and New York institutions, he was from 1837 to 1848 professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, and from 1848 to 1854 of chemistry and natural history in the University of Alabama; of mathematics, natural philosophy, and civil engineering, from 1854 to 1856, and from 1856 to 1861 president, of the University of Mississippi; and from 1864 to 187–, president of Columbia college in New York city. From 1862 to 1864, he was connected with the Coast Survey. He was one of the original corporators of the National Academy of Science, has been president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, a member of the American Philosophical Society, and of several foreign societies. He was commissioner to the Paris exposition of 1867, and one of the judges in the United States International exposition in 1876. He received the degree of LL.D. from Yale in 1859, and of S.T.D from the University of Mississippi in 1861; and of L.H.D. from the Regents of the University of New York in 1872. Dr. Barnard has taken an active part in promoting popular and higher education and the advancement of science, and was editor-in-chief of Johnson's New Universal Cyclopedia.

ISAAC W. STUART, born in Andover, Mass., in 1809, graduated at Yale in 1828, and succeeded Mr. Barnard in the department of English literature in 1831, and to the principalship of the school on the retirement of Mr. Barrows. From 1833 to 1845, he was professor of Latin and Greek in the college of South

Carolina at Columbia. In 1845, he returned to Hartford, and gave much of his time to historical and antiquarian studies, of which his *Hartford in the Olden Time* in 1853, *Life of Jonathan Trumbull* in 1859, and *Memoir of Nathan Hale*, are the published results. Mr. Stuart was three times member of the legislature, and died in 1861.

ANTHONY D. STANLEY, born in East Hartford in 1810, fitted in this school for Yale college, where he graduated first in his class (of 1830) in mathematics, of which study he became instructor here in 1830, and remained till he returned to New Haven as tutor in 1832. In 1836, he was appointed to the chair of mathematics, whose duties he discharged till his death in March, 1853. He was a frequent contributor to the American Journal of Science, published a Treatise on Logarithms in 1846, and edited an edition of Day's Algebra.

FRANCIS FELLOWES, after graduating at Amherst college in 1826, and conducting Mount Pleasant school at Amherst, became principal of this school for one year, from 1832 to 1833, when he commenced the study of the law, edited the American Advocate of Peace, was admitted to the bar, and has continued in lucrative practice here and in New York.

EVANGELINUS APOSTOLIDES SOPHOCLES, born in 1809 near Mt. Pelion, Greece, was educated in Munson academy and Amherst college in 1833, he came to the Grammar school as instructor of Greek with Mr. Fellowes, and remained till 1836. He was Greek tutor at Harvard in 1849, Original Greek Professor in 1859, and Professor of Ancient and Modern Greek in 1860. In 1837, he published a *Greek Grammar; First Lessons in Greek* in 1839; *Exercises* in 1841; a *Romaic Grammar* in 1842; *Greek lessons for Beginners* in 1843; History of *Greek Alphabet* in 1848; and a *Glossary of Byzantine Greek* in 1860.

THATCHER THAYER, born in Worcester, Mass., in 1813, educated in Amherst college, where he graduated in 1832, and was tutor in 1834–35, was one of the teachers of this school in 1832–33. After studying theology in Andover and Princeton, he was settled over the Congregational church in Newport, from which he asked a dismissal on account of impaired health in 1873. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the college of New Jersey in 1861.

WILLIAM N. MATSON, born in Colchester, Conn., in 1812, educated in Bacon academy, and Yale college, where he graduated in 1833; was appointed instructor in 1833, and remained one year. After pursuing his professional studies at the Yale law school and in the office of Hungerford and Cone, Mr. Matson was admitted to the bar, was Judge of Probate from 1841 to 1848, and reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Court from 1849 to 1854. His decease occurred in 1876.

NATHAN PERKINS SEYMOUR, born in Hartford in 1814, educated in the Grammar school under masters Holland and Barrows, and at Yale college, where he graduated in 1834, and was tutor from 1836 to 1838, when he was elected professor of Greek and Latin in Western Reserve college. He was one of the instructors of this school from 1834 to 1836. He received the degree of LL.D. from Kenyon college in 1867.

THEODORE L. WRIGHT became principal of the Grammar school in 1836, bringing with him the reputation of a successful teacher of the East Hartford Classical and English school. He continued till 1841, when he resigned to establish a private boarding school in the north part of Hartford. He removed to Beloit, Wisconsin, in 1846—continuing to take an active interest in school

affairs. During his connection with the Grammar school, the first Teachers' Class, or Institute for the professional improvement of teachers of Common Schools,* projected by Henry Barnard, Secretary of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools, who paid the entire expenses of the experiment, was held by Mr. Wright, with the assistance of Mr. Gallaudet, Mr. Barnard, Mr. Barton, and other experienced teachers, in the autumn of 1839.

JOHN D. POST was associated with Mr. Wright from 1837 to 1840, when he acted for a short time as principal, until

LEVI N. TRACEY, a graduate of Dartmouth college in 1834, succeeded Mr. Wright as principal of the Grammar school in 1841, and continued till 1845, when he resigned. He died in 1846.

LEWIS B. HURLBURT, a graduate of Yale in 1843, and principal of Bacon academy in Colchester for two years, succeeded Mr. Tracey in 1845, and remained till 1847, when he became tutor at Yale till 1850. He then took his degree of M.D., and after two years hospital practice in New York, settled in the practice of medicine in Stamford.

JOHN B. TALCOTT, a pupil of the school from 1839 to 1842, and a graduate of Yale in 1846—was assistant here in 1841, and again in 1846; when, his health failing, he was succeeded by William B. Capron.

Grammar School, and Classical Department of the Public High School.

WILLIAM B. CAPRON, a Yale graduate of the class of 1846, became principal in 1847, of the Grammar school at the time of its union with the Public High school. He continued at the head of the Classical Department and the Grammar school proper—till 1853, when he was succeeded by his brother.

SAMUEL M. CAPRON, a graduate of Yale, of the class of 1853. He resigned his position as master of the Grammar school in September 1863; and after an absence of a year in Europe, became principal in 1865, both of the High and Grammar school, in which position he continued till his death in 1874. He was succeeded as principal of the High school by Joseph Hall, who had held the position of vice-principal since 1863, and temporarily by Henry B. B. Staples as the Hopkins classical teacher.

HENRY J. BLISS, of the Yale class of 1853, was teacher in the Grammar school from Dec., 1854, to March, 1855, when he left for La Crosse, Wisconsin.

ARTHUR N. HOLLISTER, a native of Hartford, a pupil of the school, and graduate of Yale in 1858, taught the Grammar school from 1863 to 1869.

MARSHALL R. GAINES, a graduate of Yale in 1865, became a teacher of the Grammar school in May, 1869, and continued till 1873. During this period he composed from material gathered from the Records of the Town and the school, and the recollections of pupils and masters, a valuable history of the Hartford Grammar school, too valuable and exhaustive to remain any longer in manuscript.

BERNADOTTE PERRIN, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1869, taught the classical department of the High school for two years from 1874.

HENRY S. GULLIVER, a graduate of Yale of the class of 1870, became Hopkin's Classical teacher of the High School in 1876 and continued till 187 .

* For an account of this Teachers' Class, see Connecticut Common School Journal, for November, 1839; also Barnard's American Journal of Education, Vol. XV. 388, in the article devoted to Teachers' Institutes.

From the first year of permanent settlement, in advance of any legal requisition, the inhabitants of the town of Hartford have maintained one or more persons to teach their children to read and write; and for the entire period from 1638 to 1878, have maintained by tax, parental contribution, or the income of special funds, 'masters able to instruct youths so far as they may be fitted for the university,' 'that learning might not be buried in the graves of the fathers in church and commonwealth.' For one hundred and fifty years the funds and affairs of this higher school,—called sometimes Free, Town, Latin, or Grammar School, were administered by a Committee appointed by the town, or directly in town meeting.

In 1798, on application of the town and for its convenience, Trustees were incorporated by the General Assembly, to continue the Grammar School 'for the education of youth in the rudiments of the higher branches of science, not taught in Common Schools, preparatory to an education in the university, or a life of active employment.' For thirty years this work was done as well as it could be, by one teacher, always competent in the knowledge which Yale College imparted, to prepare young men for the same or any other college, but without time or facilities for teaching any thing else. In 1828, the school premises, curriculum, and teaching force were enlarged, and for a time, with great success. But the wretched policy of allowing good teachers to leave at the end of two or three years, the exclusion of girls, and the high rate of tuition, created much dissatisfaction, and an agitation was begun in 1838, which culminated in the establishment of the Public High School, in 1848.

For thirty years (1848 to 1878), the town of Hartford by its own action, and in agreement with the Trustees of the Grammar School, has continued to support on a liberal plan, both as to studies and teachers, a Public School of a higher grade than any one of the several Districts into which the territory, with its population, is divided for school administration; and in this way has discharged every obligation which its educational trusts, including that of Edward Hopkins, imposed. In this school 'hopeful youths,' not only of the town, but of parts adjacent thereto, have been 'bred up in a grammar school for the university, and in other studies for the public service of the country, as well as for the business walks of life. In this school all the studies which were ever at any time, from 1638 to 1828, taught in the old Latin, Free, or Grammar School of Hartford, under one teacher, or when reorganized in 1828, under four, have been as well taught under the better advantages of more teachers, improved text-books, and varied means of illustrations.

REMINISCENCES OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS.*

Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D., of New Haven, writes, in 1870:—

My pupilage in the Hartford Grammar school began in the autumn of 1812, with some thirty schoolmates, under the mastership of Mr. Witter, who had graduated from Yale at the preceding commencement. The school was free—the only charge being one dollar each quarter paid to Andrew Kingsbury, Esq., in the State House, he being treasurer of the school as well as of the State.

The school-house of those days was a very neat white edifice of one story, and only one room beside the narrow vestibule. It was well ventilated by an open fireplace at the west end, and warmed in the winter by a stove in the center of the room. Above the roof, at the east end, rose a little cupola, surmounted by a vane in the shape of a fish, and commonly regarded as having a resemblance to a shad. From that cupola a bell sent out a sound which would soon be lost in the mingling noises of the city, as it now is; but in those still and quiet days, could be heard afar. It was a beautiful location, so retired, and yet so near the main street, at the end of a lane, through which no wheels passed except Dr. Sylvester Wells' chaise, who lived in the house which looked down the lane. The yard in front and rear afforded a spacious play ground.

It was an exclusively classical school in those days—and its standard of attainment was admission to Yale college, by a succession of masters who were preparing here to become tutors there. One half day in each week was given to arithmetic, and to any deficiencies in English, and every Saturday morning we recited the Westminster Shorter Catechism, Episcopalians having the privilege of stopping short at the Ten Commandments. Every thing else was Latin and Greek.

The attendance was at all times about thirty, and of my schoolmates now living, I recall Jonathan Edwards of Troy, his brother Walter of New York, Rev. Henry Jones of Bridgeport, Hon. John Boyd of Winsted, Henry W. Terry. C. C. Lyman, William H. Tudor.

It is my theory that the school from Mr. Langdon to Prof. Barrows, when the promotion of the teacher to a college tutorship was a matter of course,—that through those years from 1809 to 1827 the school was much better than it ever had been before, and very unlike what, with all its merits, it has been since.

Hon. John Boyd of West Winsted writes Feb. 1, 1871:—

I entered the Grammar school in Sept., 1817, and left it for Yale college in May, 1818. My teachers there were Horace Hooker, who soon became tutor of Yale college, and Lyman Coleman, who continued classical tutor and professor elsewhere. I recall the following names on the roll of the school:

Leonard Bacon, Judah Lee Bliss, Sam. W. Brown, John Boyd, Walter Colton, Samuel G. Clapp, Edward Goodwin, John Trumbull Hudson, Anthony Hempsted, J. Hopkins McCracken, Henry Oliver, Wm. T. Peters, Hugh Peters, Geo. W. Perkins, Timothy Stillman, Alfred Terry, Selah B. Treat, Henry Tudor, Thomas T. Waterman, Roswell B. Ward, James Wood, Edward Woodbridge, Guilford D. Young.

Most of these names appear on Yale's Triennial Catalogue between 1820 and

* The Reminiscences, which follow, of School Life in the Hartford Grammar school, from 1812 to 1836, are principally letters addressed by former pupils to Prof. Gaines in response to inquiries by him in 1870-71.

1825. Dr. Bacon, as a school boy, exhibited the traits of his mature life, able, earnest, fearless, sarcastic, social, and warm-hearted; James Ward, the indolent boy, who could not scan a line of Virgil, but beat every competitor in a game of chess, became the brave naval officer and an honor to the State. Hugh Peters, a retiring, studious boy, grew up into a manly scholar and lawyer, only to die early without his fame. The brilliant boy of the school was J. Hopkins McCracken, grandson of the author of 'The Cancer Quack.' Greek seemed to be his mother tongue. Horace was his oracle. Marmion he could repeat from beginning to end. His father would not send him to college. He took him into his counting-room and made him an accomplished merchant. As a proficient in modern languages, he was scarcely rivaled in this country. In his travels in Europe, he is said to have astounded the learned men of Germany by his ready mastery of every *patois* of the German and other European languages. A history of the Grammar school at this period would be incomplete without a copy of his poem entitled the 'Scholiad,' which was printed in a small pamphlet about 1819. [We add extracts from a copy of the *Stand** in the possession of Charles J. Hoadley, Esq., State Librarian.]

My memory oft recalls the happy days
Of youthful pleasures and of boyish plays,
And all those merry hours which leave behind
So sweet, yet sad, impressions on the mind.
Oft I remember Langdon's gentle sway,
Who dozed in school the appointed hours away.
No household broils disturbed his peaceful life,
Nor strife, nor trouble—for he had no wife;
He lived in quiet, till by fate's command
He left the scepter to another hand.

Now from the North, upon our sight appalled
Rushed a stern tyrant, Isaac Parsons called.
Rude'y he seized on Langdon's sacred chair,
And grimly frowning, raised his voice in air:
Ye clods,' he cried—'ye dunces vile, give ear,—
Hear our decree, and reverence what ye hear.
Whereas, we dread the teacher's common doom,
To hear the whisper buzzing round the room
Resolved to shun it, we proclaim our law,
Which he who breaks, shall direful vengeance draw
On his devoted back.—What luckless boy
With his shrill whisper dares our ears annoy,
Dragg'd forth, and flogged, in sorrow shall bewail
His dire offense, nor shall our vengeance fail.
Let each, submissive, dread the hand that flogs,
Nor dare offend the *Prince of Pedagogues*,
For such I govern, uncontroll'd and free,
And such are blockhead boys, compared to Me;'
He said, and sternly rising, in terrorem,
A huge mahogany ferule hung before him;
Pale with affright, each urchin trembling sate,
For in this Demon's eye each read his fate.
Bootless 'twould be, and vain each tale to tell,
How Hopkins smarted, and how Woodbridge fell—
How Crocker suffered, and how Williams swore
And muttered vengeance,—*but he did no more.*

* The *Stand* was a duodecimo semi-occasional Serial edited by the young wits of Hartford.

In sighs and groans, we spent two tedious years,
'Till Witter came to ease us of our fears.
Now, though the ferule was not thrown aside,
The sounds of war, and sobs of terror died;
With winning words, and mild persuasive art,
He turn'd to study, many a youthful heart,
And soon by kindness, caused his flock to thrive,
And led those boys, whom Parsons could not drive.
Yet, he could be with dignity severe,
And those whom kindness would not, move by fear;
This Ward can testify, Bolles well knows,
That words unheeded were pursued by blows.
When the good Witter first assumed the chair,
A little band of carping fools there were,
Who, with malicious eyes, in vain look'd round
For something wrong—but nothing wrong they found.

But these, whose members were at first but few,
Soon pass'd away, and vanished like the dew.
So when intrepid Quille, first dared alone,
The various dangers of yon heavens unknown.
A single moment ere he sailed away,
The envious trees his airy course delay;
But clearing these, how soon he rose on high,
Admired, majestic, gliding through the sky.

* * * * * * *

Witter departed, and his empty place
Was filled by Hooker, of the nut-brown face.
Ah! luckless rogues, we yet were doomed to see
There might be masters, Hooker, worse than thee.
He wanted Witter's soul-persuading art,
But had a well stored head, and honest heart;
And with regret his pupils saw the day
In which he left to other hands the sway.

* * * * * *

Next Coleman came, a phantom of dismay,
Ye sons of Hartford, mourn that luckless day.
Still o'er the heads of this devoted school
He shakes the hickory, or waves the rule.
How oft his scholars turn to days gone by
And the good Witter meets their memory's eye.

Rev. Jonathan Brace, D.D., writes from Hartford Dec. 6, 1870:—

The Grammar school, during my connection with it as a pupil, was under the administration of Edward Beecher, William M. Holland, and E. P. Barrows. It stood high in public estimation, and it was for a boy's credit to be connected with it—he having to pass a somewhat critical examination in order to be numbered among its pupils. I was taken by my grandfather, Judge Jonathan Brace, to the office of Judge Enoch Perkins, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, by whom I was examined and approved. I distinctly remember I was called on by Judge Perkins 'to step out on the floor and make a speech.'

The studies were shaped with special reference to admission to Yale College until Mr. Barrow's second engagement. The discipline of the school became less severe, with and after, Mr. Holland's mastership.

Among the scholars in my day, were Rev. O. E. Dagget, D.D., Prof. Anthony Stanley, Prof. Thomas Thatcher, Prof. Nathan P. Seymour, and Hon. Henry Barnard.

HENRY BARNARD, LL.D., United States Commissioner of Education, writes from Washington in 1870:—

My recollections of the Hartford Grammar school antedate my personal connection with it as pupil in 1825–6, under the mastership of William M. Holland, one of the best teachers I have ever known. Many years earlier, when a youngster in the miscellaneous crowd of the Old South school, I carried snowballs to supply the exhausted ammunition of the stout lads from Wethersfield street, the Valley road, and Cooper lane, when they gathered in force to meet the *Gra-mares*, who would from time to time, in the course of the winter, when the snow was melting so as to be easily shaped for such missiles, come down and challenge a snowball encounter. Fiercely the battle would rage, but the retreating assailants generally made a stand at the old meeting-house, from the west of which, probably from the old hay scales, or the ladder house, there would sally out a reinforcement strong enough to make the *bungsters* change front, or at least retreat slowly to their own grounds. There was in those days a perpetual feud between those who lived north and those who lived south of the Little Bridge—and the Grammar school was not a popular institution with us south-siders, although the school itself had been, except for a short period, located on our side. A majority of its pupils were from up-town families, and thought themselves to be a privileged set—'the curled darlings of the nation.'

When a choice was given me to go out of town or to the Grammar school, I selected Munson academy, and my first paroxysm of home-sickness was experienced when I was left, at the age of thirteen, alone in the boarding-house kept by Deacon Raymond in that beautiful village of Munson, Mass. But it was fortunate, in my case, to have got away from the miserable routine and cruel discipline of the old South District school, and to have had one year of thorough teaching in my English studies, and of kind, encouraging advice, as to how to study, and use books, from that accomplished teacher, Samuel B. Woolworth, afterward the successful principal of the Courtlandt academy, N. Y., and for a quarter of a century Secretary of the Regents of the University of New York. Not less profitable to me was my classical instruction from the principal, the Rev. Simeon Colton, one of the veteran academy preceptors of Massachusetts, who gave to Munson academy a reputation which the Rev. Charles Hammond has since perpetuated and increased. With six months tuition in Greek from Dr. Flint, after his retirement from the pulpit of the Old South, I entered the Grammar school, well prepared to profit by its exclusive classical training in doors, as for its vigorous games of football out of doors by my long practice in all sorts of foot exercises and ball-playing on the South Green. That green was the uncovered school-room of the South District, and was the redeeming feature of the school.

I remember well the day I called on Andrew Kingsbury, in the State House, to pay one dollar for my first quarter's ticket in the Grammar school, and my first introduction to Mr. Holland at the door of the little wood structure on the south side of Welles's alley—the *rus in urbe*, with its fine trees, and its spacious play-ground to the south. Mr. Holland brought to the school not only rare attainments as a scholar, but mature age and some experience as a teacher before or while a member of college. He had what so many of the former teachers of the Grammar school lacked (with all their knowledge of Latin and Greek), good common sense, a knowledge of methods, and a faculty of interesting young

persons in their studies. The trustees made in his case the same mistake, as, I think, they had before and since made——let the institution become a school of practice for Yale college tutors, or the place where future professors could spend their 'pedagogic year,' as the Germans call this opportunity for young candidates for the secondary schools, to test and develop their skill in methods and discipline. Mr. Witter was an exception, and his five years mastership was an era in the school; and so was Mr. Barrows. When a first-class teacher like Mr. Holland was got, he should have been retained by a higher salary than Yale, or any other college, or Grammar school could afford to pay; and so this school had been made a training place for professors and not for tutors.

I never enjoyed school life more—both its work and its play,—never felt so keenly the thirst, and its gratification, 'delirious yet divine, to know'—never had better times, generally, in making such recitations as seemed to satisfy both myself and my teacher,—never gave myself up in the interval of hard study, both in the day and the evening, unreservedly to games athletic and otherwise—

> Delightful times of whim and and soul,
> When mingling work and play together,
> We leaned the book on pleasure's bowl,
> And turned the leaf with folly's feather.

All this could not have happened unless both teacher and schoolmates were of the right kind. Mr. Holland was the sort of teacher I needed. He was thoroughly prepared to solve promptly all questions of my starting; he knew the books, and just the chapters and passages which I could read with advantage in connection with my lesson, before I came to the recitation—and my recitations in Greek were by myself out of school hours; and instead of puzzling my brain over the meaning of particles, and the mystery of declensions and moods, he encouraged me to read and acquire a vocabulary by reading, and explained felicitous passages by parallel passages in English literature. I read the whole of Homer's Iliad, one or two Orations of Demosthenes, and several books of Heroditus and Thucydides. The result was bad in one respect, my preparation for my Greek recitations in college cost me little effort, in consequence of which, I made little progress in that study, but on the other hand it left me time to read, which I improved to my great delight, in the perusal of the best English authors. My practice of both Greek and Latin composition under Mr. Holland, enabled me to win the Berkeley prize in my sophomore year.

The instruction obtained there in my time was good as far as it went, but as the Public High school of Hartford, the part which it occupied in the system of public instruction—its scope and curriculum, was very deficient. Girls were excluded, and there were no English studies beyond elementary arithmetic. The attempt to supply these deficiencies in 1828–9 was in the right direction, but no provision was made for girls, and the tuition was so high as practically to exclude pupils from families in moderate circumstances. Hartford never had in one school abler men than when Barrows, Carter, and Barnard were in the Grammar school. If these men had been kept in their several departments, we should have had a Public High school at an earlier day, for public opinion would have either returned the Grammar school to its old position, both as to management and mode of support; or, as the new ideas began to prevail a few years later, they would have adjusted the organization so as to have extended the advantages of the school to all classes, and brought it into sympathetic and systematic connection with the other public schools of the town.

PRESIDENT BARNARD of Columbia College, N. Y., writes in 1878:—

The year of my appointment was signalized by the opening of the school in a new school-house. This house was provided with four school-rooms, two upon the first and two upon the second floor. Mr. Barrows, the principal, occupied one of the upper rooms. This was also used as a chapel. My own room was immediately under that of Mr. Barrows. On the floor with Mr. Barrows was Mr. Carter. On the same floor with myself was Mr. Skinner. Mr. Carter devoted himself exclusively to instruction in the classics. My duty was to teach the mathematics, while Mr. Barrows took mainly English studies not mathematical. On one or two occasions, Mr. Carter and myself exchanged duties and apartments for a time; but this was for our own benefit or gratification and the change did not last long.

The pupils, when at study, were seated in the three rooms occupied by Mr. Barrows, Mr. Carter, and myself. As all the desks in Mr. Skinner's room were required for the writing classes, there were no study seats there, or if any, very few. At morning and evening all the pupils assembled in the room of Mr. Barrows for religious services.

Looking back now, after a somewhat protracted life spent in the business of education, I am impressed much more than it was possible I should be at the time with the excellence and thoroughness of that school. Education was the vocation to which Mr. Barrows was born. He had a most happy facility in making himself understood, and his whole heart was in his work. My classmate, Carter, was a man of rare ability and admirable scholarship. He, too, was most profoundly conscientious and earnestly devoted to the task he had undertaken. For myself, it was impossible that I should not imbibe something of the spirit of such colleagues. I remember that I never gave, at any subsequent period of my life, two years of more unremitting and faithful labor, to any object, than I gave to that school. And the history of those years is now among the most delightful of my reminiscences.

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To your request [just received, March 1878], for additional reminiscences of the Hartford Grammar School—"its studies, methods, and pupils" during my connection with it, I could write by the hour, but however much inclined, my engagements compel me to be brief.

The school at all periods of its history, must have had good material for the masters to work up, judging from the number of graduates who have made their mark in life. I am sure we had. In one class of twelve or fifteen boys, who used to take their seats before me, there was a wonderful amount of mental activity. The boys were well matched, and they pulled admirably together. It was often a neck and neck strife. They were good boys too; in fact, in that respect, the whole school was remarkable. During all my term of service, I do not remember a single instance of really malicious misconduct, nor a single manifestation on the part of any lad, of a persistently sullen, morose or defiant disposition. But in saying that they were good boys, I do not in the least mean that they were *goody*; they were good-natured, truthful, frank, and honorable; but overrunning at the same time with animal spirits, and always ready for "fun" of any kind, which if it occasionally lapsed into mischief and roughness, was always harmless.

My hours with my classes were hours of great enjoyment. What is called the *work* of the school-room never seemed work to me. The diversity in point of age and degree of development among our pupils, was sufficient to surround each class with a distinct and separate interest. I loved to study the varying mental and moral phases which these classes presented, and I formed personal attachments for the individuals composing them, which are not even yet extinct. There were not a few charming little rogues among them, whom I still seem to see as charming little rogues; so that, when I meet them, as I occasionally do now, in the character of learned and thoughtful professors, dignified presidents, and reverend and reverenced divines, I recognize them with difficulty. I remember, for instance, when in 1852, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, being on a commencement visit to my old friend and instructor, Prof. Olmsted, at New Haven, I was introduced by him to the honored head of Beloit College, Wisconsin, I was surprised to discover in that already eminent educator, my little rogue, Lucius Chapin, in whose young eyes mischief was always dancing, but who used to thrust his slate pencil through the meshes of Colburn's most intricate arithmetical puzzles, as if they had been but cobwebs; or hurl defiance in the reading class at the tyrant Gesler, in Schiller's William Tell, till the room rung again.

Another instance occurs to me. Soon after I had returned to make New York my residence, after a long period spent in the southwestern states, I remember having had a seat assigned me at a dinner party, next to the handsome, eloquent, popular, and I must not neglect to add most sincerely pious, rector of St. Thomas' church, in this city; and having been once more surprised to find in this cultivated gentleman and accomplished pulpit orator, another of my little rogues, William Morgan, a perfect little athlete, mental and physical, of the Grammar School, but with a whole body as full of mercury as his head was of brains.

Another of the young dogs of that day I have encountered, in the dignified and scholarly senior professor of the Faculty of Arts, at Yale. Prof. Thacher had commenced his school career a year or two before my term of service began; and he therefore belonged to that class of senior schoolboys, who sometimes feel it to be due to their maturity of years, to put away childish things. At any rate, he was far less volatile than many of his companions—than his own younger brother, for instance, a handsome, rosy-cheeked, bright-eyed, sweet-tempered boy, at once diligent and mirthful, who, when last heard of, was president of a university in the west—and even at that early age (for he could hardly have been fourteen), he already manifested those sterling traits of character, for which his manhood has been distinguished.

Thomas Thacher's desk was in my room, far down at the most distant extreme; and there, when not in class, he used to pursue his studies in such quiet, that I would be often unconscious of his presence; while as for Morgan and Chapin and George Thacher—well, after this length of time, I will not begin to tell tales out of school. After what I have said, to call Thomas a young dog, may seem to be a misnomer. I think not. He plainly had it in him, but he kept it down. He seemed to be saying, "I like it, but it won't do for a boy of my size—I am a young dog no doubt, but a young dog who has had his day."

Near to the seat of Thomas Thacher, in the distance, sat Nathan P. Seymour. He was another of the older boys, who possessed the power of ruling his spirit. Like Thacher, he was demure and diligent. In class he was always to be relied on. His intellect was clear, his perseverance untiring. No difficulty ever baffled him; his energies rose to the occasion, and he never ceased effort till he felt himself the master. To the teacher, Seymour was a most delightful pupil. He always came up with a pleasant smile, he gave his answers in a gentle, half-subdued, but perfectly assured voice, he never hesitated, stammered, or became confused, and he never pleaded want of time for preparation, or complained that the lesson was too long. It was easy to predict for Seymour an honorable future. After four years at New Haven, he returned to the Grammar School as a teacher himself, was then recalled to his *alma mater* to serve as tutor, and has since, down to the present time, held the chair of professor of the ancient languages, in the college of the Western Reserve.

If I were to pursue these personal reminiscences, as I am tempted to do, my space and your patience would fail. Of some individuals, of whom my recollections are most delightful, the names come spontaneously up to my mind, as I recall the picture of the school-room in which they sat, or of the class forms which they used daily to occupy before my magisterial desk. There were besides those already named, Thomas S. Brownell, Charles, and Ezekiel Buck, John C. Comstock—all four cut off in their prime; Erastus Collins, the successful merchant, the worthy son of a worthy father, whose name I saw lately, associated with the establishment of your Public High School, in 1847; Charles Copeland, the eminent engineer; Thomas Day, at one time editor of the Connecticut Courant; Daniel S. Dewey, George W. Edwards, Henry W. Ellsworth, our chargé to Sweden; the brothers Richard S. and William D. Ely, always gentlemanly and diligent; Charles E. Linsley, Thomas R. Lynch, Hugh L. Morrison, Henry Perkins, John P. Putman, the learned judge; Gurdon W. Russell, whose name I have seen lately associated with some generous gift to the Connecticut Retreat; G. G. Spencer, Theodore Stanley, Edmund Terry, George I. Wood, and many others, of most of whom I could find something special to say.

The incidental mention of the Retreat, calls vividly to mind the presence and conversation of that gifted man, Dr. Eli Todd, its founder and superintendent, and of others associated with him in that and other public institutions in Hartford, at that time.—Rev. Thomas H. Gallandet, Bishop Brownell, Dr. Hawes, Rev. Nathaniel Wheaton, Prof. (now Bishop) Potter, Mr. Turner, David Watkinson, Thomas Day, Sr., Daniel Wadsworth, Thomas S. Williams, George D. Prentice, John G. Whittier, Gideon Wells, Lewis Gaylord Clark, Dr. Sumner, Dr. Cogswell and his daughter Alice, Miss Catharine Beecher and her sister Harriet, and many others, who together made up a society, which in peculiar social qualities, I have rarely seen excelled any where since. But I must hurry on with my reminiscences of the Grammar School.

When I began this reply to your note, I designed to write briefly about some of our methods of instruction. I will mention only one or two. Mr. Barrows, before he was reinforced by Mr. Carter and myself, had been accustomed to instruct a class of his advanced scholars in the construction and use of the terrestrial and celestial globes. I well remember the seriousness, amounting almost to solemnity, of his manner, when he committed "the globe class" into my hands. This class was composed of the constellation of bright boys, of

whom I have spoken above. An hour each day was given to the subject. We had a text-book, and a very handsome pair of globes; and every boy was obliged to resolve upon the globe themselves, every practical problem in the book. But the text served only as a peg on which to hang the real exercise, which was something half way between a lecture and a conference, on the elements of Astronomy. The globes served as instruments to verify how fast and how far astronomical notions had been clearly seized; and when a boy had reached such a degree of proficiency, that he would ascertain at a word, by the aid of the terrestrial globe, what is the duration of daylight, or of twilight, on any day of the year in any latitude, or what is the meridian altitude of the sun on any day at any given place, or what is the time in any longitude when the time at another is given; or with the celestial globe, what is the aspect of the heavens at any place, and at any given hour on any night, or at what time any celestial object will rise or set, or culminate, for any date and any locality, there could be no doubt of the clearness of his conceptions of the relation of the earth to the heavens, or of his readiness to seize intelligently all the important truths of descriptive astronomy. I am entirely confident that those of our boys who went from the school to college, felt sensibly the benefit of this early drill, even when pursuing the advanced studies of their senior year.

In arithmetic we taught altogether by means of examples or problems, gradually progressive, without any rules whatever, the pupil finding his way to the solution by his own ingenuity. The recitation consisted in his explaining how he had found his way. The foundation for this written arithmetic was laid by means of a thorough drill in the methods of Colburn's Mental Arithmetic; which, by the familiarity it gives the learner with the processes of analysis, and the principles of fractions, prepares him to go to the bottom of any purely arithmetical problem with very little difficulty. After the boys had thoroughly understood arithmetic, we taught them to enunciate in exact and concise language, the principles they had discovered. They knew then what these enunciations meant. The books we used were Colburn's *Elementary Arithmetic* and his *Sequel*. Their merit consisted in the felicitous arrangement of well chosen examples of gradually increasing complexity, leaving the learner to feel his way along unaided, without tempting him into dependence by offering the slenderest sort of reed to lean on, in the way of direction or suggestion. I believe that no better lessons in arithmetic than these were ever constructed. I believe that no more nearly infallible system, for quickly transforming school boys of average intelligence into expert arithmeticians, was ever invented. If it is true, as I incline to think it is, that these books are no longer found in our schools, I am very confident that nothing better has taken their place.

Another of the methods which I remember, was that employed by us in teaching the art of reading aloud. We had the exercise of declamation, as all such schools and all colleges have, according to which each pupil in his turn is required to pronounce, once in many weeks, before all his schoolmates, a brief speech previously committed to memory. As an elocutionary exercise, this is of little value. It is chiefly useful in accustoming timid boys to stand up with confidence before a listening assembly. But with our older boys we employed a method much more effectual, and at that time not common. One hour, on each Wednesday and Saturday, was given to systematic elocutionary drill. The system began with vocal gymnastics, designed to develop and perfect all

the qualities of the voice, as to force, volume, depth, quantity, flexibility, expression, &c, &c., according to the principles of Rush's philosophy. These were followed by exercises in reading, consisting at first of single sentences designed to test these several qualities, and also to cultivate distinctness of articulation, by presenting the combinations of consonants most difficult of utterance. And to these succeeded extended extracts in prose and poetry, offering the largest opportunity for emotional expression and elocutionary effect. There were times, when some of my bright boys acquitted themselves in a manner, which would have done credit to the stage. Not a few of our pupils must have treasured up in their memories from those lessons, many splendid selections, teeming with lofty or glowing thoughts, which have often come back to them pleasantly in their later years.

Mr. Barrows had a method of interesting the whole school in a spelling exercise, of which I have been often reminded in these days of spelling matches. Ours was not an elementary school, but boys would get in, who had not mastered the difficulties of English orthography. Once a week, all the boys to the number of one hundred or more, formed a complete ring round the two rooms, which, occupied the upper floor, and though separated by a hall, could be connected by doors at the front and rear. Then the teachers reinforced by the more proficient pupils, commenced in succession from a common point, passing at intervals of eight or ten along the ring, and propounding difficult words of common occurrence, with great rapidity. If a boy missed, the next took up the word until one was found successful, who thereupon passed above his defeated companions. For an entire hour there would be a perfect rattle of words, uttered with earnest emphasis, and ringing out from so many points along the line, that a stranger entering would have imagined Bedlam let loose. But the instant the bell struck, all this din was at once silenced, and the boys, flushed and panting, went quietly to their seats in the head-master's room. This exercise may seem to have been only a great frolic—but the emulation provoked was lively in the extreme. The exhilaration of success, and the mortification of defeat were powerful stimulants to previous preparation, and the result was great and immediate improvement in spelling.

Other reminiscences crowd upon me, but I must forbear. One more, at least, I had it in my mind to give you before I began. There was a challenge once extended to my friend Carter and myself, to compare the results of our teaching of Latin in the Grammar School, with those obtained by a different method in a school of young ladies, in the city. We accepted the challenge, the comparison was made, and the finding—but I believe I said I had not room to go into that story here.

The Hartford Grammar School has passed away, absorbed into an institution of larger scope, with more spacious halls and more liberal appointments generally. The new school may present to the casual visitor a more imposing spectacle than the old one; but in earnestness of purpose, and good, sound, thorough work on the part of both teachers and pupils, it can never surpass the more modest institution which it has superseded, and around which the affectionate memories of all who were at any time privileged to belong to it, will ever continue to cling.

Truly your friend,

F. A. P. B.

Rev. A. L. Chapin, D.D., President of Beloit College, Janesville, Wisconsin, writes as follows in 1870:—

To take a fair start, I must go back a step or two. My school education began with the Misses Patton, in their house on Church street, where all orthodox children living in Hartford, north of Asylum street, went, as a matter of course. There, for boys and girls alike, sewing and knitting, reading, spelling, and learning the Westminster catechism made up the regular routine. The reading and spelling were well cared for, while the *accomplishments* were not slighted. My next step took me to the old stone school-house, where was kept the best appointed district school then in the city. Here, under Mr. Talcott and Miss Rockwell, I was thoroughly drilled in Scott's Lessons for Reading, Pickett's Expositor for Grammar, Daboll's Arithmetic, and Woodbridge's Geography then the novelty among school books. My teachers did good honest work for me in these few things, and I became quite an adept, especially in the mechanical processes of parsing and ciphering, though what it all meant was but dimly apprehended.

When about ten years of age (1826) I passed on to the Grammar school. I hope you can get for your history a picture of the little white wood school-house of one story, as it was. If I had any knack with the pencil, I could sketch it from memory. At the time I joined the school, it had just been moved back in the lot to make place for the larger brick building which came into use a year or so later; but the narrow vestibule, the simple school-room, with its well-hacked desks, and the little belfry have associations that could not be transferred to the statelier edifice.

Mr. Barrows, to my mind, the beau-ideal of a good teacher, then had sole charge of the school. He gave me a kindly welcome, and at the very outset inspired me with new ideas and new impulses concerning the method and the aims of study. In the warm summer days, he used to take the class of us three or four little fellows out into the vestibule and seat us on a high desk for recitation. And as he drilled us on Colburn's first Lessons, and the simple sentences of the Latin lessons, I was lifted into a world of new ideas respecting the meaning and use of arithmetic and grammar. Then with what profound reverence we young chaps looked upon the senior scholars, Barnard (Henry), Brace, and their compeers, especially as we saw their grand achievements with the football. Those games of football!—regular pitched battles, led by the heroes, and enlisting, on one side or the other, all the members of the school—how fierce the conflict, and how it swayed from side to side over the whole range of the long play ground then uncurtailed by the opening of College street. It seems to me that boys nowadays, with all their varied and improved instruments and games, go into their sports with no such hearty, all absorbing zest as we felt then.*

* In a public meeting in Madison, Wisconsin, after the Inaugural Address by Dr. Barnard as Chancellor of the State University in 1859, Dr. Chapin remarked: 'Thirty-three years ago, or thereabout, when I first entered the old Grammar school of Hartford, I was lost in admiration at the fleetness of foot and dextrous hits, by which Henry Barnard, then just leaving the school for Yale college, drove the big black ball before him, or sent it flying over the heads of his antagonists to the extreme limits of the field, and to-day my admiration is just as profound for the vigorous and felicitous use of his higher faculties in discussing the problems of popular and higher education in the same system of public instruction. There must be close connection between early, physical, and intellectual training.'

The enlarged operations, begun with the occupation of the new building in 1828, marked an era in the history of the school. We had a noble and well-balanced quartette of instructors. Barrows, the principal, occupied the west room of the upper story, and took charge of the higher classes in Latin and Greek, with some miscellaneous and general studies. Carter, in the room opposite, assisted in the classical department, taking mainly the classes in the earlier stages of their course. Barnard (F. A. P.), in the west room of the lower floor, gave instruction chiefly in mathematics. And in the room over against him, Skinner taught writing and book-keeping and some elementary arithmetic. Mr. Barrows, as the head master, by his gentle and firm rule, kept the whole establishment in good working order, and by his winning, quickening contact with individual minds, left on each a distinct, positive impression. Well do I remember his tender and earnest conversation with me on personal religion one evening, when I called on special invitation, at his room. He put so much confidence in my honesty as occasionally to make me the bearer of a billet-doux to his lady-love as I passed her residence on my way home from school.

Mr. Carter gained in a high degree the respect and esteem of his pupils. I can see him now, as he walked his platform, carrying his head leaning always a little to one side, and helping us with faithful drill, to master the intricacies of the Greek verb. From his own devoted missionary spirit, there was thrown around us a genial Christian influence not easily resisted, or lost. In later years it has been my privilege occasionally, to meet him here on the field of his missionary service, and I always felt the force of those early associations drawing me to him with a peculiar interest. Within a few months, he has been called from a life of eminent usefulness to his rest and reward; but his works do follow him, and certainly I shall cherish his memory as long as I live.

Mr. Barnard, more than either of the others, impressed the boys with a sense of his superior genius. Like almost all men of real genius, he was somewhat variable and moody, but at times brilliant. Well do I remember how sometimes in a fit of abstraction, he would sit for a half hour together with his head bowed on his desk, observing nothing that passed, the boys meantime being restrained from disorder only by a kind of unconscious sympathy with the teacher's mood. Then again he would rally and throw into the elocutionary exercises of Porter's analysis a glow of life which thrilled and quickened all the favored class assigned to him, especially where, for variety of illustration, he gave a reading of his own from Shakspeare. Some passages of the Merchant of Venice always bring him before me. Under his instructions, too, somewhat outside of his regular department, the Latin of Cicero *de Amicitia* and Tacitus's *Agricola* was clothed with a charm it has never lost for me.

Mr. Skinner I remember as a faithful, painstaking teacher in his department. Boys as we were, we could not but perceive the difference between him and his colleagues who had enjoyed the benefit of more liberal culture, and I am afraid we did not always show him the respect he deserved. Yet I must acknowledge that earnestly and kindly he did what he could to give some form and grace to my chirography. All there is of distinctness in it is due to him; and if I had heeded better his instructions, no doubt it would have gained something in respect of beauty. We heard of his death soon after he left the school, and I think I was not the only one to whom the news brought some compunctions of conscience for slights put upon a really worthy man.

Very vivid are my recollections of our winter sports—how we coasted down the hill of the open lot in front of the school-house, having, in spite of the remonstrances of our good neighbor, Doctor Wells, removed a length of fence to make a passage through, across the street to the river—how enthusiastic the competition to make the quickest and the furthest run—and especially how exciting the sport became when a barrier was laid across the middle of the hill, and each one's pluck and tact were tested in keeping his seat for a jump of a rod or more through the air. The 'belly-whapper' style, so common with the the boys now, was disdained there. Every man must sit erect upon his sled, and evince his skill in balancing and steering his craft, so as to make the run with the least possible resistance from friction. Then how we enjoyed the skating on the river, when the ice was good! Never did boys make more of fifteen minutes than we of that short recess. How it comes up before me now! —the rush from the school-house down to the river's brink—the quick harnessing of the skates to the feet—the swift gliding from the dam up to the old foot-bridge, or as near to it as the glades below would permit, and the scramble to get back into seats again at the bell's last stroke. There was one queer chap among us, Grew, familiarly called 'the aged,'—the worst stutterer I ever met, but singularly nimble on skates, and at times eloquent in his way, when he climbed into the hollow tree, at the bend of the river, and harangued the fellows gathered around. His great trick was to skim lightly over the thin ice and dare the rest to follow. Only the most cautious escaped one ducking or more through his wiles, but he never got in himself. I have vague remembrances, too, of some fine snowball fights with the 'bungsters,' as the boys of the town school were called. But those belonged to the early days. The authorities on either side interposed and the long feud was ended by the coming in of a new order of things.

My connection with the school continued some six years or more, with the exception of two summers when I was sent out to grass to stock up my physical constitution, to learn something of farming, and to postpone my going to college. During this period there were changes in the corps of teachers. Perhaps I can not recall them all, but I have very distinct recollections of Erskine Edwards, Anthony Stanley, and Isaac Stuart. The last-named was lithe and active and very fond of playing football with the boys. Once, not without somebody's mischievous design, I suspect, he was thrown down in the midst of the game, and being laid up with a sprained ankle, the classes for a week or two went to his room in the City Hotel for their recitations, and generally had a good time, for he was a genial man who did all he could to make the rough places of school life smooth and easy. Stanley was of another temper, with just as much of real good will seeking our advantage by putting on the screws in mathematics without much mercy.

During my last year in school, a new regime held sway. The corps of teachers from the Mount Pleasant school at Amherst, under Mr. Fellowes as principal, came in. His colleagues were, if I remember aright, Smith and Sophocles and Thayer. The last two were peculiar men, and made a decided impression. Sophocles, with his new book, Thiersch's Tables, opened up the Greek verb with new light and interest. I feel greatly indebted to him. And Thayer imparted new life to the department of elocution, which was his specialty,—moved us to form a debating society, which was maintained with some zeal, and gave us

evening lessons in boxing and fencing, to expand the chest and impart grace of attitude and motion. His pet pupil Zachos well illustrated the success of his method, and moved the wonder, perhaps the envy of some, by the dramatic effect of his speaking.

In the summer of 1833, we left the school, eight of us together, and entered Yale college, probably the largest class which, up to that time, had ever gone from the Grammar school at once, to join college. It is pleasant to recall the names and insert them here in order. They were Buck, Chapin, Day, Dutton, Mather, Putnam, Seymour, and Terry, all of whom, except Mather, went through college and were graduated together, in 1837. A few other names occur to me of those classed with us in the school. They are Morris and Erastus Collins, Russell, Shepard, and May. These all, so far as I know, have done honor to the school. Of classes in advance of ours, I have very distinct and pleasant remembrance of George Edwards, Henry Ellsworth, Nathan Seymour, Spencer, Dewey, Smith, Thomas Thacher, Langdon, William Ely, Pinckney Ellsworth, and Bacon. I should be much pleased to see a full list of members of the school as it was during the years of my connection with it.

With this reviving of the old associations, there came before me pictures of two or three of the trustees of the school with whom we came into occasional contact. Away back in the far past, appears Mr. Enoch Perkins, familiarly called 'Uncle Enoch,' the blast of whose nostrils was terrible, but whose benignant words on his occasional visit, were full of blessing. At a later stage, Mr. Daniel Wadsworth, accounted the richest man in Hartford, used at times to present himself before us,—his slight person, protected even in summer with a flowing cape, and a velvet cap covering his head when his hat was removed. With voice gentle and low, he would say a few quiet words of encouragement, and urge us to cultivate gentle manly manners in our intercourse with all people. And there was Mr. Kingsbury, in his office at the State House, the very personification of honest integrity in public office, on whom it was our duty to call once a quarter and settle our tuition bills—a man of few words but unquestionable accuracy. The dropping of his long cane and his heavy foot-fall were familiar to the boys, by his occasional calls at the school-house to look after the building; and if I mistake not, on one occasion, the sounds came with startling effect on the ears of some who had entered the building, out of school hours, bent on mischief.

Prof. N. P. Seymour, LL.D., of Western Reserve college, writes in November, 1870:—

My connection with the Hartford Grammar school, as a pupil, extends from Jan, 1825, to Sept., 1830, and a teacher from Sept., 1834, to Sept, 1836. During this last period Prof. Sophocles, of Harvard college, was associated with me in the instruction and government of the school. I am glad to learn that there are people in Hartford interested in the history of this old Grammar school,—of which, both of teachers and pupils, no institution need be ashamed. It was the Rugby of Connecticut. The change of system introduced in 1828 was not on the whole fortunate. The old *esprit du corps* alone of classical learning could never be as strong as in its independent existence.

Letter from Prof. Thatcher, Yale College.

MY DEAR DR. BARNARD:—I had almost forgotten the promise which I now improve my first leisure to fulfill.

My examination for admission to the Grammar School on the 16th of May, 1826, was an era in my life. My father took me to be examined to the office of Enoch Perkins, Esq., who was a near neighbor and friend, and the most prominent member of the board of trustees. Before these two witnesses I was to pass the ordeal, and they seemed venerable men then, although they were younger then than you and I are now; and the little boy who was before them seemed to himself older than a boy of eleven years now seems to you and me. Esquire Perkins was a man of a good deal of presence, portly and usually grave and somewhat magisterial; and although he had a benignant expression for me in my trying circumstances that morning, he did not, nevertheless, make me feel quite at ease. My father was especially interested in my case, because he had been disappointed in my oldest brother, who, after having fully prepared for college in this same school, had declined further education out of preference for mercantile life. He had himself in his early youth most eagerly desired an education at college, and had not given up the hope of it until after he had attained his majority, and this made my brother's refusal to avail himself of his great opportunity the more surprising and painful. He seconded therefore with intense interest my desire to be a pupil in the Latin school. I suppose that both he and Mr. Perkins expected me to pass the examination, but I was anxious about the result, until the latter after merely calling on me to read aloud a selected passage in a newspaper, declared me admitted to the school. I took my certificate to the school the same morning and was directed by Mr. Holland, the teacher, to go and pay my quarter bill, and get a Gould's Adam's Latin Grammar. The former I obtained from Andrew Kingsbury, Esq., who occupied the office in the State House, which is now the Governor's room. The fee was one dollar.

The school to which I was now admitted was somewhat impressive to my boy's mind. A new kind of power and influence managed it. The teacher had the quiet and dignified, and yet entirely unassuming manners of an intelligent gentleman. When giving instruction he spoke in an ordinary tone to his pupils, with an attentive, easy, unostentatious air, evidently the master of the subject which he was teaching, and addressing his pupils as if it was an understood thing that they desired to learn. During school hours he did not leave the little platform on which his chair stood with the simple desk before it, for the boys at their desks needed no stimulus from him, but his presence in the room to make them diligent in their work. I do, however, remember one memorable exception, when he, without a word, stepped down from his platform and gave a box on each ear to two boys, who had for some time been annoying him or their neighbors, by somewhat disorderly conversation and neglect of their work. They are living now, and I presume they remember the occurrence, although they are more than sixty years old.

The exercises of the school began every day with the calling of the roll, and this was followed by the offering of a prayer. The roll never contained more than thirty six names, and till Mr. Holland left to become a tutor in New Haven, your name was the first and mine was the last in the list. That roll-

call so impressed itself on my young ears, that I can repeat considerable portions of it in order even now.

Mr. Holland's reputation as a classical scholar was not confined to the Hopkins School. He was a competitor for the highest eminence at Yale, and he was called hither to a tutorship, after an unusually short interval after his graduation. He was subsequently appointed professor of the classical languages in Washington, (now Trinity) College. He died in 1842.

The next teacher of the Grammar School was Ashbel Smith, a college classmate of Mr. Holland, also distinguished for enthusiasm and success as a classical scholar. He accepted the position, as it was understood, only for the remnant of the school year, and was succeeded in September, 1826, by Mr. E. P. Barrows, who then entered on the career of usefulness as a teacher, which has not yet ended. It was before his administration began that the little class of which I was a member, was, on one occasion, badly tripped at an examination, in the presence of the trustees. We had found out, I will not say how, what sentences in the Latin Reader we should be examined on. Of course, when the time came, one of the trustees, Jonathan W. Edwards, Esq., a most gentlemanly man, and one who had kept up his knowledge of his early studies, was apparently encouraged by our good performance to continue the examination, and so, selecting a sentence, he asked one of the class to translate it. The sentence was: *Multae sunt illecebrae peccandi.* The unfortunate boy translated it: *Many are the feathers of a peacock.* The dignified trustees were too polite to smile, but they let the class off without any more questions.

The next two years the school enjoyed great prosperity. Mr. Barrows was very different from Mr. Holland, both as a teacher and a disciplinarian, but he was not inferior to him in the good results of his teaching. He individualized the boys, stimulating the laggards, encouraging those who were inclined to effort, and honoring the successful with promotion. He evidently had at heart the welfare of every boy in the school. He devised new methods of instruction and introduced better books. At one time I remember he gave the whole school (which, by the way, increased under him in the old school-house to 44 scholars), lessons in colloquial Latin, and after a little training, required of every boy to make all his requests and answer in that language all questions, except those which were put to the class reciting. He also gave a new impulse to the study of Arithmetic, which was at that time the only branch of mathematics required for admission to college. The method of his instruction in it was such that I think nearly every boy in the school, being conscious of making real progress in the science, took a genuine delight in the study. And this was in general the secret of Mr. Barrow's success in all his teachings. The boys were conducted along in the intelligent and progressive use of their own powers, and were, in a measure, made conscious of their own intellectual growth as well as increase in knowledge.

Before Mr. Barrows had been two years at the head of the school, the trustees decided to open its doors to a much larger number of pupils. A new building was erected with accommodations for a hundred boys, and two gentlemen who were near the head of the class, just graduated at Yale, were associated with Mr. Barrows, who consented to remain beyond the traditional two years, and become the Principal of the new institution. Of the two new teachers Mr. F. A. P. Barnard is still a distinguished educator, and does

not need to be described here. He has never ceased to be enthusiastic and aggressive in his work, whether as a student or a teacher, nor to inspire pupils possessed of any degree of earnestness within them, with a deep love for their work. His special department of instruction was mathematics, which was now carried beyond the requirements for admission to college, as the school was open for those also who were not intending to be liberally educated. But he took his share also of what we may call the minor branches, and he carried the same thought and earnestness into them. He gave us instruction in the art of reading aloud, and some of the very tones with which he gave power and interpretation to passages which he read to us, still linger in my ears.

The other teacher was William Carter. He was an able and a most faithful teacher. His very soul was full of solicitude for the welfare of the boys,—not their scholarship merely or mainly, but especially their character. He was the same man in the Grammar School that he was afterwards in the tutorship in Yale, and in his life as a home missionary, and a clergyman in the west. His whole life was filled with efforts to make men better, and to make them more efficient for good work in life.

The two years during which these three men were associated as teachers, were, so far as I am qualified to judge, more productive of good in the Hartford Grammar School, than any other period of the same length from the time when it was first established, to the present time. The number of scholars was much larger than it had ever been before, and my impression is that it was never so large afterwards. Now the school is merged in the Public High School, and although that High School is of priceless value to Hartford, and of far broader immediate usefulness to the town and county of Hartford than the old Grammar School was, there are some indications, I fear, that the old Latin School is overshadowed by it. At any rate, the number of Hartford young men now studying for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in our various colleges, has greatly fallen off. In 1818, when S. H. Huntington, Esq., now the veteran of the Hartford bar, and the late Thomas C. Perkins, were seniors in Yale, there were seventeen students there from Hartford.* The population of Hartford was then 6,003. The population now is about 42,000; but the number of students in the corresponding classes in that college, is less now than it was when the population of the town was only 6,003. On turning to the catalogues of other colleges for this year, I find in the corresponding classes of Amherst, Harvard, Trinity, and Williams, all told, only thirteen from Hartford.† This is surprising. I fear our dear old city is not educating its own supply of professional men. I wish that some one, who is familiar with the present generation of Hartford men, would run over the list of Hartford lawyers, for instance, and see how many were born there. Does Hartford have to import its leading men? This is a question of some importance, and it may connect itself in some way with the history of the Hartford Grammar School.

I am, dear sir, very truly yours,

New Haven, Feb. 18, 1878. THOMAS A. THACHER.

Notes by the Editor.

* The number of pupils belonging to the classical department of the Public High School in 1877, was 222, of which, 118 were girls. The number who left the institution to enter college was 9. The average number since 1848 has been from 5 to 6.

† This was an exceptional year, probably not another such in the history of the college. From 1826 to 1830 there was an average of five students in the undergraduate classes of Yale. The causes, which have reduced the number of college students in other cities, have operated in Hartford.

School-houses.

The earliest record respecting a school-house in the Town was in 1642 in a 'note of the Town's Goods.' *Item*—2 great guns; and carriages and other things belonging to the town in the school-house.'

In 1649, 'the desires of many, calling for better conveniency than hitherto hath been attained,' it was agreed that '£140 should be paid in the way of a rate to the Townsmen,' and it being conceived that this sum would fall short of attaining such house as may be suitable, the town guarantees to such persons as shall make addition to the same, either in timber or brick, that the building shall not be diverted to any other use, without the consent of the parties contributing.

In 1649, £20 out of a rate for £60 was appropriated to the school-house. In 1650, £40 was 'levied for the building of the school.' In 1655, a committee was authorized to buy or build houses for the school.

In 1661, the Townsmen were empowered to hire John Church's house [near Phelps' block in North Main street]; and again in 1661, 'to hire a house for the school to be kept by Mr. Pitkin therein.'

School-house for Grammar School in 1666.

In the 'agreement between Mr. Davenport and Mr. Goodwin about disposing of Mr. Hopkins' Legacy,' after giving the sum of 400*l.* of which 'the Hills' farm shall be a part at the same price at which it was sold by them,' the Trustees add—'We do also desire and request that the school-house may be set upon the house lot which was lately in the occupation of Jeremy Adams where our worthy friend did much desire and endeavor that a school-house might be set.' The house lot of Jeremy Adams, in the plan of the Town of Hartford in 1640 prepared by Mr. William S. Porter, was beyond State House square on Main street, but he occupied about the date of this agreement, a house near where now stands the Universalist Church.

The committee charged with the management of property left by Gov. Hopkins and others for the maintenance of a 'Grammar,' 'Latin,' 'Free' 'school,' were authorized by the town in Jan. 30, 1665, 'to build a school-house in the most convenient place between William Warren's and Nath. Willett's house lot, which was Thomas Greenhill's.'

The house lot of Nathaniel Willett was on the south corner of, what are now, Main and Elm streets; and William Warren's house lot which was Thomas Greenhill's, was on the opposite side of Main street. The school-house appears to have been located in 'the Highway'—now Main street, nearly in front of Linden place*; and there it proved to be very much in the way of Mr. Thomas Seymour when he decided to erect a dwelling-house for himself in 1749. For in that year [Dec. 20,] upon the

* Mr. Hooker locates the school-house in the street on the west side of Main, near Linden place. That a school-house stood in Main street in Dec. 1719 is evident from the Records, for on that day the Town granted to William Webster, and others living remote from the South Meeting House, permission to set up a shelter for their horses when they come to meeting on Sabbath day, 'on the highway, to be eighty feet in length and ten feet in breadth, at the south end of the School house, by Mr. Howard's fence.'

request of Thomas Seymour 'desiring liberty to remove the school-house from the place where it now stands, *It was Voted*, that the said Thomas Seymour shall have liberty, and liberty is hereby granted to him to remove the said school-house to some convenient place not more than twenty rods from the River, exclusive of the River banks, where it shall not interfere with the right of any particular person as shall be directed by the Committee of said school, provided he do it at his own charge and leave it in good condition. The house was probably not removed till three years afterwards when Mr. Seymour completed his own dwelling-house [still standing and known as the Russ House], and the Committee purchased of Mrs. Abigail Woodbridge a lot of suitable dimensions for the Free Grammar School.

The school lot purchased of Mrs. Abigail Woodbridge, in 1753, was on the highway along the north bank of Little River [and known from that date as *School* street until 1825, when it was changed to its present designation of *Arch* street] was 68 feet on the line of the street, with a depth of 290 feet. The west line was 216 feet from Main street, and the lot between Main street and the school-yard was owned by Timothy and Josiah Shepard—who, with their descendants, have occupied the corner for a grocery store until quite a recent period.

In 1803, the question of a new location and house was agitated, but was not settled till 1810 (Jan. 29), when the trustees authorized the sale of that portion of the old lot on School street, not then disposed of,† to Daniel Wadsworth, and the removal of the school to a house and lot on Wells alley. The old school building was removed to the south side of School street, and, it is a tradition credited by many, that it is still (1878) standing a forlorn monument of the past, next to Franklin market.

The lot, with an office, belonged to the assignees of Thomas Y. Seymour, and was bounded south on Buckingham street, west on land of William Bradley, Esq., [in the deed of assignment, on 'highway recently laid out'], north on highway [afterward called Wells alley] and east by land of John Dodd, Jr., and the heirs of the late Rev. Mr. Whitman. The lot contains about one acre and a half, more or less. The little law-office of Mr. Seymour was lengthened and properly furnished with seats and desks, and a little belfry added at the east end, surmounted by a fish for a weather vane, from which the bell rung out the new summons morning and afternoon for another quarter of a century.

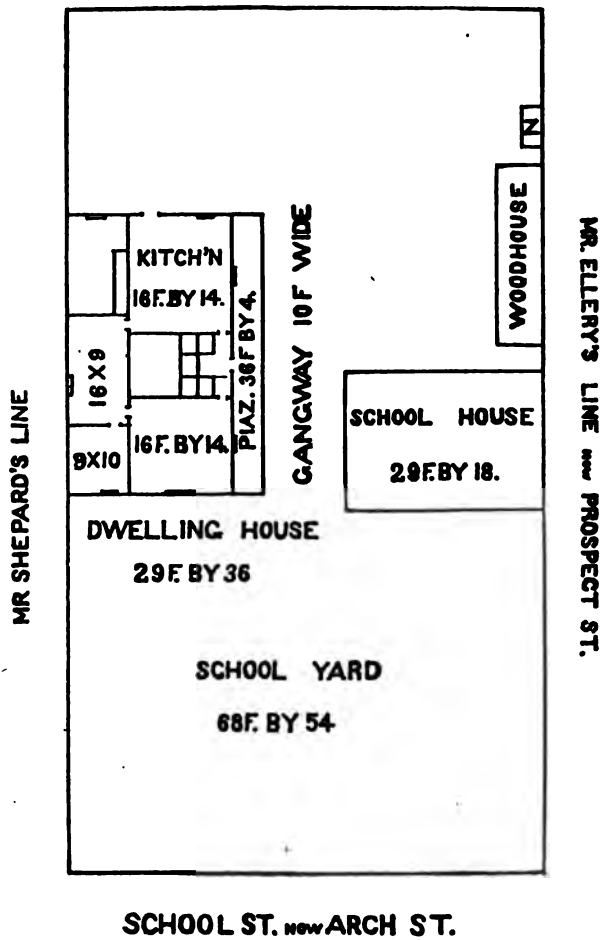
The next remove of the school was in 1826, but only for a few rods to the south, to make room for another structure of brick, which was not erected till 1828—when the plan of instruction as well as the accommodations was greatly enlarged, and the 'one-man classical school' became a New England academy with four teachers—organized somewhat after the plan of Phillips Andover academy, with the English department in the same building, and not as a distinct school as at Andover at that date.

† The rear or north part of the Grammar school lot [218 feet by 54] on School street was sold to Chauncey Goodrich in April, 1799, and by him, in August of the same year, was conveyed to Jeremiah Wadsworth, whose son Daniel Wadsworth purchased the south part on School street [about 70 ft. square] of the Trustees, in 1810.

Plan of Grounds and Building in 1733, *and in* 1828.

The following diagram exhibits the ground of the Grammar School as it was in 1753 to 1810. The original drawing is in the possession of A. S. Porter, Esq., grandson of the surveyor, Solomon Porter, who was master of the Grammar School in 1790–92.

The rear or northern portion of the school lot, as purchased of Mrs. Woodbridge in 1750, is now occupied in part by the house on Prospect street, built by Jeremiah Wadsworth for his daughter, Mrs. Nathaniel Terry; and in part by the house, built by Daniel Wadsworth for his ward, Trumbull Hudson, and occupied successively by the late Henry Hudson and David Watkinson,—now owned and occupied by G. M Bartholomew, Esq., whose garden extending to Arch street, was the play-ground or yard of the Grammar boys, from 1753 to 1810.



PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL IN A GRADED SYSTEM.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL OF HARTFORD, IN A LETTER TO THE PRINCIPAL.

HENRY BARNARD, LL. D., TO PROF. S. M. CAPRON.

DEAR SIR: In complying with your request to jot down briefly the substance of our talks on efforts put forth here in Hartford and in Connecticut generally, prior to the final action of the First School Society of Hartford in 1846–7 to establish a Public High School, to revive the old requirements of the Statutes, by which such a school (called originally a grammar school for the town, or county), was made possible, I shall note such only as I was personally conversant with, viz: Efforts (1,) to change the law, by which such School Societies as Hartford, or the Districts into which the compact portions of all the cities and villages of the State were unfortunately divided, could be authorized to establish schools of different grades (including the highest), and maintain the same by tax like any other public interest; and (2,) to induce the wealthy and educated to give up their reliance on academies and select schools and unite in establishing on the firm basis of public law and with a proper equipment of school-house, apparatus, and teachers, a local school which while it met their wants better than any existing institution, should also be open to worthy and talented children of their poorer and less fortunate fellow-citizens. I will try to be brief, but as this chapter in our school history seems not to be fresh in the memory of the present generation, it will be necessary to go into details, to show that a good deal of work was done, and done too with some thoroughness, before the policy of a Public High School supported by tax could be put back on the statute book, and into the hearts and habits of this people.

The English and Classical High School of Hartford, as established in 1847 by the First School Society (now coterminous with the Town), and especially when viewed in its present connection with the Trustees of the old Town Grammar School, may be regarded, legally and historically, as the School taught by Mr. Higginson in 1637, Mr. Collins in 1641, and Mr. Andrews in 1643, and partially endowed by the Town in 1642; the Grammar School made imperative on Hartford as a town of one hundred families by the act of 1650, "the masters thereof being able to instruct youths, so far as they may be fitted for the University" then in operation in Cambridge; the Latin School, "for the maintenance" of which William Gibbins (steward of the Wyllys family) who died in 1655, devised by will about thirty acres of meadow and upland in Pennywise, in the town of Wethersfield (part of the tract on the Cove on which E. G. Howe in 1863 erected a residence); the County Grammar School, in aid of which the General Court appropriated in 1672 six hundred acres of land "to be improved in the best manner that may be for the benefit of a Grammar School in said county, and for no other use or end whatever"; and one of the two Free Schools

ordered in 1690—"the one at Hartford, and the other at New Haven, the masters whereof shall be chosen by the magistrates and ministers of the county, for the schooling of all such children as shall come to be taught (among other things) the Latin and English languages," and towards the salary of such masters the school revenue from bequests (of Edward Hopkins and others), were appropriated.

The Town Grammar School and County Free School, thus supported in part by taxation and in part by endowment, was made imperative on Hartford, and was maintained with varying efficiency till 1798, when its funds and management were transferred to Trustees, "to maintain according to the original intent of the donor for the education of youth in the rudiments of the higher branches of science not taught in common schools, of the Latin, Greek and other useful languages; of the grammar of the English tongue; of geography, navigation, book-keeping, surveying and other similar studies, preparatory to an education at the University, or a life of active employment." Although the school, under its new management, was never brought up to the standard set forth in its charter, the immediate results were favorable,—the funds were better administered, the income was increased, and a succession of able teachers (generally graduates of excellent scholarship from Yale College) were secured. But having no organic connection with other public schools, it exerted no influence except to depress them by withdrawing the children of the educated and wealthy families, who were able to send their sons to college. Having no responsibility to the town, neither trustees or teachers made reports, or did any thing to awaken public interest in the School. With a fixed and very limited curriculum, which was to prepare young men for college, and with only one teacher, the education given was very one-sided, and was always deficient in science and English studies. There were times, when both teachers and trustees needed the rousing shake of a town meeting, and the School needed to be lifted up to a new and higher plane of action by the aid of larger appropriations and public sympathy.

A change in the school policy of the State, commenced at an earlier period, but consummated in 1795, by which ecclesiastical societies under the designation of School Societies, were clothed with the powers and duties before attached exclusively to towns; the multiplication and special incorporation of School Districts; the practical abandonment of the principle of gradation in the revision of the school law in 1799, by which the maintenance of a Grammar School in certain towns was no longer made imperative, but the establishment of a common school of a higher order was left with each School Society to establish by a vote of two-thirds of the inhabitants present at a legal meeting warned for that purpose—this radical change, coupled with other changes quite as fundamental in the school habits of the people in which the strength of a popular school system like that of New England and Scotland resides; the gradual abandonment of property taxation, which ceased to be compulsory in 1822 by the silent operation of a provision of law introduced in 1820; the growing and fatal reliance of parents on the dividends of the School Fund, for the support of their district school; and the mere perfunctory inspection of schools, and examination of teachers with a view of not losing by open neglect the distributive share of the dividends,—these and other causes, operating all over the State, reduced the common schools to the condition in which they were found

by intelligent observers among ourselves, such as Denison Olmsted, Thomas H. Gallaudet, Roger Minot Sherman, James L. Kingsley, Thomas Robbins, Hawley Olmsted, Samuel J. May, William A. Alcott, William C. Woodbridge and others, from 1825 to 1830. About that time originated the great "School Revival" of New England, for the causes which operated here had produced similar deterioration in common schools in other States, or at least had arrested that development which was necessary to meet the demands of a wider and better education for all classes of society. Of this revival in Connecticut I have given a brief history elsewhere, including the Hartford School Improvement Society, which held its first meetings in the winter of 1826–27; the Oration of Prof. Olmsted, and the Letters of T. H. Gallaudet, proposing a Teachers' Seminary, and the plan of W. C. Woodbridge and William A. Alcott to establish one in this city in 1828, which if carried out would have been the first on this continent; the movements of Hawley Olmsted in the House of Representatives in 1826 and '27; the great State Convention held in this city in 1830, and other meetings and publications.

The immediate fruits of this revival of educational interest in Hartford, was a renovation, after a poor fashion, of all our school-houses, the addition of an English department to the Grammar School, and a reorganization of the studies, and classification of the pupils in the Center and South District Schools. But the efforts put forth did not reach the seat of the difficulty—they did not destroy the independent existence of the Districts; they did not restore the old system of town taxation or induce the School Society to exercise that right which undoubtedly belonged to it; they did not bring all the schools into a well adjusted system, so that the lower should furnish a regular supply of pupils for the higher, and the highest operate with a healthy stimulus on the teachers and pupils of all the schools below; they did not provide a system of inspection and reports by which the people were kept annually advised of what was doing in this most vital and productive of all their interests, the right education of all the children of the city. Not securing these objects, not only was the work begun not finished, but a reaction took place, or at least further progress was hardly perceptible, and in the Grammar School, after a brief period of prosperity, the scheme of 1828 broke down, so far at least that in 1838, and for many years before, the sons, not only of wealthy families, but of many who could ill afford the expense, were sent out of town, and out of the State, to obtain a good English education.

In 1837 my public connection with school agitation began in the House of Representatives, in the advocacy of a bill introduced by Judge Sharpe of Abington, to provide for the more thorough local visitation of schools, and of a resolution to secure for the first time through the Comptroller official information respecting the common schools of the State. In remarks on the latter measure, I ventured the opinion, "that our district schools had sunk into a deplorable condition of inefficiency, and no longer deserved the name of common in its best sense; that there was not one educated family in a hundred that relied on the district school for the instruction of their children; and if they did go, the instruction received was of the most elementary character. All the higher education of the State was given in denominational academies and irresponsible private schools of every grade of demerit. I may be wrong, although I speak as a victim of a miserable district school in the chief city of

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the State. Let us have light, and then our successors here can act with knowledge and thoroughness."

In 1838, as soon as I was returned a member of the House, I addressed myself to the best preparation I could make for the thorough discussion of this subject.* I hurried up the preparation of the society school returns, which I found in the Comptroller's office, unarranged and uncollated; a circular was addressed to every member elect for information on certain points specified, and three weeks were devoted to personal visits, public and private, to schools, and conferences with school men, in different parts of the State. Soon after the House was organized, a select committee was raised to consider the subject, of which I was made chairman, and as my circular had arrested the attention of members, there was much talk and looking forward to legislative action. I soon found that with nearly every member, the next election was the day of judgment, and that any measure, calculated to disturb the relations of political parties by giving to the minority the slightest chance for crying increased taxation, or suggested a suspicion of diminishing the dividends of the School Fund, had not the slightest chance of success. It was therefore not deemed advisable to broach any radical change in the system, but simply provide the machinery for a wide-spread agitation of the subject, and inaugurate a system

* The subject in its largest scope was not new to me. Circumstances had made me acquainted with the Latin School and the English Classical School of Boston, the Central High School of Worcester, the Gymnasium of Dwight at New Haven, and of Cogswell and Bancroft at Northhampton, and I had brought several of these to the attention of the Trustees of the Hartford Grammar School, at the time its reorganization was under consideration in 1828, and 1833; and letters describing them will be found in the old file of the New England Review. As a traveler, "not floating about in a miscellaneous way," but having a specific object in view in every city or country visited, the school had always been an object of interest as an index and measure of the civilization and culture of a people. In this way, without the slightest expectation of ever having any thing to do with school organization and administration, I had studied the best school systems of Europe, and had visited several of the most remarkable institutions of the secondary and technical grade before the close of 1836; and in a volume, for which I made memoranda, and collected material, it was my purpose to discuss in the light of European experience, among other topics:—I. Reformatory and Industrial Schools for neglected and semi-criminal children. II. Secondary Schools—designed to prepare candidates for the highest literary and scientific instruction in Universities and Polytechnic Institutes. III. The Polytechnic Institute or University of Science and Modern Languages, with schools and classes of practical application to agriculture, architecture, commerce, mines, manufacture, locomotion, etc. IV. Schools for the Professional Training of Teachers—elementary and higher. V. School Inspection and Central Administration. Much of the material gathered for these chapters was published in Appendix IV, to my Annual Report for 1839–40, and subsequently embodied with later information in the volumes entitled *National Education in Europe; Reformatory Schools and Education;* and *Normal Schools and other Agencies for the Professional Training of Teachers.* At a much earlier period, the vital importance of universal education to a government fast approaching to universal suffrage and universal eligibility to office, had been dwelt on in an Oration delivered in the North Congregational Church on the 4th of July, 1834; the importance of Schools and Education, not only to the ultimate success of the Colony of Liberia, but to prevent it from being swallowed up in the barbarism of a Continent, was one of the topics of an Address before the Connecticut Branch of the American Colonization Society, in the Center Church Conference Room, July, 1833; and the weight of universal popular intelligence in the settlement of international differences before War was declared, and in demanding the arbitration of neutral powers before appealing to brute force, was discussed in an Address before the Connecticut Peace Society, in the North Baptist Church, in December, 1834. My first knowledge of the school system of Prussia was gained from Adams' (John Quincy) *Letters from Silesia*, in which he pays a just tribute to the far-reaching school policy of Frederic II.; and *Letters from Germany* by Henry E. Dwight, published in 1828.

of annual reports, by which the people in each society, and the Legislature, should be informed of the condition of the schools and suggestions for their improvement. In the speech, introducing and explaining this measure, the legislation of the State was reviewed, and the gradual departure from the fundamental principles of the old system was pointed out, as well as our failure to meet, by better educated teachers, and a more scientific course of instruction, the exigencies of increased population and wealth, and of diversified industries.

What changes have we made to meet the demand for more thorough preparation for College? where can any special preparation be made for occupations which demand a knowledge of drawing, engineering, and chemistry? I know not a single school in the State in which drawing is taught; and yet without it, every mechanic labors under daily disadvantage, and the whole field of design and all the highest domains of art are closed. But without even alluding to new studies—where are the public schools of a higher grade which the statutes, down to the beginning of this century, made imperative? Where is the "town of 100 householders," or of 1,000 even, which maintains a public Grammar School, "the teacher thereof being able to instruct youth, so far as they may be fitted for the University?" Where is the "County Town" which maintains a "*free school* for all such children as shall come there to be taught (among other branches) the Latin and English languages, the master thereof to be paid one-half by the county, and the other half out of the school revenue given or to be given for this use, so far as it will go, and the rest by the respective towns?" Where are the six hundred acres of land which were appropriated by the General Court in 1672 to each of the four county towns, "forever to be improved in the best manner that may be for the benefit of a Grammar School in said County, and for no other use or end whatever?" Where is the town or State officer, who knows the condition of the beneficent bequest of Edward Hopkins, by which "hopeful youth were to be bred up at Grammar School and College for the service of the country?" If there is a Free Grammar School, in Hartford or New Haven, which does not require a pretty high fee for admission, I should like to know its location and teacher. And what substitute has the State provided for this abandonment of the whole field of higher education? What security have parents who are not competent themselves to judge, that these chartered academies, and numerous adventure schools, are performing well or at all the work, which our fathers thought to be essential to the commonwealth? I speak from personal knowledge on this subject—there is not a Public Grammar School in the State resting for support on property taxation, and to which a poor but talented lad could enter except as a recipient of charity. We have nothing corresponding to the great Public Schools of England, resting on the endowments of centuries—nothing like the High School of Edinburgh, where in Brougham's day the sons of the noble and the shopkeeper occupied the same bench—nothing like the Real and Burgher Schools of Leipsic, much less the Gymnasiums of Berlin and other German cities, which although not free, are so aided by the state or municipality, or so endowed with scholarships, that the poorest boy, if talented and worthy, can get his preparation for the University, and enter into free competition for government appointment and professional promotion;—nothing like the Latin School of Boston, where a son of the President of the United States was said to have taken the second prize, when the first was awarded to the boy whose father sawed the masters' wood."

Other topics, connected with the past legislation and the existing condition of the common schools,—the irregular and non-attendance of children at school, in connection with the provision of the statute of 1698 which required the selectmen "to see that not a single family should allow so much barbarism in its midst as to have a single child unable to read the holy Word of God, and the good laws of this colony;" the itinerating and non-professional class of teachers; the absence of constant, intelligent, and skilled inspection; the inadequate and defective mode of supporting the system, &c., were discussed, closing

with an appeal to members to at least inaugurate a system of State supervision, by which the people and the Legislature should be advised in an official way of the actual condition and desirable improvements of our school system. On motion of Roger Minot Sherman, the Nestor of the House, the bill was put at once on its final reading, and passed without a dissenting voice. The Act passed the Senate with but one dissenting voice. The originator of the measure, after an effort on his part to secure the acceptance of the position by Thomas H. Gallaudet and Lorin P. Waldo, was made the executive officer of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools, instituted by this Act.

In the week following the adjournment of the Legislature, as President of the Young Men's Institute, then just established, I was invited to explain its plans of operation, and commend them to the personal coöperation of the young men, and the pecuniary aid of the citizens of Hartford generally. With my mind full of the discussions of the House, and with a plan* to meet the educational and moral wants of cities carefully and thoroughly digested, in which institutions like the Institute, then generally designated Lyceums, had an important place, on the evening of the 4th of July I delivered a lecture in the Center Church, in which, with an enthusiasm which had not yet been chilled by the apathy and opposition of those it desired to benefit, I magnified the work the young men had begun, by making it part of a system of popular education for the city. That lecture, in all its main features, was repeated in the Fourth Congregational Church, and subsequently in New Haven, Norwich, New London, Middletown and Norwalk †—as well as in other cities out of the State. The following outline is from a newspaper report, in which the editor was careful to say: "We would not be understood as advocating every measure proposed by the lecturer, but in general we think our readers will agree with us, that his plans are wise and philanthropic. Nothing in our opinion deserves this praise more than the proposal to put the schools mainly under the supervision of the mothers of the children. An association of mothers in each district, or union of districts, having the choice of the teachers, the examining of the pupils, and all the property and arrangements of the schools, in their hands, would be one of the happiest expedients ever adopted in respect to primary education. They would see that the seats were adapted to the comfort of the children and properly arranged, the rooms suitably warmed and ventilated, the grounds properly laid out and adorned with shrubbery, and all the moral as well as intellectual influences of the schools, of the best character. They would visit the schools, at least by their committees, and exercise a vigilance over them, absolutely indispensable to their prosperity, and which committees of the other sex, unpaid or paid, do not observe."

* This plan had been already embodied in a lecture to be read before the American Lyceum, which met in Hartford in May (9-11) previous, and which I had been prevented from attending except on one evening by my engagements in the Legislature in New Haven. It was in the interest awakened by the discussion of the Lyceum, which held its annual session in Hartford, on the application of Mr. Gallaudet and myself, that the Institute had its origin.

† The Otis Library, and meetings to establish a Public High School, which ultimately were directed to the endowment of the Free Academy, in Norwich; the Union of the City Districts and the establishment of the City High School in Middletown; the Young Men's Institute, and numerous meetings to inaugurate a system of graded schools, in New Haven; the establishment of the Young Men's Association Library, and meetings for the establishment of a Public High School, in New London, and similar meetings in Bridgeport, Norwalk, Stamford and Winsted were among the fruits of this lecture in Connecticut.

Outline of Lecture on the Moral and Educational Wants of Cities.

He first presented a vivid picture of the large city, not only as the mart of commerce and business, the point to which the facilities of trade all tend, the center of political influence, the arbiter of fashion, the arena of the highest literary and professional talent, but as exhibiting the most fearful contrast in the social, moral and intellectual condition of its population—high intelligence and wretched ignorance—overgrown wealth, ministering to the luxurious indulgences and the fashionable frivolities of its possessors, and abject poverty withering up all the noble impulses of its victims, and nurturing the elements of anarchy, vice, and crime, in its bosom. To remedy this false civilization, and to elevate and purify the influences which must go forth from the city to the country, the lecturer proposes the following system of moral and educational means:

First, that provision be made for juvenile offenders who abound in cities, by sending them not to the County or State prisons, or to the town work-house, as at present constituted, but to a House of Reformation, including a School of Industry, where correct moral and industrious habits could be formed. One such would answer for the State, and should be located in the country.

Second, that the physical condition of the poor of our cities be improved, and their physical wants be relieved, by making their houses more convenient and attractive, by furnishing them in every possible case with employment, instead of indiscriminate charity, and through personal intercourse, by awakening in their minds a self-respect and force of thought to bear up and rise above the adverse circumstances of their lot. The home of the poor might be improved wonderfully in a single generation, by disseminating plans of cheap tenements, embracing the conveniences of a home, which the *stopping places* of the poor do not now have, and by inducing men of property and of philanthropy to erect such to rent for a fair return on the money invested. If in the children of the poor a sense of the beautiful, a taste for flowers and music, could be cultivated, it would soon change the outward and inward aspects of this class of homes in our cities.

Third, that more abundant means of innocent and rational amusements, such as are calculated to develop the physical frame, to inspire cheerful thoughts, to promote the social feelings, and to be shared in by rich and poor, the more and the less favored in intellectual improvement, must be provided, encouraged and sustained.

Fourth, that a broad, liberal, and cheap system of educational influences, such as schools, books, libraries, lectures, cabinets, &c., must be spread before and around every child, youth and grown up person in our cities. Such a system might embrace,

1. *Primary Schools* for children under eight years. In this class of schools, the health, manners, morals and early mental habits, should be attended to. The teachers in all cases to be females, and the supervision of the schools to be intrusted mainly to the mothers of the children.

2. *Secondary or Intermediate Schools*, for children between the age of 8 and 12. In these schools the education of the pupils should be carried as far as is now done in the best of our common schools, and thus four years at least in the school period of children be saved. This Mr. Barnard thinks might easily be done, if teachers properly trained were employed, and the foundation was properly laid in the Primary Schools. In these Schools there should be a male and female Principal, as the influences of both are needed at this stage of moral education, and in the formation of the manners of children.

3. *A High School*, with two departments, one for boys and the other for girls. This school should afford a higher elementary education than can be given in the secondary schools, or the common schools as now constituted, and at the same time furnish an education preparatory to the pursuits of commerce, trade, manufactures, and the mechanical arts. All that is now done in our best private schools for the children of the rich and the educated, should be done for the children of the whole community.

Connected with this system of Public Schools, there should be one or more departments for *colored children;* and *Evening Schools*, for such young persons

as are hurried by necessity, the haste of parents, or their own choice, into the counting-room, the store, or the workshop, without a proper elementary education, or for another class who may wish to pursue studies connected with their several trades and pursuits. By means of such schools, the defective education of many of the youth of our cities might be remedied, and their various trades and employments be converted into the most efficient instruments of self-culture.

4. *Libraries of useful and interesting books.* Each school should be furnished with books for the teacher and scholar; and in the selection of books, care should be taken to procure such books as will furnish the teacher with the means of oral instruction in every study of the school, and enable the scholar to carry on his investigations from the point where his class-book and the teacher may leave it. Instead of a library in each school, there might be one for each class of schools, and this be divided into as many cases as there were schools in each class, and then pass in succession through them all. In this way the interest of the readers would be kept fresh, and a much wider selection of books be secured at a reduced expense.

Each school should be furnished with maps, diagrams, globes, and other forms of illustration, so that the knowledge acquired may be vivid, accurate and practical.

This system of schools should be maintained at the public expense, and its administration be intrusted to a Board, elected by the people, with this provision, that one-half of the number shall have been members the year previous, and that a Superintendent be appointed with suitable compensation to devote his whole time to the usefulness of the schools.

Fifth, the Lyceum in its various departments, should take up the education of the community where the schools leave it, and by every help and means of self-culture, carry it forward to the end of life. The Lyceum should embrace, under one general organization, with subordinate sections, each having a single department, or in as many independent organizations, as there are departments—

(1.) *A Library*, embracing the widest range of reading for all classes, except the young, who should be provided for in the school libraries.

(2.) *Classes for debates and composition*—or for the attainment of facility and felicity in the use of the English language, as a spoken and written instrument of thought. The foundation of this should be laid in schools, but it requires the practice of a life to acquire the full compass of our noble tongue.

(3.) *Classes for mutual instruction or simultaneous reading in some one branch of study*, or for a more extended pursuit of some branches connected with the various trades and pursuits of cities, under well qualified teachers.

(4.) *Popular Lectures*—embracing *First*, regular courses in the various departments of science, and *second*, miscellaneous lectures, each complete in itself. Their object should be not only to give solid instruction in such branches as admit of being taught by lectures with experiments and diagrams, but to supply interesting and profitable topics of conversation, stimulate inquiry, direct the reading of the community, bring all classes together in sympathy with great truths and noble deeds, and thus break down prejudices which grow out of non-acquaintance, and cultivate happier social relations.

(5.) *Collections in Natural History.*

(6.) *Museum of the Useful Arts*, such as models of the steam-engine, and of its many applications in manufacturing and mechanical establishments; drawings or models of new inventions to abridge human labor or increase the comforts of life; specimens of the mineral, animal, and vegetable substances used in the arts; copies and lessons for architectural and mechanical drawing, &c.

(7.) *Gallery of Paintings, Sculpture, and Engravings.*

These various departments exist in an imperfect and fragmentary form, as distinct institutions in some of our cities, but they should be extended, perfected and brought together under a more efficient organization. A single general organization, with subordinate sections or departments, is preferable, inasmuch as it prevents that classification of society according to the employment or pursuits of men, which will inevitably grow out of the other arrangement.

In even this condensed statement of the main points of my discourse in behalf of the Young Men's Institute, as part of a broad system of schools and institutions for the moral and educational wants of a community like Hartford, it will be seen, that on the question of a Public High School, my voice at least did not utter an uncertain sound. My views, as expressed in 1838, and as written out three years before, have undergone no material change, and they were founded on a careful study of our New England system, the parochial and burgh system of Scotland, the best school systems of Germany, and the school law framed for France by Cousin and Guizot, both of whom recommended and provided a superior school or communal college corresponding to our Grammar School of the code of 1650.

In my official labors "to ascertain the condition, increase the interest, and promote the usefulness of Common Schools," the restitution of this fundamental principle to the system, and its development to meet the social circumstances of our times and the varying conditions of population and occupation in our cities and large villages, was a cardinal object. It crops out in my addresses, circulars, Journal, personal efforts as school visitor in Hartford, and in *every* report to the Legislature from 1839 to 1842. To my last Report for 1842 was appended a document on a System of Public Schools for Cities and Populous Villages, in which the High School feature is pretty thoroughly discussed and illustrated by a statement of its organization and results under the best systems in other States. This document, the Committee on Education in the Legislature of Connecticut * for the year of our Lord 1842, and of the commonwealth the 206th, refused to have printed at the public expense, or with any legislative sanction, expressly on the ground set forth in their printed report, "that it is extremely doubtful whether branches of an education of a higher order, tending to qualify our youth for admission into higher seminaries of learning, would be politic, or would come within what is believed to have been the intent of the founders of the School Fund."

One of the most efficacious measures for awaking public interest and eliciting intelligent discussion of the actual condition of Common Schools, resorted to, was a series of public meetings held every year, one in each county, and one for the State. As a specimen of the topics discussed in these conventions, which were held at the call, and generally at the individual expense of the Secretary of the State School Board, I will cite from a printed account of the proceedings of a State Convention held at the State House in Hartford, and by adjournment, at the Lecture Room of the Center Church, August 28 and 29, 1839, of which Seth P. Beers was president; Thomas S. Williams and Dr. Field, vice-presidents, and Jesse Olney, and Rev. D. H. Short, secretaries. In the course of the six sessions, essays were read by Prof. Calvin E. Stowe, on the *Necessity of increased efforts to sustain and extend Common School Education;* by Mr. Cushing of Boston, on *Division of Labor in Teaching;* by Mrs. Sigourney (read by Mr. Everett), on the *Cultivation of the Perception of the Beau-*

* This fact coming to the knowledge of Hon. James S. Wadsworth of Geneseo, New York, when on a visit to Mr. Daniel Wadsworth of Hartford, in June, 1842, he had the document printed at his expense and 30,000 copies distributed gratuitously in the cities and villages of New York, and other States. There are those who think that this document, coupled with the personal efforts and counsel of its author, has been instrumental in determining the present school organization of over sixty of the principal cities of this country.

tiful; by Rev. Emerson Davis of Westfield, Mass., on *Philosophy of Mind as applied to Teaching;* by Henry Barnard, on *Institutions and Agencies for the Professional Training of Teachers*, on a *Gradation of Schools in Cities*, on *Vocal Music and Drawing in Schools*, and on *School-Architecture;* by Alexander H. Everett, on the *Progress of Moral Science.* The topics formally presented in the lectures and essays were afterwards freely discussed.

The topic of absorbing interest was the condition and improvement of Common Schools in cities. Every city in the State was represented, and the deplorable state of the schools, as to school-houses, non-attendance, and irregularity of attendance, the want of classification, the multiplicity of text-books, the number of adventure schools, and the deadness of public and parental interest in the whole subject of Schools and Education, were dwelt on. This topic came up at every session, as will be seen from the following paragraphs of the published report of the proceedings.

After the lecture of Prof. Stowe, Mr. Barnard spoke on the importance of a gradation of schools, especially in the populous districts, and recommended strongly to such districts as were conveniently located for this purpose, to associate and form a Union District, so that the younger children of each could be taught where they are now under a female teacher, and the older scholars of the uniting districts be placed in a Union School.

Wednesday Morning.—Prof. Stowe of Cincinnati, by special request, gave an account of the Public Schools of Cincinnati, which he considered equal to those of any large city in this country.

The Committee on business, presented the following question for the consideration of the Convention:—"What can be done to improve the condition of the common schools in our cities and populous villages?"

The Secretary of the Board, by the way of introduction, stated that the deficiencies of our school system, with two exceptions, were more apparent and more alarming in the cities and populous districts, where there were the more abundant means, and the strongest necessity to maintain good schools, than in the country—that five-sixths of all the non-attendance at any school in the State, was found here—that a large proportion of the children who draw public money were in private schools, and that the greatest indifference as to the improvement of the schools prevailed. Mr. Barnard dwelt on the establishment of a more vigorous and generous system for these towns, which should result in making the public schools the *best schools*, otherwise they could not compete with the private schools. He concluded with alluding to the system of public schools in Boston as in advance of all other cities, mainly because the State had authorized and directed and the city had always maintained a graded system. The Latin School was the oldest and best school in this country.

Mr. Everett then gave an account of the public schools in Massachusetts, dwelling on the Grammar Schools, or schools of a higher order, which every town containing 500 families are obliged to maintain. This order of schools supplied a want which otherwise would be met by expensive private schools, and yet was as free as the district school. Mr. Emerson, of Boston, followed with a more particular account of the public schools of Boston.

Thursday, Aug. 29.—The question respecting Common Schools in the cities, etc., was resumed and discussed by the Rev. Dr. Field, T. S. Perkins, Esq., New London; L. Kennedy, Esq.. Hartford; Rev. Mr. Bacon, W. G. W. Fitzgerald, and Mr. Lines, New Haven; Rev. Mr. Burgess, Prof. Stowe, and Mr. Barnard.

Thursday Afternoon.—The discussion of the morning was resumed and carried on by Dr. Field, Rev. Mr. Bushnell, Gen. Johnson, Rev. Mr. Brewer. Messrs. Barnard, Kennedy, Pierce of New York, Baker of New Hartford, Webb of Middletown, and the Rev. Mr. Short of Danbury.

Thursday Evening.—Rev. Mr. Burgess introduced the following resolution, to embody the sense of the Convention on the subject which had occupied so much of its deliberations—which was adopted unanimously,

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Convention, it is of primary importance, for the improvement of the public schools in our cities and populous villages, that in all such places, the schools shall be so graduated as to form a system, which shall afford to all children in the community, not only the first elements of knowledge, but, so far as may be possible, the best education which their age, leisure, and intellectual powers will qualify them to receive.

The Committee of Arrangements submitted the following resolution bearing on the same subject, which was also adopted unanimously:—

Resolved, That for the purpose of securing the proper classification of our schools, and to admit of the application of the greater principle of the division of labor in the work of instruction, the younger children of a district should be taught by themselves, in distinct departments, and more advanced pupils be placed under the constant care of a qualified teacher; and to this end, it be recommended, to such districts, as admit of it, to unite and form a Union School, as provided for in the "Act concerning schools."

Besides the State Conventions, and growing out of them, County Associations for the Improvement of Common Schools were formed in each county, which proved highly serviceable in the discussion of topics of school reform. Among the topics introduced in the opening address, which from my official relations to the schools I was accustomed to make, was the evils resulting from the multiplication of small districts, and the advantages to be gained in better houses, better classification of pupils, a more systematic course of studies, and larger means to employ better teachers for a longer period of time, from a union of all the village and city districts. In the three county meetings held in this city for Hartford County, this subject was introduced and the importance of a Public High School to this city was dwelt upon.

In addition to the County Associations, the formation of Town Associations had been recommended in the Address of the Commissioners of Common Schools, and by most of the County Conventions and Associations. In the Circulars addressed by me in 1838, and in 1839, to the School Visitors, I urge upon them the formation of such Society or Town Associations; in pursuance of which an Association was formed in Hartford in 1838–9, of which Rev. George Burgess was President, and I remember distinctly his calling on me to consult as to the direction in which the Association should put forth its labors, remarking that the number of members at present was *five*, two more than attended the annual meeting of the First School Society of Hartford, with upwards of 10,000 inhabitants. Among the subjects, on which we were quite agreed, was the establishment of a Society High School, or a City Union School, under the Act of 1839, as should be found practicable—to which the attention of the Visitors had been directed in 1838, and again in the Circular of 1839 issued immediately after the adjournment of the Legislature, which had authorized the union of School Districts, and at the same time enlarged and defined the powers of School Societies, for this purpose.

In the Connecticut Common School Journal, of which the prospectus was printed within a week after accepting the office of Secretary of the State School Board,—and the first number was issued within a month without a single subscriber, and without the pledge of a single dollar to meet the probable failure of the enterprise as a paying periodical—from the first number to the last, there are some topics discussed bearing upon this important subject. In the second number, for September 1838, is a circular of the Secretary, in which sixteen inquiries are addressed to the School Visitors of each school society, the second of which relates to the gradation of schools in each district, and the third is as follows: "Has your school society availed itself of the provision of the law so far as 'to institute a school of a higher order for the common benefit of the Society?' and if not, do you consider it practicable and advisable so to do?" In

the third number (October, 1838), after discussing the classification of schools in our large towns, quoting the experience of Hartford favorably so far as carried out in the city districts, the question is asked, might not a high school, or grammar school such as is provided for by our laws, be advantageously established near the common center of several districts and (in another paragraph) of several adjacent societies? A high school at or near the central point of four towns would enable the advanced pupils of each town to enjoy the privileges of a higher education. In the fifth number (December 1838), in a circular addressed to the Vice-Presidents of the County Associations, who were presidents of the Town Associations, the classification of scholars and schools was commended to the consideration of school officers and associations; and so on through the four volumes, the last of which volumes (for 1842) contains Dr. Bushnell's Report and an account of graded schools in different parts of the country; and the last page of this last volume contains the report of the Joint Standing Committee on Education in the Legislature of Connecticut for 1842, in which a petition of sundry citizens of Hartford is cited, "praying the repeal of certain sections of the *Act concerning Common Schools*, establishing High Schools, or Union Districts, and that taxes may be raised as formerly on the polls and ratable estates of the inhabitants of school districts," in conformity to which, said Committee, in their report, recommend the repeal of the sections referred to; but in the bill drafted and submitted for this purpose, and passed, the important section relating to School Societies was omitted, and thus the important provision, under which the First School Society of Hartford in 1847 established the Public High School, was left in the Act. The Committee in their Report, recommending the repeal of the sections prayed for by the petitioners from Hartford, remark:—"Those branches ought to be taught which may the most readily be brought into action, and enter into our business concerns. Hence those of reading, writing, and arithmetic enter into our daily avocations in life, and when once fully learned, are rarely forgotten; those of English grammar and geography are next in importance, and are *the only studies*, in connection with the fundamental branches, that ought, in our opinion, to be taught in our Common Schools. * * And it is extremely doubtful whether branches of education of a higher order, tending to qualify our youth for admission into higher seminaries of learning, would be politic. A general law for that object may also be dangerous. The remedy in such cases can be supplied by associations or by Acts of incorporation"—in other words, in select, private, or incorporated schools, practically out of the reach of the poor.

In 1839, as member of the Legislature, I drafted and secured the passage of an Act by the first section of which "each School Society was authorized to establish common schools of different grades, to build school-houses, lay taxes, and make all lawful agreements and by-laws for the free, equal and useful instruction of all the youth thereof." By subsequent clauses, provision was made for the formation of a Union District, out of the adjoining districts in cities, and other School Societies, with power "to maintain a Union School for the benefit of the older and more advanced children of such associated districts." It was under the provision of this Act, that the "School Battle" as it was called, of 1841–42 was fought in the school-houses of the three City Districts; and the establishment of the Public High School of the first School Society of Hartford was secured in 1847.

In the Report of the School Visitors of the First School Society of Hartford, submitted by Rev. George Burgess, October 7, 1839, we find the first fruits of the agitation inaugurated in 1838. All the topics suggested in the first Circular of the Secretary of the Board, addressed to school visitors, teachers, and the friends of school improvement generally, in August, 1838, are introduced and several of them discussed at some length, such as the influence of select schools in the absence of good public schools, and especially one of the highest grade; the necessity of substituting property taxation for the rate-bill as at that time made out; the visitation of schools by parents; and the establishment of seminaries for the education of teachers. To this document is appended a report of the Hartford Town Association for the Improvement of Common Schools, which had been established "under the recommendation of the State Commissioner of Common Schools," and the results of the inquiries and deliberations of the Executive Committee are submitted "in discharge of a duty committed to them by the highest authorities." This report points out the advantages of a system of public schools for the city or society, "under the provision of the existing law of the State (act of 1839), which allows the union of two or more districts for the purpose of establishing a school of a higher order; and also permits any school society, as such, to establish within itself, and maintain by tax, any number and system of schools; and this committee believe, that one or other of these provisions of the law may be advantageously employed at present in this society." The committee therefore "respectfully suggest, that a single school of a higher order than either of those which now exist should be established by a vote of the society; or if it should be preferred, that the several districts embraced within the limits of this society should be invited to unite for the purpose of establishing such a school; and that in that event, should the districts without the city decline such a union, it be still proposed on the part of those within the city."

The subject thus brought before the Society in 1839, was referred, on my motion, to a committee (consisting, as afterwards appointed, of Burgess, Mitchell, Barnard, Johnson, Hamersley, Davies and Gallaudet), "to consider the expediency of establishing a High School for the older and more advanced scholars of this school society, and to inquire into the expediency of consolidating the several school districts embraced, in all or in part, within the limits of the city of Hartford, so as to bring all the schools into one system of superintendence and support, and to report to an adjourned meeting their views, with such plans to improve the condition of common school education in this Society, as they may deem best to be adopted at this time." At an adjourned meeting held at Gilman's Hall, Nov. 5, this committee made a report, prepared by me, in which they "propose that a separate school for the instruction of such pupils of both sexes as shall have reached the age of twelve or thirteen years, and shall have sustained a proper examination with reference to their admission," and close with three resolutions: "(1,) That it is expedient that a Public High School shall be established; (2,) That a tax of one cent on a dollar be laid to meet the expense of such school; (3,) That the several incorporated districts be invited to consider the expediency of dissolving the division of districts within this Society, and of classifying the schools under one system; and, if they shall approve this course, to pass such votes as may be necessary for carrying it into effect." The report was accepted, and the resolutions passed, with a

vote "appointing Henry Barnard, W. J. Hamersley, Henry A. Mitchell, Nathan Johnson, and H. Huntington, a committee to carry into effect the third resolution; and another requesting the committee of the School Society to call a special meeting on the 15th for the purpose of carrying into effect the first and second resolutions. Legal notice was given, and on the 15th of November a special meeting was held in the City Court Room "to lay a tax and adopt such other measures as may be necessary to establish a High School for the older children of the Society." At this meeting, Mr. Mitchell offered a resolution in pursuance of the action of the School Society, which after a prolonged discussion, was postponed for further consideration to an adjourned meeting on the 6th of December; when a new committee was appointed and instructed to present a plan of union for four in place of the three districts, thereby practically defeating the object; and another committee was appointed to inquire into the present condition of the Grammar School, and its relations to the higher education of the Society.

At the adjourned meeting held in the City Court Room December 6, 1839, the committee on the union of the four districts, of which I was one, reported that they were divided on the policy of a Society High School, but united in recommending a union school, for the older children of such districts as should vote to unite for the purpose; and in the meantime, advised such pupils in the outer districts to apply for admission to the upper classes of the Center District, which were open on paying a small tuition fee. The committee on the Grammar School, through their chairman, L. Kennedy, Jr., reported in substance that they found the management of the School practically in the hands of the principal, who received the use of the school-house without rent, and five hundred dollars a year from the fund, and admitted no pupils to the advantages of the school except on payment of six dollars per quarter, payable in all cases in advance. This practical abandonment of their trust, and the requisition of tuition from all who applied, to a school which in its institution was called *free*, the committee thought justified an application to the Legislature, either to annul the charter, or to modify the same so as to give the town some share in the management, and indigent children some advantages of the school. A committee to prosecute the subject further through a town meeting was appointed, consisting of J. M. Niles, L. Kennedy, Jr., and Gideon Welles. To this policy I was opposed, first because the lands given by the State, and the bequests of individuals, at least a portion of them, did not contemplate solely the town or even the county of Hartford, but all children who might come from any quarter in these plantations for instruction in the Latin language and to prepare for college; and second, because in the existing low estimate of the scope of public instruction, there was danger of losing even the limited facilities of higher education which the Grammar School afforded. On my motion another committee was appointed (Philip Ripley, H. A. Mitchell, and Henry Barnard), "to confer with the Trustees of the Grammar School in regard to an arrangement to extend the benefits of that school more widely to the older children of the town." In behalf of this committee, several interviews were had with the president and other members of the Board, and the strongest assurances were given, that when any authority, representing the town, society, city, or any number of united districts, was prepared to maintain a public school of a higher order on a permanent basis, they would be ready to coöperate in sustaining the depart-

ment, to which the grants of the State and the bequests of individuals had been given, and which they were appointed to administer for the benefit of all concerned. By this assurance, which I had received early in 1838, my own discussion of the subject had been governed, and I abstained from introducing, except in a general way, classical studies, or alluding in any way to the Grammar School, believing when this community was prepared to act with liberality in establishing a high school, the Trustees would be quite as far advanced in the same direction.

In 1840, with enough else to do to occupy all my time, I consented to go on to the Board of School Visitors, with a full understanding with my colleagues (some of the best men in the city) that the Board would investigate thoroughly the condition of the public schools, and education generally in the city, and would not hesitate to grapple with the problem of reorganization, if the facts should call for it. With that view, for the first time the condition of the schools, as to attendance, school-houses, subjects and methods of instruction, supervision, mode of support, compensation of teachers, and parental interest, and the number, attendance, and special character of each private school, were carefully ascertained, and the results were presented in a series of propositions which were accepted by the Board, together with a Plan for consolidating the three City Districts into one, and establishing a system in which two High Schools, or one with two departments, one for boys and the other for girls, formed an essential feature. The following are the features of the Plan submitted by me for the City Districts:—

1. To consolidate the districts into one, for the purpose of bringing all the schools into one system of management, studies and books, and of making the school interest one of the leading interests of the city.

2. To establish such a system or gradation of schools, as shall secure as thorough a course of instruction for all the children of the city, rich or poor, as is now provided in the best private schools. The committee propose for consideration the following outline:—

First—Primary schools to be located in different parts of the district, for the young children, where all of the arrangements of the school-room, the playground, and the exercises, shall be adapted to promote the health, manners, moral culture, and the gradual and harmonious development of the mind of the young. The alphabet, easy lessons in reading, oral instruction in respect to real objects, maps and figures, habits of observation, vocal music, and drawing on the slate, would form the course of instruction for these schools. They are to be taught by females, and we would add, they should be under the supervision, in part at least, of the mothers of the district.

Second—Intermediate or secondary schools. These schools are to take up the education of children, when the primary schools leave it, and to carry it forward to as high a point as is now attained in the first classes of the present schools. Two schools of this class, if properly located, would answer, but owing to the location of the present district school-houses, three might be necessary at first. Each school would require a male principal of the first order of qualifications—a female principal, and a sufficient number of female assistants.

Third—Two High Schools, or one with two departments, one for boys and the other for girls, to which the pupils who shall be found qualified in the studies of the secondary schools, on due examination, shall be admitted, and there taught the higher mathematics, mechanical and natural philosophy, natural history, physiology, moral and mental philosophy, political economy, the constitution of the United States and of Connecticut, American history and biography, book-keeping, rhetoric, and drawing with reference to its use in various kinds of business. To these, or to so much of them as might be deemed advisable, a preparatory classical course could be added without increasing the expense. This department, if established at all, should be capable of giving

a thorough English and a preparatory classical education, so that those who know what a good education is, may be anxious to avail themselves of its advantages, and the poorest parent who has worthy and talented children, may see the way open for them to all the advantages of a good and eventually a liberal education.

3. The studies, books, discipline and supervision of the schools, and the management of the property and concerns of the district, are to be intrusted to a Board, two-thirds of whom shall be elected annually, and the other third hold over. It is also proposed, for the purpose of giving efficiency to the action of the Board, that they elect a superintendent, who shall visit the schools, employ the teachers, meet with them for instruction, visit the parents and guardians of such children as are not sent to school at all, or attend irregularly, see to the repairs and management of the school-houses; in fine, to devote his whole time to the prosperity of the schools.

4. The schools are to be free, and to be supported like any other great public interest. The education, so far as it goes, is to be as good as money can secure; and then, like the light, air, and water, it is to be open alike to rich and poor.

The Plan for the reorganization of the City Districts, and summary of the condition of the common schools generally in the Society, were approved by the Visitors, and on my motion the plan was referred to a sub committee to elaborate, and commend in a special Report to the intelligent and effective sanction of the Society and the City Districts. The general features of the two Reports were approved by the School Society, and the question of consolidation was referred to the Districts directly interested for their action. The Report of Dr. Bushnell was such a masterly discussion of the whole subject,—the policy of a consolidated in place of district or divided administration; the advantages of a closely graded system for the whole city, terminating in a Public High School, in place of a more loose and differing gradation in the three districts, without scholars enough in either to constitute a school of the highest grade; the right and policy of property taxation for school purposes; the evils of the early withdrawal of children from school from the want of additional instruction which a high school would afford; the advantages of a union of the Hartford Grammar School with the City High School to both, in the more full realization than has yet been possible, of the intent of the donors of the fund by which the Grammar School is supported; the evils of private schools covering the same ground with the public schools, and attended by the wealthy and educated only, and thus creating a separation, when the whole law of American citizenship requires harmony of views and interest; so satisfactorily were these and other topics treated, that I printed the document, with an account of the school systems of Boston, Nantucket, Charlestown, Roxbury, Lowell, Portland, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Louisville, for gratuitous circulation in other cities of the State, where the same suggestions were applicable.

The District Meetings which followed in the winter of 1842, will not soon be forgotten by those who participated in the discussions, or witnessed the grim satisfaction which interested tax-payers seemed to take in blows given and returned in a cause so domestic and peaceful, theoretically considered, as that of Education: "Vested rights," "steady habits in the good old ways," "no taxation for other peoples' children," "let well enough alone," "what was good enough for the father was good enough for the son," "none of your high schools for me"—these were the phrases and topics which abounded in the nine meetings which were held in the three City Districts, before the votes were reached by which two of the districts assented to the proposition of consolidation.

Governors and ex-governors, judges and senators, lawyers, doctors, clergymen (and none did better service than Drs. Bushnell and Burgess), editors, bankers, mechanics, representatives of all occupations, shared in the discussions; but owing to the political connection of some of the prominent advocates and opponents of the scheme, the vote actually given, especially in the South District, where the vote was adverse to the union, was not always on the merits of the question actually discussed.

With the apparent failure of all my plans, in the reactionary legislation of 1842, I did not despair, either of the commonwealth or of the city, and much less of the cause of a broad and liberal system of common schools for the whole country—and I shall be pardoned for citing here the closing passages of a speech made by me at a little earlier period (1839), in view of the probable failure of a proposition (the earliest legislative measure in this direction proposed in this country) to establish Teachers' Institutes in this State:—

The appropriation thus applied, so as to improve the teachers now in the school, and create in them a thirst for something higher and better than can be given in any temporary course of instruction, will lead to the establishment of an institution for the professional education and training of teachers, the great agency by which the cause of education is to be carried upward and onward in this State. Though the prospect is dark enough, I think I can see the dawning of a better day on the mountain-tops, and the youngest members of this House, if they live to reach the age of the oldest, will see a change pass over the public mind, and over public action, not only in respect to the professional education of teachers, but the whole subject of common schools. Old, dilapidated, inconvenient school-houses will give place to new, attractive, and commodious structures. Young children will be placed universally under the care of accomplished female teachers; female teachers will be employed in every grade of schools as assistants, and in most of our country districts as sole principals: a school of a "higher order" than the district school will receive the older boys and girls, not only of a district, but of a society, and the common school will no longer be regarded as *common*, because it is cheap, inferior, and patronized only by the poor, and those who are indifferent to the education of their children, but common as the light and the air, because its blessings are open to all, and enjoyed by all. The passage of this resolution will hasten on that day; but whether the resolution is passed or not, that day will assuredly come, and it will bring along a train of rich blessings which will be felt in the field and in the workshop, and convert many a home into a circle of unfading smiles. For one, I mean to enjoy the satisfaction of the labor, let who will enter into the harvest.

Others have entered into the harvest; but it has been my highest happiness for thirty years to work on in the same direction, with or without coöperation, in or out of office, here and elsewhere, as opportunity offered or circumstances compelled, until I have seen every provision drafted by me which was stricken from the statute-book of Connecticut in 1842, restored, and many more recommended by me, not only placed in the school-law, but become part of the school habits of this people; and more than this, I have lived long enough to see nearly all the cardinal features of city and State school organization advocated in this city from 1838 to 1842, and denounced "as the impracticable schemes of an enthusiast," ingrafted into the constitutions of fifteen States and the school systems of thirty-five States, and upwards of one hundred cities, including all having over 40,000 inhabitants, and many more with a smaller population.

The credit of reviving the discussions of a Public High School for this community, after the failure of the plan submitted in the Annual Report of the School Visitors, and of the Special Report of the sub-committee in 1841, and

of carrying it through to a triumphant consummation, is due, more than to any one man, to *James M. Bunce*, who in this matter acted in pursuance of the suggestions, substantially in the direction, and with the coöperation of the originators and advocates of the former plan.

In the summer of 1845, the American Institute of Instruction, at the earnest solicitation of myself, one of the directors, held its regular annual meeting in this city, and in the entertainment of the lecturers and members from abroad, and local expenses of the meetings, Mr. Bunce took a liberal share. Among the subjects introduced in the sessions, which occupied three days, was the gradation of public schools in cities, in the discussion of which Mr. Nathan Bishop, Superintendent of Public Schools in Providence, G. F. Thayer and W. B. Fowle of Boston, and myself, took part. In this discussion, the importance of primary schools planted in every neighborhood, so as to be within reach of all the youngest children; and of one or more schools of the highest grade, so as to meet the wishes of a class of parents, who would otherwise provide for their own children in other schools, which would be inaccessible to children equally deserving, but too poor to pay the expense of residence, if abroad, or the tuition, if in the city.

On these discussions, which had special reference to the condition of schools in this city, and the exercises generally of the Institute, Mr. Bunce, who had taken no active part, and manifested no special interest, in the subject of school improvement, either local or general so far as I can now recollect,* was a regular attendant, and expressed himself highly pleased and interested, and felt mortified that such lectures should have an attendance so small. "This ought not to be, and shall not be, if I can help it, on another occasion of the same kind;" and it was not, as those who can recollect the large and enthusiastic attendance of our citizens on the School Convention or Teachers' Institute held here November 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21, 1846—the preparation for which was made mainly at his expense, and by the personal visits of Rev. Merril Richardson to teachers in different parts of the county. That Convention, and his previous offer of $100 for the best "Practical Essay on the necessity and mode of improving the Public Schools of Connecticut, and of adding to the schools in cities a department of instruction in the higher branches of education," and his efforts afterwards to establish a High School in Hartford, as he often remarked to me, I always supposed was due, in part at least, to a letter addressed by me to him in the autumn of 1845, in reply to an invitation addressed to me (then Commissioner of Public Schools in Rhode Island), to resume my educational labors in Connecticut under the pledge of pecuniary and personal coöperation from himself and others: and in case I could not accept, "to tell us what to do and how to do it, to revive the interest which had begun to manifest itself all over the State, and which the disastrous legislation of 1842 has almost extinguished. I should like to do something practical for Hartford, and for Connecticut, and I should like to do it under your direction, and if possible with your personal coöperation. Come out of the wilderness,—I mean no disrespect to our brave little neighbor—and help your own birthplace and State, at least by your advice."

* Mr. Flavius Brown thinks that Mr. Bunce's interest in the subject of a High School originated in a visit to the Center District School, while that excellent teacher, Mr. Gallup, was principal (1845), and that the germ of the High School was in the advanced classes of this school.

To this invitation the following are among the suggestions returned, as published in the History of Teachers' Institutes in Connecticut:

I cannot leave my present field—my hand is on the plough, which is deep in an almost unbroken prairie turf, but I expect to see what you call a "wilderness," blossom as the rose. I shall here work out my plan of school improvement by educating the public mind up to the appreciation of the necessary conditions of a successful system of public schools, cheap enough for the poorest, and good enough for the best citizen, and at the same time train the agents in the administration of such a system—teachers, officers and parents. It will take time and work—but I have schooled myself "to labor and to wait." The work to be done here is substantially the work which has to be done in Connecticut and every other state—*the public mind must be enlightened as to all the details of the system*, the indispensable features of a school law, the requisites of a good school house, the necessity of regular and punctual attendance, the proper distribution of studies and children into schools of different grades, and the classification of every school of any grade, and above all as to the qualities and qualifications of good teachers, and how to select, train and improve them, and especially how to make the most out of such young men and young women as will, until public opinion is made right as to the requirements, rush into the business without the requisite knowledge, and especially without any training, or apprenticeship in organizing a school, and communicating instruction, and governing and stimulating children by the highest motives. Now in reply to your inquiry—out of all this field of work, what you should select to do first, and at once, for Hartford, and Connecticut. I should advise, for Hartford, the establishment of a Public High School with, or without the consolidation of all the city districts into one, and all the schools subjected to a Board of Education acting through a Superintendent. The great work for the State is the enlightenment of the entire population, who are ignorant as to the conditions of a good school, full of conceit as to the superiority of their own schools, which were once in advance of those of other states, but which no longer meet the requirements of the age, and in consequence, are no longer attended by the children of those parents who are themselves well educated, or who know what a good education is. But the system itself.—its legal organization, is radically defective in reference to the changed condition of society, and especially in respect to the mode of supporting schools, and the employment, training, inspection and payment of teachers. My advice is to bring up these subjects, including the right and duty of taxation for school purposes, subordinate to the methods and the demonstration of the proper qualifications of teachers, in a series of evening meetings, held as part of a Teachers' Institute, substantially like those established in Hartford in 1839. The leading features should be the same, but I would advise sessions of not more than a week,—no longer than you can keep up the enthusiastic interest and attention of the members, who should be distributed through the families. This is an essential feature of my ideal of a Teachers' Institute, held in reference not only to the professional training of its members and their knowledge of society, but to the developement of parental interest and appreciation of their work, as well as to local school improvement. I never have seen a gathering of parents of any class, who could not be interested in the subject of schools and education, if discussed in a practical way, and especially in reference to their own children and schools. If I am correct in this observation, you had better discuss the establishment of a City High School, when the public mind is interested and the parental heart is warmed by the protracted discussions and addresses of a rousing Teachers' Institute. You will thus benefit directly a large number of teachers, who will directly benefit as many school districts, and the improvement thus begun, will be perpetuated by attendance on other Institutes in all the cities and large villages of the state; —and in any place where your meetings are held, (provided they are wisely managed,) great local improvements in reference to school-houses, attendance, gradation, classification, books, apparatus, instruction, discipline, parental coöperation, supervision, &c., will be begun, advanced, or perfected. Begin, therefore, with arresting the attention of the Legislature and the people by the voice and the press—get at, and get together as often and as many teachers as you can, specially the young—get parents in to listen to the discussions of education

al questions, and the exhibition of good methods, and the exposure of bad methods both of instruction and discipline,—and in due time, longer or shorter, just in proportion to the number of meetings of the right kind you hold in the places which need the quickening influence of discussion and light, a revolution will be achieved in the school habits, and the school law of Connecticut.

The preparation of a lecture, to be delivered in different parts of the State, on the topics discussed in the Essay, was first proposed to me by Mr. Bunce, and was declined, not only on account of existing engagements, but from a conviction that the sum which he proposed to pay for the composition, if offered in the form of a premium, would arrest the attention of many persons, and might call new laborers into the field. The subject of the Essay, as originally written, did not contain the second clause (respecting a Public High School in cities), which was added on my suggestion. Prof. Porter of Yale College, then a resident clergyman in Springfield, and familiar with the schools in Connecticut from having acted as School Visitor in New Milford, where we had frequently talked over the whole subject in his house on my annual school circuits as Secretary of the School Board in 1838–42, was induced to prepare an essay for this competition at my earnest solicitation, satisfied that his experience and residence in Massachusetts would bring fresh views and facts into the discussion. The award was made in favor of his Essay by the executive committee, consisting of Rev. George Burgess and Dr. Gallaudet.

The principal measure suggested in my letter in 1845, and among those advocated by Prof. Porter for the State generally in his Prize Essay in 1846, was a Public High School, and, in connection with it, a Teachers' Institute for Hartford County, to be held in Hartford, as a preliminary agency for arousing public attention to the whole subject of school improvement. In this connection I can not better express my appreciation of the efficient labors of Mr. Bunce than by citing the following paragraphs from a chapter in my *History of Common Schools in Connecticut*, printed some years ago:—

Mr. Bunce, having put his hand to the plow, did not look back till he had driven the ploughshare deep into the public mind. In connection with a few other citizens of Hartford, he determined to realize some of the suggestions of improvement set forth in the Prize Essay. A Convention or Institute of Teachers of Hartford County was determined on; and, to perform the preliminary work of a State officer, he employed Rev. Merril Richardson, a gentleman admirably fitted for the purpose, to visit every town in the county, and awaken an interest in the purposed meeting. The Convention was held in November, and two hundred and fifty-four teachers were in session for one week, under the instruction of educators and lectures. This gave a powerful impulse to the public mind. A monthly School Journal, under the name of the Connecticut School Manual, was started, in January, 1847, under the editorial charge of Mr. Richardson. Other Institutes were held in the spring, at Tolland, Winsted, and Meriden.

But the zeal and liberality of Mr. Bunce did not end here. Aided by others, he resolved to do all in his power to bring about the establishment, in Hartford, of a Public High School for the older scholars of the First School Society, and of a Normal School for the State. First in the order of trial, the plan of a Public High School, which we first proposed in 1838, was revived. No pains were spared to inform and interest the public in the enterprise. Public meetings were held, in which elaborate and animated debates were conducted by the most prominent speakers of the city. Individuals were seen and conversed with. The ignorant were informed; the indifferent aroused; the rich were made to see that property would be more secure in a well-educated community; and the poor, to feel that they could not have the advantage of good schools, without these schools were also cheap. The public press was enlisted, and

pamphlets published and distributed, in which the whole subject was fully explained. Seldom has the public mind of Hartford been more deeply interested in any enterprise; and, finally, the plan was carried by an overwhelming vote of the largest town meeting ever held in Hartford. Much of the expense of all these preliminary movements was borne by Mr. Bunce; and to the completion of the building, he contributed $1,000 beyond the amount voted by the society. While this movement was going forward, Mr. Richardson, by his addresses and in the "*School Manual*," was laboring to prepare the way for the establishment of a Normal School, and to this enterprise Mr. Bunce offered to contribute $5,000.

After the Teachers' Convention was held, and Mr. Richardson was employed in continuing the agitation which was started, or rather revived (for the measures resorted to were identical with those inaugurated in 1838) by its proceedings, Mr. Bunce turned his attention and efforts exclusively to a High School for Hartford.* The legislation of 1842 had taken away all facilities for uniting the city districts, and the only way open (and this it was the intention of the committee in the Legislature in 1842 to close), was through the First School Society. I speak from personal knowledge, confirmed by the assurance of the partner in business at that time of Mr. Bunce, that for more than a year, and after even the High School was in operation, this gentleman gave up his whole time to this enterprise. No political campaign was ever planned with more care, no pecuniary investment with a keener scrutiny of all hazards, and provision for every condition of success. In the last week in December, so many of those who had opposed the consolidation of the districts had pronounced in favor of society action,—so many who were before indifferent had expressed themselves warmly in favor,—so many of the largest tax-payers had become satisfied, that in their near and far-reaching consequences, liberal expenditures for public schools of every grade was true economy—so many, blessed with children, but with moderate income, saw that the only chance for the best education for their children was in a well organized system of public schools in their own town—so many conductors of the public press had admitted articles or published editorials in favor—so many clergymen in the city had promptly welcomed the new movement—that Mr. Bunce expressed himself confident of a majority of two-thirds for the establishment of a public school of the highest grade, if every vote in the Society was polled.

On the evening of January 5, 1847, on notice in the morning papers (Jan. 1, 1847), a public meeting of citizens favorable to the establishment of a Public High School was held in the Center District School, of which Amos M. Collins was appointed chairman, and which after some discussion as to the precise object for which a meeting of the First School Society should be held, authorized a request in the legal form to the Society's committee to give the requisite notice. Resolutions to this end were offered both by N. H. Morgan and David F. Robinson, both of whom had taken an active interest in the Convention of November, the school movements of Rev. Merril Richardson, and the proceedings which eventuated in the final vote of March following. Mr. Morgan had acted as school visitor, and otherwise labored long and hard for common

* The subject of a High School was not introduced into the lectures and discussions of the Convention, because the members were almost exclusively teachers from the country towns, and the topics were confined to subjects and methods of teaching. During its sessions I was addressing similar meetings in Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Ohio, on Graded Schools and Teachers' Institutes.

schools. Mr. Robinson had always identified himself with every movement in the South School District, the Society, and the city, for the advancement of public schools, and education generally. Mr. Bunce's name does not appear in the call or the proceedings of that meeting, or of any subsequent meetings, except as a member of the school committee of the Society, and until the final vote was taken on the evening of the 8th of March, when his name was placed on the committees to complete the work of that evening.

The notice was given on the following morning, and on the evening of January 11, 1847, the legal voters of the First School Society came together with a promptness and in numbers, which no question of water, fire, travel, or traffic, ever brought together before. Every body was there, and wondered that every body else had come, and all were surprised to find themselves so nearly of one mind. The object of the meeting was stated—a distinct but simple, and it would seem unobjectionable proposition to appoint a committee to inquire into the expediency of establishing a Public High School of a grade higher than the District Schools, the number of children of both sexes of proper age and attainments to attend, the cost of a suitable site, building and equipment, and the annual expense, to report to a future meeting, was presented, and discussed with ardor on both sides, and adopted with unprecedented unanimity. The enthusiasm of the meeting was all on one side, and the chief speaker in opposition, who from all his antecedents ought not to have been there, declared to me that "after the first five minutes he never spoke to judge, jury, or popular meeting, with so little hope of making a favorable impression, as on this occasion, and the worst of it was, the clergymen had studied the subject so thoroughly, they beat me both on the law and the facts."

The following is the form in which the Resolution passed Jan. 11th:—

Resolved, That Amos M. Collins, Rev. Dr. Burgess, D. F. Robinson, Walter Pease, Edward Button, Roderick Terry, and Timothy M. Allyn be a committee on behalf of this Society, to inquire as to the expediency of establishing a Public High School, wherein shall be taught such branches of general education as are usually taught in schools of like character, and can not now be thoroughly acquired in the District Schools—such High School to be under the regulations now provided by law, or hereafter to be provided by this Society; also to inquire as to the number of scholars of each sex of the proper age and attainment to attend such High School; also to inquire as to a suitable location, plan of building, expenses thereof, and the current expenses of supporting such a school, and what per cent. tax will be required for that purpose; also whether and upon what terms the funds of the Hartford Grammar School can be made available for its support, and to report the same, together with such other information as they may think advisable, to a future meeting of this Society.

After seven weeks of inquiry and consideration, the majority of this committee, through the Rev. George Burgess, submitted to a special meeting of the Society, held at the City Hall on the 1st of March, 1847, a Report in which the several subjects referred to the committee were considered in the most thorough manner, and their conclusions stated in the most simple and conciliatory form. The committee close with submitting the following resolutions for the action of the Society:—

1. *Voted*, That this Society proceed to establish a free High School for instruction in the higher branches of an English, and the elementary branches of a classical education, for all the male and female children of suitable age and acquirements in this Society who may wish to avail themselves of its advantages.

2. *Voted*, That (—— —— —— ——) be, and they are hereby appointed a building committee, who are empowered and directed in behalf of, and for the account of, this Society, to purchase such site or lot of land, with or without buildings thereon, as in their judgment shall most economically and best accommodate the Society for a public English and Classical High School, and forthwith proceed to remodel, fit up, or erect, as they may find it necessary, a suitable building and outhouses for said school, with accommodations for not less than two hundred and fifty scholars of both sexes; also to prepare the grounds, erect necessary fences, provide suitable chemical, philosophical, and astronomical apparatus for said school; also to place in said building the necessary stoves or furnace, seats, desks, and fixtures, the whole not to exceed in expenditure twelve thousand do."

3. *Voted*, That the Society's Committee be, and they are hereby directed to borrow on the credit of this Society such sum or sums of money, not exceeding in all twelve thousand dollars, as the Building Committee, appointed by a previous vote of this Society, shall need in the performance of their duties as specified in said vote, and pay over the same to said Committee from time to time as required, taking proper vouchers therefor.

4. *Voted*, That a committee of nine, consisting of (—— —— —— ——), be appointed to make, if practicable, such agreement with the Trustees of the Grammar School, as, in their opinion, shall be just and reasonable, for making the funds of said Grammar School available for the support of the High School, or some department thereof; also that the action of the committee in these premises be binding upon the Society.

After an animated discussion of the 1st Resolution, by which the Society ordains the establishment of a "Free High School," and various attempts to modify the same, its further consideration was postponed to an adjourned meeting to be held on the 8th.

On the 8th of March, the City Hall was crowded at an early hour, and according to the record—"The meeting was called to order by the Hon. A. M. Collins, Chairman, as per adjournment, and the minutes of the previous evening were read by the Clerk. The consideration of the 1st Resolution presented by the majority of the committee on the subject of a High School, was resumed, and after a full discussion, and the rejection of a motion to amend, it was passed. The 2d, 3d, and 4th of said Resolutions were then taken up and passed separately; the report of the majority of the committee was accepted and approved, and the Chairman was directed by vote of this meeting to fill, as early as practicable, the blanks occurring in the 2d and 4th of said Resolutions."

The Chairman subsequently filled the above blanks as follows:—The blank in the second resolution was filled by the names of D. F. Robinson, Thomas Belknap, James M. Bunce, Walter Pease, Jr., Edward Button, E. D. Tiffany, and A. M. Collins.

The blank in the fourth resolution was filled by the names of Rev. Dr. Burgess, Wm. J. Hamersley, D. F. Robinson, Rev. Dr. Bushnell, James M. Bunce, Rev. Mr. Turnbull, Francis Parsons, Gurdon Robins, and N. H. Morgan.

No further action on the part of the Society was called for until Aug. 6, 1847, when the committee charged with the erection of the building, having reported that the same would be ready for occupancy before the close of the year, they were authorized "to employ teachers, and make such other arrangements as were necessary for the opening of the school."

At the annual meeting held on the 29th of October, the committee reported that the building was completed, and would be equipped for occupancy within the sum of $12,000, appropriated on the 8th of March for this purpose; that Joshua D. Giddings, who won his early reputation as a teacher in the common schools of this State, and was now at the head of the Fountain Street Grammar School in Providence, R. I., had been appointed principal, and that arrangements had been effected with the Trustees of the Grammar School, by which they will supply and sustain a teacher for the Classical Department; and close with an earnest appeal to the Society "to sustain the work so conspicuously begun, by appropriations liberal enough to make the school of the highest advantage to our children and to the credit and profit of the community in which we live." Resolutions imposing "a tax of one and three-fourths cents on the dollar on the polls and ratable estates of the inhabitants of the Society for the maintenance of the High School, and schools for the colored children," was passed, and another to effect the speedy and effectual organization of the High School, as follows:

Voted, That [blank afterwards filled with the names of D. F. Robinson, Thomas Belknap, James M. Bunce, Walter Pease, Jr., Edward Button, E. D. Tiffany, and A. M. Collins] be a committee to organize the said school at the earliest practicable time; to make all necessary rules and by-laws for its regulation: to determine the qualifications of the scholars who are desirous of being admitted thereto—either by themselves or through such persons as they may appoint for the purpose; to decide all questions relating to the admission of children and youth—provided that no scholars are to be admitted for pay; to provide for the expulsion of refractory and unmanageable pupils: and to discharge all the functions relating to said school which will not interfere with the school laws of the State.

On motion of I. W. Stuart the following Resolutions were offered and passed unanimously:

Whereas, in pursuance of a resolution of the First School Society of Hartford, the committee, styled the Building Committee for the High School, have, with great diligence and care, attended to the duties of their appointment; and whereas, particularly this committee, consisting of Messrs. J. M. Bunce, A. M. Collins, D. F. Robinson, T. Belknap, E. Button, E. D. Tiffany, and Walter Pease, Jr., have to the money appropriated by public tax, most liberally added the further sum of two thousand two hundred and fifty dollars from their private purses, to enlarge and beautify and render commodious the building for the High School, therefore

Voted, That the thanks of this Society be, and they hereby are gratefully tendered to the Building Committee for the assiduity and the liberality with which they have labored in the duties assigned them by this Society.

Voted, That the Clerk of this Society transmit a copy of this and the foregoing resolutions to the Chairman of the Building Committee, to be by him read to said committee, and also other copies of these resolutions, one to each of the gentlemen whose generous donations to the High School of Hartford, this Society does hereby acknowledge.

In the efforts put forth from 1845* to the decisive vote on the 8th of March, and even to the dedication of the building on the 1st of December, 1847, I had some share, although from holding office in another State, and from choice, my name is not attached, so far as I know, to a single document, and does not appear in the proceedings of a single meeting. When the work was undertaken by Mr. Bunce, and in every stage to selecting the teacher, he sought my counsel and coöperation; and both were given freely and promptly, although to do so, cost time and thought, and five visits from Rhode Island. In looking over the files of our Daily Journals for 1846–7, I find seven articles which were once in manuscript in my hand-writing; and in the proceedings of one of the crowded meetings which was held in the City Hall, I recognized the outline of an address for which I prepared a brief at the request of Mr. Bunce, to be used by some one who might not be as familiar with the facts and arguments as I was thought to be. Nearly all the allusions to the experience of other cities, and the estimated cost of the new school, were drawn from memoranda and documents which I furnished. The principal campaign document, entitled "*Considerations and Facts respecting a Public High School in the First School Society of Hartford*," in which the public character of the institution proposed, and the power of the Society to establish and maintain the same; the extent in respect to studies and persons (age, sex, and preparation) to which the instruction should be offered; the expense both of outfit of building and annual

* The following were the principal exercises of the session:—Introductory Lecture—*Dignity of the Teacher's Office and Female Education*, by Joel Hawes; *Duties of Examining Committees*, by Prof. Sanborn, of Dartmouth College; *Ideal of the Perfect Teacher*, by Prof. Olmsted, of Yale College; *Study of Physiology*, by Dr. E. Jarvis; *Intellectual Arithmetic*, by F. A. Adams; *Teachers' Institutes*, by Salem Town; *Methods of Teaching Geography*, by W. B. Fowle; *Vocal Music in Common Schools*, by A. A. Johnson; *Geography and History*, by George S. Hibbard; *Training of Students for the University*, by Prof. Porter, of Yale College; concluding Lecture by Henry Barnard, on *Schools in relation to other Educational Agencies of Cities*. Among the subjects discussed besides the topics of the lectures were *Methods of Teaching English Grammar; Ways and Methods of interesting Parents in the Schools where their children are taught; Organization of Schools for Cities and populous Villages*. This last topic was discussed by Nathan Bishop, Superintendent of Public Schools in Providence, W. B. Fowle of Boston, and Henry Barnard, and incidentally by Horace Mann, Cyrus Pierce, and others.

maintenance, and its apportionment on different classes of tax-payers; and the advantages which might reasonably be anticipated from such a school, from the admitted principles of school organization, and from the experience of other cities, were elaborately set forth in a pamphlet of sixteen pages,*—was prepared by me, and printed at the expense of Mr. Bunce. A copy of this document, together with the report of the majority of the committee, appointed at a public meeting of the Society held at the City Hall Jan. 7, 1847, drawn up by Rev. Dr. Burgess; and of the minority, in which the general principle is yielded, provided a union could be effected with the Grammar School—was left with every family of the Society five days before the adjourned meeting on the 8th of March, when the legal voters, in full force, decided by an overwhelming majority "to establish a Free High School for instruction in the higher branches of an English, and the elementary branches of a classical, education, for all children, male and female, of suitable age and acquirements, in this Society who may wish to avail themselves of its advantages." This resolution, together with the first draft of two other resolutions, by which a committee was appointed with full power to purchase a site, and build and furnish a suitable house within the expense set forth in the pamphlet and report (the calculations for which I furnished), without the necessity of reporting to the Society until the work was done, and another committee was also appointed for to confer and arrange with the Trustees of the Grammar School for making the funds of the latter available for the support of the classical department, were prepared by me at the request of Dr. Burgess; who was also pleased to ask and receive suggestions from me in the preparation of his report before it was submitted to the committee of which he was chairman, or at least the organ for this purpose.

During the four weeks spent in Hartford in February and March, 1847, in assisting, in such ways as were open to me, the preparation of the public mind for the right action on the questions before the Society, I prepared and delivered a lecture before the Young Men's Institute on my old topic—"*Our City, and Our Duties to its Past, Present, and Future Interests,*" in which I presented, under the first head, the claims of the Historical Society, which had recently come into possession of the library and collections of Dr. Robbins from my timely interposition in its behalf, and of a Rural Cemetery (by extending Zion Hill so as to embrace the old Wells Vineyard on the south to Washington street on the east), in which the present should be wedded to the past by ties of family affection, of artistic memorials of public service, and the near attraction of flowers and shrubbery, and a landscape of unsurpassed beauty in cultivated valley and wooded uplands in the distance. Under the second head, my favorite themes, of the institutions on the one hand which should prevent crime and poverty, dry up the sources of vice and demoralization, and at the same time develop to the fullest measure all the industrial resources which nature, science and art could command, by a liberal and comprehensive system of public education, were dwelt on; and as part of this system, a Public High School was not forgotten. Under the third head, my remarks were confined to suggesting

* The greater portion of this document has been republished in many forms, and more than 100,000 copies have been circulated in different States. The arguments for a public school of this grade have been frequently cited in support of similar movements elsewhere, and more than 30,000 copies of this portion were printed at the expense of Hon. James Wadsworth, of Geneseo, N. Y., in an extra number of the District School Journal.

precautions "against any limitations in endowments and institutions designed to meet present and prospective wants, which experience has shown have a fatal tendency to prevent their adapting themselves or being adjusted to the changing and altered circumstances of a progressive age and country, like that in which it is our privilege to live.

There is yet no plethora of educational endowments, but the experience of this town and this State has already shown, that both religion and education, which are living interests, and should touch the conscience, heart, and habits of every living man and woman, may be hindered and not fostered by bequests and funds designed to foster them. The administration of a permanent fund for the poor may be so hampered as in the next generation to increase the class and the evil it was intended to relieve, and at the same time dry up in the community that charity which should be in every heart a well of living waters. Asylums for Orphans may be so managed, while they provide for the physical necessities of the children, as to leave their moral nature uneducated, which can be best trained in the daily discharge of those little offices of mutual help which the necessities of the family in its normal state require. Our State School Fund was for a time a great help in the impoverished condition of the people, and enabled the poorer districts to employ teachers for a longer period in the year, but it soon diminished, and finally destroyed, the habit of taxation. Our School Society and independent District organization, by bringing the administration of the schools nearer to the changing centers of population, undoubtedly for a short time operated favorably, but as constituted, they destroyed the principle of gradation. The transference of the bequests of Hopkins and others to a close, self-perpetuating corporation led to a more economical management as well as increase of the fund and its income, and may have kept alive the fires of classical learning which otherwise would have died out among us. But if the fund is to be administered only in the interest of a class, and that a small one; and of one sex, and that by no means the most essential in the civilization of a state; of certain professions, which though important are not the only important occupations for which special educational facilities should be provided; and for the culture of languages and literatures of peoples dead beyond all resurrection, to the exclusion of sciences which are creating new industries, and of languages of nations with which we have constant and constantly growing relations, and of literatures, of which to be ignorant, will be poorly compensated for by any amount of Greek and Latin in the original; then it is time, for the People,—the vast majority of families who have sons and daughters to be educated, who, as men and women, will make the Future into which we, city, State, and country, are fast entering—to establish schools of different grades, such as our fathers, acting in the spirit with which they ordained the code of 1650, would provide now, not only to exclude the barbarism of a single illiterate citizen, but to train all youth for the service of the country, for active usefulness and for domestic life. I speak as one proud of the State and city of my birth, but I am compelled to say, that in providing for the Future, in a well-adjusted system of public schools for children, rich and poor, and for all occupations and professions, we are behind—and far behind, and falling every day still further behind, the States of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and the cities of Providence and Boston. In the vote soon to be taken, and with every prospect of a decision in favor of a Public High School, I trust Hartford will place her system on a higher and an ascending grade.

With that address and other local work, my coöperation in the efforts in which so many were glad to share, did not end. Within a few weeks I was called on to furnish the plan of a suitable building, and to name the places which a sub-committee, charged with this duty, could visit and examine the best buildings in which such schools as was designed here, were in actual operation; and still later, I was asked to suggest the names of teachers, with whom correspondence could be had, and, in November, 1847, "to come to Hartford once more to finish up the work."

Early in the morning of the first day of December, 1847, I left Providence for the fifth time in the service of the Public High School of Hartford, by the way of Worcester, to take my part in the dedicatory exercises of the building then just completed on the corner of Asylum and Ann streets. Owing to a detention of the cars at Springfield, I passed direct from the depot to the platform in the upper hall of of the school, and with my head full of the jar and rumbling of the cars, opened and closed my address substantially as follows:*

Hopes long cherished although often deferred, and efforts earnestly and persistently put forth for many years by persons, some of whom are near me, and more, I trust, are in this crowded hall, have their fulfillment and reward in this occasion. This spacious, convenient, and attractive structure, inferior to no other of its grade in New England in the essential features of a good schoolhouse, and superior to any other within my knowledge, for its cost, is unique in the history of public buildings for the unpaid or self-paid services of the committee, from their careful study of the best models before and after the specifications were drawn, and their firm determination to have the material provided, and the work done in the best manner, according to contract, under their daily supervision, and within the amount appropriated by the Society, even if the furniture and equipment of apparatus should be paid for by themselves. For this unprecedented liberality, personal interest, and fidelity in the discharge of a public trust, they have received the formal and recorded thanks of the Society, and entitled themselves to the lasting gratitude of the teachers and pupils who will in successive years enter into the enjoyment of their sacrifices.

Within these walls, now consecrated with ascriptions of praise and thanksgiving to Him who planted this vineyard in the wilderness, and inspired the hearts of our fathers to ordain "institutions of good learning," as well as of elementary knowledge, and provide "for the breeding up of hopeful youth both at the grammar school and the college, for the public service of the country in future times," and "for a life of active usefulness," is to be solved not only for this community, but to some extent, for the whole country, the problem of higher education. I say deliberately, for the whole country, for if the efforts which have been put forth here, and which the deep conviction of the same necessity has caused to be put forth in other States, fail to incorporate this feature into our system of common schools, then will higher education—every thing beyond the merest rudiments, pass into the irrevocable keeping of religious bodies, and adventure schools, over which the public will exercise no control, and parents can have no guarantee of the value of the education their children will receive. Associated with this growing antagonism of a rival system, which every ecclesiastical organization will adopt in self-defence, the public school will suffer from the withdrawal of all children destined for, what are wrongfully, if exclusively named, the learned professions, or the occupations of society which require trained intellects and systematized and special knowledge, and finally degenerate into elementary schools of the lowest sort. There can not be—there never has been—an efficient system of primary instruction whose teachers and officers were not supplied from public institutions of a higher grade.

The course of instruction which is here provided for the physical, intellectual, and moral training of the pupils, resting on the solid basis of thorough systematic teaching in the schools below, which its plan of admission by open examination in certain specified requirements will help to secure, and the want of which in any of the lower schools will be sure to be exposed, in the failure of its candidates to gain admission here,—and rising and spreading out into all

* From notes recently recovered, on which is indorsed "Used at the dedication of the Public High School at Hartford Dec. 1, 1847, and at the opening of the Free Academy at Norwich in 1856. Both of these institutions originated in the legislation of 1838, and the agitation of questions of educational reform, which followed." These notes were written out for publication, and may have been printed with an account of the proceedings at the dedication of the first building, of which, if printed, I have no copy.

of those studies which in one direction take hold of all the occupations of society, the farm, the workshop, the counting-room, the deck, the home, and on the other, discipline and inform the mind, and fit it for the acquisition and retention of all sound learning, and for the perception and assimilation of truth and beauty in all the works of God, as unfolded in our colleges and still higher seminaries—such a course of study seems to me eminently judicious. It meets the demands of our age for an education in science which shall make the wind and the stream, and the still more subtle agents of nature, minister to our material wants, and stimulates in all directions, the inventive faculties of man, by which mere muscular toil can be abridged, and made more effective. At the same time it does not ignore those apparently less practical studies, especially the mathematics and classics, which the gathered experience of successive generations of teachers, and the profoundest study of the requirements of the mind of youth, and the disciplinary and informing capabilities of different kinds of knowledge, have settled to be the best, although not, as I hold, the only basis of a truly liberal scheme of general or professional education. I do not believe that any amount of applied science, and the largest amount practicable should be given in this and other institutions of higher learning, or that any attention which may be bestowed on the English language only,—and whatever else is taught or omitted, the English language and literature should ever hold a prominent, the prominent place in the actual aims and results of your scheme of study,—can ever train the three great faculties of reason, memory, and imagination, to their full, natural, and harmonious development. But while I hold this not hastily formed opinion, I see no reason why the instruction of our schools, from the oral or primary, up to the university, should not deal with common things, with the principles, the phenomena and duties of every-day life;—why sewing, and a practical knowledge of domestic economy should not find a place somewhere in the training of every girl; and a "round about common sense," the power of applying the mind and the hands readily to all sorts of work in helping himself and other people, about the house, the shop, or the farm, be the result of the house and school training of every boy. This was, and still is to some extent, the glory of our best New England school and domestic education. And to all this should now be added the modern developments of science in their applications to all our great national industries.

One of the great advantages of the Public High School to this community, in connection with the reorganization and improved teaching of the schools below, is the opportunity it affords of the highest advantages of public education,—the free struggle of children and youth of the same age, of both sexes, and of every condition, for the mastery of the same knowledge, and the acquisition of the same mental habits, in the same class-rooms, under accomplished teachers,—with the protection of parental vigilance at home, and that education of the heart and the hand which comes from the constant exercise of mutual help and courtesy, from innocent sports and rambles, and the practice of household and rural industry. These advantages of home and school education, are in the plans of this institution, extended to the female sex. My hopes for the regeneration of society, and especially for the infusion of a more refined culture in manners and morals, into the family and the school, rest on the influence of pious and educated women as mothers and teachers; and in the appropriate training of such women, this school will become an important instrumentality.

You need not be told, that an institution of learning can not flourish in this country, if removed from the sympathy and coöperation of the people whose educational wants it is designed to supply. But to make that sympathy warm, and that coöperation liberal and effective, the result of your work here must be seen and felt. This community must, as rapidly as successive classes can be taught and graduated, see the fruits of their expenditures in the merchants, foremen of shops, leaders of industries and professions, men and women in every walk of life, who have grown up under the better instruction and influences of this school. The schools below must gradually be brought up to a higher uniform standard of scholarship than they have yet reached. Unless these results are realized, the promises, founded on the experience of similar institutions and systems elsewhere, will be falsified, and the withdrawal of public

favor will inevitably follow. But I have no misgiving as to the future—it rises bright and glorious before me, and on its forehead is the morning star—the herald of a brighter day than our schools have yet seen. That enthusiasm which started this enterprise on the 8th of March on the flood tide of popular favor, will carry your committees and teachers on until you have time enough to put your institution on to a well digested course of study, which you will from time to time modify and adjust to the educational wants of the people, whom your own work here will help to train to a higher and higher standard. With this wise adjustment of your course of instruction so as to impart the best preparation which the diversified professions and occupations of the community require, this High School will stand a monument of wise liberality and large public spirit, a measure of the progress of intelligence slowly but surely diffused over honest convictions firmly held because embedded in the habits of a half century of opposite practice, a shrine at whose altar-fire many ingenuous minds will be kindled with the true love of science, a fountain of living waters whose branching streams will flow on with ever deepening and widening current, which will bear on its bosom noble argosies, and nourish all along its banks, trees, whose leaves will be for the healing of the nations.

I have thus noted rapidly, but not briefly as you desired in your letter, the chief, although not all the efforts to establish in the First School Society of Hartford, a Public School of a grade higher than the District Schools, so far as I was personally conversant with the same, from the first formal announcement of the subject in the Center Church on the evening of July 4, 1838, to the dedication of the building erected for its accommodation on the 1st of December, 1847. You will please receive this communication, long as it is, as a contribution only to the history of the English and Classical High School of the Town of Hartford, for which other citizens labored, if not so long, with equal earnestness and with more ability. The names of several, from their connection with committees, reports, and speeches, have been incidentally introduced, and before the final record is made up (which should in my judgment include the history of the bequests of Edward Hopkins and other benefactors, and as far as practicable, the teachers of the old Town Grammar, and County Free Schools, of which the institution over which you preside, is the lineal descendant and legal representative), the names of others, with their special work by voice or pen, or personal influence, should be appropriately noticed—although the growth of a public institution, whose establishment involves a radical change in public opinion and the habits of families, and the imposition for the first time, or a large increase of property taxation, is the sum total of innumerable contributions made at different times, of which some of the most important may never be recorded,* and the names of their authors not even be known, or have been purposely concealed. Such laborers, in obscure or conspicuous portions of the field, find their true inspiration and reward in the ever extending results of educational efforts wisely put forth. No human eye can follow, no human hand record, the influences which go out from one, much less from many,

* The fact of being appointed to preside over a public meeting, or to serve on a committee to inquire into the expediency of a proposed measure, is no evidence that the persons so appointed are in favor of the same, or join in the final recommendation. Thus the presiding officer of the meeting on the 11th of January, 1847, and two of the members of the committee appointed to consider and report on the expediency and expense of a school of a higher grade than the District Schools, spoke and voted against the resolution to establish a Free High School on the 8th of March following. So of other members of this and other committees—several were put on more from their relations to local or political interests, and from confidence in their character for intelligence and fairness generally, than from having taken any active part in previous discussions.

institutions of learning thus established or improved—from even one intellect, otherwise dead as the clod of the valley, or fickle as the wave, made strong by its teaching to discover and defend the truth in some hour of popular delusion, or one heart inspired with love to God and man to work on in some forlorn cause of human suffering and calamity, like Todd, or Gallaudet, or Wells, until the mute can speak, the insane be clothed again in their right mind, and the mangled victims of disaster and the battle-field be treated without pain.

In conclusion, let me say, while at no period of our history has the original school policy of the State, in providing a higher as well as an elementary grade, been so generally realized as in our District Graded and Town High Schools; or the obligation on the Town of Hartford to discharge the trust, assumed in accepting the early bequests made for the specific purpose of maintaining a school of the higher grade, been so fully discharged as in its provision for our English and Classical High School—there is not only room, but urgent necessity, for still further development of the system in the State generally, and in its local administration and application here. Our town organization of schools is still fragmentary and disjointed; the opportunities of even elementary instruction are very unequally distributed; the actual attendance, any day in the year, of children of the teachable age in public schools of every grade is about one-half of the whole number enumerated (only 3,720 out of 7,834); the management and inspection of our schools in reference to securing the highest uniform excellence throughout all public schools of every grade, in the most economical and productive results of the large sums collected by taxation for school purposes, through ten independent committees, if applied to any private enterprise involving the same number of persons, the same capital, and the same expenditure, would be deemed loose and ruinous; the subjects and courses of study, although very numerous and carefully prepared, need both reduction in some directions and enlargement in others, and such practical readjustment throughout as will make systematic instruction in music, drawing, and gymnastics universal, and give our future machinists, engineers, builders, mechanics and chemical technologists as well as merchants, teachers, and aspirants of regular professions of every name and both sexes, that practical knowledge of the sciences which is essential to the highest and earliest success in every occupation.

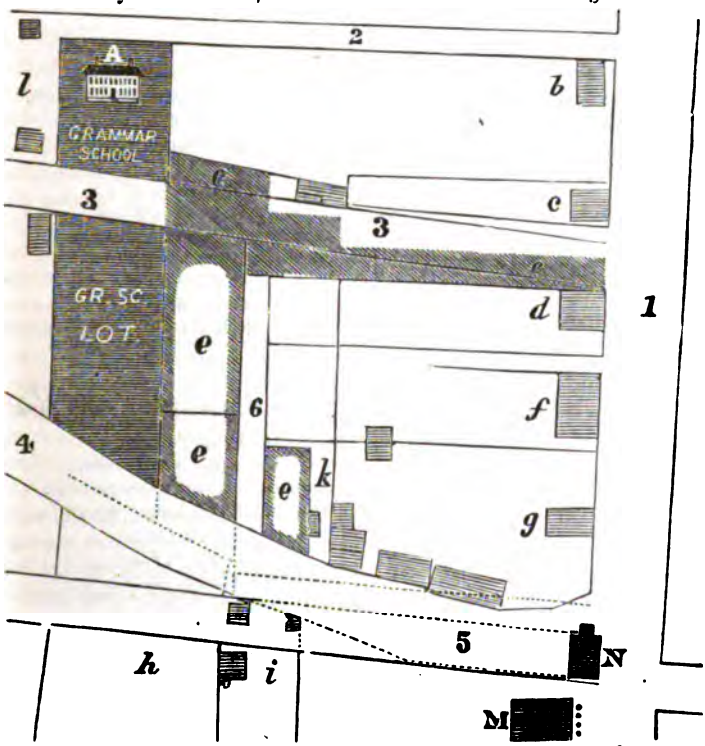
With my best thanks, as a citizen, to you for your judicious and faithful work as the teacher of our highest school, and for your eminent success in so administrating your delicate and difficult office of principal as to harmonize and consolidate two institutions which might under other auspices have proved hostile and mutually injurious; and, to your immediate associates, and fellow-laborers generally, who together now make the liberality of the State, the town, and of benevolent and public-spirited individuals (amounting in 1869 and 1870 to $272,352 for all objects), accomplish the noble purposes for which our public schools were originally instituted, more broadly and thoroughly than at any period of our history since John Higginson taught the first school in Hartford in 1637,

I remain your obedient servant and friend,

HENRY BARNARD.

HARTFORD, *January* 14, 1871.

MR. CAPRON: Since sending you my "Contribution to the History of the Public High School" so far as I was personally mixed up with the same, and "with subjects adjacent thereto" from 1838 to 1848, it has occurred to me, in passing the site of the structure erected for its accommodation in 1847, and which it cost so many years of agitation to evoke from the hearts of the tax-payers of the First School Society, and of which not one stone or brick now remains in the solid and orderly proportions in which, with ascriptions of thanksgiving and songs of praise, and invocations of the Divine blessing, they were "dedicated to the cause of good learning and the breeding up of hopeful youth for the public service of the country, and a life of active employment," that you and your associates in the work of instruction, and all the living graduates, might be glad to have some memorial of the building in its external appearance and internal arrangements, as they were engraved for my School Architecture in 1848. Those plates are at your service; and with them I send a wood-cut of a plan drawn in 1828 by I. Spencer Jr. (now in the possession of William Hamersley), of a portion of "South Side," in which may be seen its predecessor erected in 1828 still standing on Linden Place (then Wells Alley), and the spacious lot, on which lawyers, doctors, clergymen, governors, and senators, then boys in their teens, kicked foot-ball with commendable vigor. H. B.



STREETS—(1) Main; (2) Linden Place, originally a Lane leading to House erected by Thomas Y. Seymour, and afterwards occupied by Doctor Sylvester Wells, and known in his day as *Wells-Alley*; (3) College street as *projected* after burning of Whitman mansion in 1827; (4) Buckingham street before it was straightened, and the west end made part of College street in 1828; (5) Buckingham after the completion of the new (M) and removal of (N) old South Meeting House; (6) Whitman Court, laid out by I. Spencer, Jr., purchaser of the Whitman estate (*e e e e*).

A. GRAMMAR SCHOOL HOUSE (still standing as a double tenement), erected in 1828, just north of its predecessor, which was erected in 1808 (and bought and removed by D. Crowell to lot (*k*) corner of Whitman Court), in place of school-house which stood on north side of Arch street, midway between Main and Prospect street, bought for this purpose in 1755; (*b*) John Russ; (*c*) Enoch Perkins; (*d*) John M. Niles; (*f*) Asa Francis, with carriage-shop on lot (*g*) (house occupied by George Francis); (*h*) C. Bull; (*i*) Russ house; (*l*) Dr. Wells.

THE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL HOUSE of the First School Society, situated on the corner of Asylum and Ann streets, was dedicated with appropriate religious and literary exercises on the 1st of December, 1847, "to the cause of good learning," "to the breeding up of hopeful youth for the public service of the country in present and future times," and "for a life of active employment." as were duly set forth in the statutes requiring of such towns as Hartford the setting up of a Grammar School, "the master whereof being able to instruct youths so far as they may be fitted for the university;" in the bequests of Edward Hopkins and others; and the Act incorporating the Trustees of the Grammar School, which is now practically merged in the High School.

The following is the Programme of the Dedicatory Exercises:—

I READING SELECT PORTIONS OF SCRIPTURE.

BY REV. A. C. COXE.

II. MUSIC.

Directed by Mr. Barnett.

Original Hymn by Mrs. Sigourney.

The pilgrim fathers,—where are they,
Who broke this stranger clod?
And patient taught a new-born world
To lisp the name of God?

Where are the hunters, swift of foot
The bounding deer to trace,
And stay the sunward eagle's flight?
Where is that red-browed race?

Not here! Not here! But in their place
Behold a favor'd train;
Who, nurtur'd 'mid these verdant vales
Where peace and plenty reign.

Amid the ashes of their sires
Do consecrate this day,
A dome their unborn sons shall hail
When they are cold in clay.

III. PRAYER.

BY REV. JOEL HAWES, D. D.

IV. ADDRESS.

BY HENRY BARNARD.

V. MUSIC.

Original Hymn by Mrs. Sigourney.

If thou a wreath hast twin'd,
Or gathered glittering gold,—
Thy hidden horde the thief may find,
A blight thy buds unfold.

But there's a flower that fears
No adverse season's strife,
And still its living fragrance cheers
The wintry eve of life;
And there's a gem that foils
The robber's searching eye,
Enshrined within the mind that toils
For immortality.

Oh ye, whose brows are bright,
Whose young hearts feel no thorn,
Seek knowledge, by the rosy light
Of life's unfolding morn,

With ardor uncontrolled
Seek wisdom's love divine,
And win the garland, and the gold
That can not fade with time.

VI: ADDRESSES:

REV. H. BUSHNELL; REV. J. HARRINGTON; REV. W. CLARK; REV. DR. HAWES.

VII. MUSIC.

Original Hymn by Mrs. Sigourney.

In vain the builder's toil,
In vain the watchman's care,
To guard this home to science dear
In strength and beauty fair;
Unless God's spirit deign
To light the altar's flame,
And aid the teacher and the taught
To sanctify His name.

Oh, may He deign to bless
The streams that here shall flow,
The seeds that in its mold are cast
The blossoms here to blow,—
And make these cherished walls
Even to remotest days,
Throughout our nation's utmost bound,
A glory and a praise.

VIII. BENEDICTION.

BY REV. THOMAS ROBBINS, D. D.

SCHOOLS AS THEY SHOULD BE.

REMINISCENCES OF AN OLD TEACHER.*

INTRODUCTION.

'I should be glad'—writes the author in his brief introduction, 'to have every young man in the country seeking for a truly liberal education live such a life as I lived till I entered college. Through life, though spent at a distance from the fields, and in an occupation as unlike husbandry and gardening as possible, I have enjoyed the familiar knowledge I obtained of the earth, and of every thing that grows out of the earth, and of the animals, quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and insects with which I became familiarly acquainted. I have been benefited and blest by the habits I formed of using all my bodily faculties in daily vigorous exercise for some hours every summer's day, till I entered college.

What can be more instructive to parents and teachers, what more encouraging to boys in the country, privileged to work on the farm in the summer, and attend a first class village school in the winter—than the following passages taken from the first and second chapters on his own early education. The titles are of our own wording.

Object Lessons—Real Realism.

As my father was a person of great public spirit, he was usually chairman of the school committee, and took care that there should always be a well-educated man as master of the school. Notwithstanding its excellence, my elder brother and myself were always, after I reached the age of eight years, kept at home and set to work as early in the season as there was anything to be done in the garden or on our little farm. I thus gradually became acquainted with sowing, weeding, and harvesting, and with the seeds, the sprouting and growth of all the various roots and stems and blossoms. I naturally watched the character, shape, and structure of the roots and of the leaves, the formation of the blossoms, their flowering, the calyx, the petals, their times of opening, coming to perfection, persistence of falling, and the successive changes in the seed-vessels till the maturity of the seed, of all the plants of the garden and the field. I became also familiarly acquainted with all the weeds and their roots, and the modes of preventing their doing harm. I was getting real knowledge of things; I formed the habit of observing. This was always valuable knowledge, the use of which I felt afterwards when I began to study botany as a science, and as long as I pursued it; for, reading the description of a plant, I saw not the words of the book, but the roots and stems and leaves and flowers and seeds

* Reminiscences of an Old Teacher. By George B. Emerson, Boston. Printed by Alfred Mudge & Son. 1878. 154 pages. The copy from which the following extracts are taken by permission, is cherished not only for the precious record of a happy and fruitful life which these pages contain, but because of the autographical inscription "with the author's best respect to his friend of many years." Dr. Emerson was born in Wells, now Kennebunk, Sept. 12, 1797, and graduated at Harvard, in 1817. See memoir in American Journal of Education, Vol. V

REFERENCE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

of the plant itself. And this habit of careful observation I naturally extended to whatever was the subject of my reading or study.

This was valuable, but I made another attainment of still greater value. I learned how to use every tool, spade and shovel, hoe, fork, rake, knife, sickle, and scythe, and to like to use them. I learned the use of all my limbs and muscles, and to enjoy using them. Labor was never, then nor afterward, a hardship. I was not confined to the garden and field. I had to take care of horses, cows, sheep, and fowls, and early learned their character and habits, and that to make them all safe and kind and fond of me, it was only necessary to be kind to them. My father's garden extended from the house some little distance down to the river Mousum, a stream which issued from a lake more than thirty miles above, and furnished in its course motive-power to many saw-mills and grist-mills, two of which, and the mill-ponds which supplied them, were less than a quarter of a mile below our garden; and up to the lower one came the tide from the sea.

My brother and I were never obliged to work hard, nor for more than four or five hours a day, except in times of exigency, such as the threatening of rain when the made-hay was on the ground. We were led, and opportunity was given, to become acquainted with the woods and streams and the sea. We were often told by our father that if we would make certain beds or squares perfectly clean, by such a day, we should go with him to Cape Porpoise; to fish for cunners and rockcod, to Little Harbor for sea-trout, or up or down the Mousum for pickerel or perch. I thus became gradually acquainted with the fresh-water fishes above the dams, and those of salt water below,—an attainment of great value when I became responsible for the accuracy of volumes of Natural History submitted to my oversight.

We were allowed, at the proper seasons, on similar conditions, to join our sisters, in summer, in gathering huckleberries or blueberries, on Picwacket Plain, where they grew, as they now grow, in the greatest luxuriance. In the fall, we went up the Mousum to gather chestnuts, over the Harrasicket for shagbarks, along the edge of the fields nearer home for hazel-nuts, and to the nearer and sometimes the more distant fields for strawberries, blackberries, and raspberries.

Early in the morning I drove, or rather accompanied, the cows to pasture, half a mile off, and led them back at night. I rode the horses to water, and often harnessed and unharnessed them. I have, through life, found it a great advantage to know how to do these things, and to be able to do them speedily and readily myself.

I had constant opportunities, at all seasons of the year, of becoming acquainted with the trees and shrubs of the neighborhood,—the oaks, beech, birches, maples, hickories, pines, spruces, fir, and hemlock, and many of the shrubs and flowers. My father told me what stamens and pistils were, and that, according to the number and position of these, Linnæus had arranged all plants into classes and orders. Mr. John Low, a near neighbor of ours, lent me the first volume of the 'Memoirs of the American Academy,' containing Dr. Manassah Cutler's account of the vegetable productions growing near Ipswich, Mass. From this, with some other helps, I became acquainted with many, indeed most of the flowers and other wild plants in our neighborhood, all, at least, that Dr. Cutler had described.

With all these pursuits, my brother and I had hours, almost every day, and the whole of rainy days, for reading and study. I read, with interest, books of travels,—Carver's and Bartram's, Park's travels in Africa, and Bruce's. I read much of the old poetry of our language,—Chaucer's, Surrey's, Drayton's, and still more of Cowper, Thomson, Goldsmith, Milton, Young, Gray, and others. With what delight did we devour the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel,' and all of Scott's poems as they came out!

When the last ear of corn was husked and the last potato in the cellar, I went back to school. The other boys, my cousins and playmates, had been in school all summer, and were tired of it. I went back with delight, and gave myself to the work earnestly and diligently. Thus, though I was behind the others in my studies, I resumed and pursued them with so much zeal that I soon placed myself above many older, and brighter naturally than myself.

So great were the advantages of my summer's employments that I have, for many years, had no doubt that it would be far better for all the boys in the country towns of Massachusetts not to be allowed to go to school in the summer, but to educate their muscles and form habits of observation and industry by pursuits similar to those which it was my privilege to be engaged in.

Rural Life in New England, about 1800.

Next to my father's house dwelt Major Cozens, a quiet man, who had been a major in the old French war. His mode of life was of the primitive type. His land lay next my father's garden and fields, which had been purchased of him. He cultivated Indian corn, potatoes, peas, and beans, and other vegetables, and flax, which he carried through all the processes of rotting, breaking, combing, and cleaning, till it was ready, in its two forms of flax and tow, for the little wheel of his wife and the large wheels of his daughters and granddaughters. They spun, and, in the winter, their father wove their spinning into the linen and tow-cloth for the pillow-cases and sheets, and tablecloths and towels, of the family. The Major also kept a flock of sheep large enough to furnish food for the family and for sale, and all the wool wanted for the warmer garments of the family, which the mother and daughters spun, and the father wove. For the few things to be made of cotton, this was bought at the shops, and carded and spun and woven at home.

They kept several cows, furnishing them abundance of milk, butter, and cheese; oxen, for all the summer's work of cultivation, and the hauling wood and lumber from the forest to the home, and the ship-yard or the saw-mill. They also kept a large flock of hens and turkeys and ducks,—a supply for the home and the market. They thus lived an independent, simple, patriarchal life, every individual active, industrious, and busy. Before the building of the mills below my father's garden, the Major often went, at the proper season, and, stationing himself on stones one on each side of the deepest passage in the river, secured, with a pitchfork, many a shad, and sometimes a salmon.

Was this not a higher and more respectable life than many of the country people live now? For the females, especially, it was better and healthier than most of the forms of life that have succeeded to it in country towns. The large wheel obliged them to throw their arms out and backward, so as to open the chest fully and naturally, to walk backward and forward perfectly erect, so as to develop their muscles and give them the best and most graceful shape of which the female form is capable.

With a son of Major Cozens, who was at home on the water, young Emerson was indoctrinated into all the mysteries of boating as well as the delights of fishing—and to him, the higher pleasure of observing the phenomena of the ocean in calm and tempest.

We had a variety of adventures. Once, in a very dark night, I perceived by the sound that something was coming towards us. I ordered the men to take instantly to their oars, pulled vigorously upon the cable myself, and had the satisfaction of perceiving a large vessel pass directly over the place we had just occupied. There was no light on board, and nobody to hear our shouts.

We had several other pieces of luck which it pleased me more to tell of than my mother to listen to; so that at last she absolutely refused to give her consent to my going on a night voyage. Before this, however, I had enjoyed a sight which I must describe. It was in that part of autumn when the sea, in our latitude, is phosphorescent. I had observed a little of it for several nights, but this night every ripple gave a flash of light. Our lines were visible for forty feet in the water, and the fishes we caught came up as masses of brilliant, golden light. We fished with two hooks to each line, and often brought up pairs of fine fishes. Once, each of us three was drawing up, at the same moment, two fishes; with them came the entire school, so that the whole ocean, to the depth of forty feet, was flashing with the most vivid light. All these fishes remained near the surface for ten minutes or more, when they began to descend, but were still visible, like thousands of flashes of lightning, and to the depth of eighty or one hundred feet. For the whole night every motion, every little ripple, every wavelet, was a soft flash of beautiful light.

Experience in Teaching in District Schools.

We have spoken and written much against the employment of teachers for short periods, and a succession of teachers in the same school in a single year. But the old custom of men, much more general forty years ago than now of college men, going out to teach for six or eight weeks in the winter, had much to redeem it, when such men were the future Emersons, Websters, Chases, Mann, Philbricks.

At the end of the first term I went home, expecting to spend the vacation there; but on Saturday, the next day after my arrival, a man came from a school district five miles off, to engage my brother—some years older than myself—to teach the winter school in Maryland district. 'You have come too late,' said my father; 'my son went off yesterday to Boston, to attend the medical lectures.' 'But who is this tall fellow? Why can't he come?' 'He is a boy, only sixteen years old, who has come home from college to spend his vacation.' It was, however, soon agreed that I should go and teach the school; and on Monday morning I went, in my father's sleigh, to Maryland Heights, where I taught, or rather very satisfactorily kept, a school of about twenty pupils, of both sexes, and all ages between four and twenty, for eight or nine weeks, the usual length of the term. I boarded with an old sea-captain, retired from service, whose maiden sister of forty years or more, unable to walk, had passed her time in carefully reading some of the best books in our language.

Her favorites were Addison and Milton, about whose works she was always delighted to talk; and I have often recalled her observations upon striking passages in 'Paradise Lost' as among the best and most delicate criticisms that have ever come to my knowledge. My boarding constantly with Captain Hatch was an experiment. Always before, the schoolmaster had 'boarded round,' a week with each substantial householder in the district. A pleasant relic of this custom was that the schoolmaster should sup with some one family, with each in turn, every week during the term. The supper was very good,—as good as the resources of the farms and forests and streams could furnish. It was always early, and was followed by dancing and games, frolic and fun, continued to a very late hour. It was sometimes eleven o'clock before I reached home at Captain Hatch's.

It was the fashion in those days for some good scholar to test the capacity of the teacher by offering some very difficult questions in arithmetic; and in the course of the first week, a very bright fellow, nineteen or twenty years old, was authorized to puzzle me. He brought a question which was really a very hard one, as merely an arithmetical question; but I had learned something of geometry, and this question depended upon the proposition of Euclid. I saw into it at once, and showed him not only how he might solve that question, but several others depending upon the same theorem. I was tried no more. On the contrary, I had a perfectly pleasant school from beginning to end,—not a harsh word nor a disrespectful look.

During the winter of the Sophomore year, I was not well enough to teach; but in the Junior year I was persuaded to supply the place of a much older man, in a school in Saco, ten miles from my father's. It was made up of the sons and daughters of saw-millers on Saco Falls, who kept the mills going, night and day. The girls were always well disposed, and gave me no trouble; but the brothers, taking after fathers who were almost always profane and unprincipled drunkards, were as impudent and stubborn as boys could be. I had, for the only time in my life, to depend upon the ferule and other implements of brute force. It was only when they found that I was fearless, and resolved, at any cost, to be master, that they submitted. It was with as great pleasure, for a moment, as I ever felt, that, sitting at breakfast one Monday morning, on my return from my father's, where I always spent Sunday, I was surprised by a sudden light, and looking back, saw from the window the ruinous old schoolhouse in flames.

In the Senior year I kept, as many other fellow-collegians did, a school in the country for ten or twelve weeks. My school was in Bolton, and was superintended by the minister of the town, the excellent Father Allen. The parents of nearly all the pupils were farmers, well-behaved and respectable people, whose children never gave me the least trouble, but made very surprising progress in all the branches then commonly taught in the country schools,—reading, spelling, arithmetic, and geometry.

Several of my college friends taught in the same town, all of whom took respectable positions in after life; and we had some very pleasant evening meetings at Mr. Allen's, and in the houses of other hospitable gentlemen. By their frequent conversation with me, some of the young ladies acquired a taste for reading valuable books.

Private School at Lancaster—Tutorship at Harvard.

I graduated at Harvard College in 1817, and went, immediately after my recovery from an illness which almost overpowered me on Commencement day, home to my father's in Wells. I had lived economically, but was indebted for about one-fourth part of my college expenses, so that I felt somewhat anxious.

I had been at home two days when a letter came from Dr. Kirkland, offering me the place of master in an excellent private school in Lancaster, established by several most respectable men, with a salary of $500 a year. This was then a large salary, and I thankfully accepted the offer, which relieved me from all anxiety. The school had been limited to twenty-five pupils, who paid, each, five dollars a term. I had not been at work more than five or six weeks before the discovery was made, or was thought to be made, that I had uncommon skill as a teacher and as a manager of boys, and men came from the neighboring towns begging that their boys might be admitted, so that, before the end of the second quarter, there were forty-two pupils, as many as the house could hold. The conductors of the school, in their generosity, saw fit to increase the price of tuition twenty-five per cent, so that my pay was more than twice as much as they had offered, and my indebtedness soon ceased.

The discipline in my school, though such as was common in those days, was bad in every respect. I kept a switch and a ferule, and used them both, often feeling, as I did so, like a malignant spirit, and sometimes acting in an evil spirit. I have many times wished that I could ask the pardon of one boy whom I had punished unjustly and in passion. But he never came to see me, and I have no doubt he retained, perhaps always, a righteous grudge against me. I had a head to every class, and urged my boys to strive to reach and to retain it, by medals and commendation,—medals for daily ornament, and medals for permanent holding. So far as I knew, nobody objected to the punishments or to the rewards. I had, occasionally, my own scruples and doubts in regard to both. It is a melancholy fact that, notwithstanding the objections, my school was considered as, on the whole, very kindly and well managed. I certainly was reasonable and kind towards all my good boys, and the two youngest of them all, whom I now meet every week, have always been and are among my best and kindest friends.

Many of my boys were from Boston, and boarded in families where no control over them was even attempted. I saw the evil of this state of things, and wrote to the parents, proposing, if I should be sustained, to hire a large house, and get a respectable family, and take all the boys with me to it, so that I might have them all near me, and maintain a constant oversight of them. This plan was approved and carried into execution, to the manifest benefit of some of the boys. I rejoiced, and was thus rewarded for the increased care. But I gradually, without suspecting why, lost my vigorous health and my spirits, which I endeavored to retain by buying a horse and riding every day before breakfast. The country is very variegated and pleasant, with hills and forests and little lakes, and the beautiful Nashua winding among the cultivated fields and Wachuset rising up behind them in the west, so that riding was very pleasant. The elms and hickories of Lancaster are finer, I have always been inclined to think, than those I have seen in any other part of Massachusetts; the native willow on the banks of the Nashua are larger than I have found elsewhere, and the sugar-maples along some of the roads are not less promising and beautiful.

I continued my pleasant work at Lancaster for two years, at the end of which I received a letter from President Kirkland, inviting me to become a tutor in the Mathematical Department in Harvard College.

From the glimpses of his college life as tutor in the Mathematical department, at the head of which was Prof. Farrar, with Caleb Cushing as associate tutor, and Edward Everett, professor of Greek language and literature, and George Ticknor, lecturer on French Literature,—Mr. Emerson's experience must have been delightful.

I enjoyed my life at college very heartily. There was always a meeting, every Sunday evening, at the president's, at which Dr. Popkin, Mr. Brazer, tutor, and afterward professor of Latin, and some others were sometimes present; and always Mr. Everett, Mr. Cushing, and myself. Mr. Farrar and his wife, who had been Miss Buckminster, kept the president's house, and were always present when she was well; usually a niece of the president, and, almost always, Mrs. Farrar's three sisters. These were far the most pleasant and really the most brilliant parties I have ever attended. Mr. Everett was always full of fun and pleasant stories and anecdotes; Mr. Cushing often gave a foretaste of the brilliant powers which he afterward exhibited in other scenes; and the pre-eminent talents of the Buckminsters gracefully showed themselves in their natural light. We young people usually grouped ourselves in a corner round Mr. Everett, who always, when he saw the door of the study open, stilled us instantly with, 'Hush now! the president is coming.'

One of the greatest advantages of my residence in Cambridge was the kindness I received from Dr. N. Bowditch, the great American mathematician. He was a member of the corporation, and, seeing the interest I took in teaching, or rather hearing lessons, in that department, he invited me to come and see him at Salem. I gladly accepted the invitation, and enjoyed, very greatly, more than one visit. He perceived the difficulties I had with my eyes, and once told me that, at about my age, he had suffered in the same way, trying doctors and their prescriptions in vain; but it occurred to him that the eye was made for the light, and light for the eye, and that, when he went out, he ought to take the sunniest side of the street, and not the shady side; and that the irritation in his eyes might be allayed by the application of cold water. He tried that, opening his eyes in cold water, first in the morning and last at night, and whenever they seemed to need it, and continued the act till the irritation was gone. In a few weeks his eyes were well, and had so continued all his life. I tried the experiments, in every particular, and in a few weeks my eyes were perfectly well, and have so continued up to this day.

I was very much interested in mathematics, and when it became necessary for Professor Farrar to go to the Azores, on account of the health of his wife, I undertook to go on with the translation of a French work on the Calculus, and get it ready for the press. This I did, and had it printed, with my introduction and notes, so that, when Mr. Farrar returned, he found it ready for use of the college. He was agreeably surprised and highly gratified, and almost immediately urged me to remain in college, and become professor in mathematics.

Although the proposal was sustained by President Kirkland, it was declined from a strong desire to govern and teach a school for a purpose and after an ideal of his own.

Inauguration of the English Classical School.

It was Mr. Emerson's privilege to open in March, 1821, and conduct for two years, the English Classical School, in Boston, after his own views as to instruction and discipline, which differed widely from the prevailing practice of the city schools. The story of his success is thus told.

An intimation from the committee that a leading object in the establishment of this school was to raise the standard in the grammar schools, rendered it my duty to make the examination pretty thorough. Accordingly I carefully examined, in small divisions, for six hours every day for two weeks, the one hundred and thirty-five boys who presented themselves, of whom I judged seventy-five to be admissible.

The lower story of the school-house on Derne Street, on the spot now covered by the Reservoir, was prepared for the English Classical School, and on a Monday morning the seventy-five boys were present. I spent half an hour or more, every morning of the first week, in explaining, fully and clearly, the principles according to which I should manage and teach. I told them:—

'I do not believe in the necessity of corporal punishment, and I shall never strike a blow unless you compel me. I want you to learn to govern yourselves. I shall regard you and treat you all as young gentlemen, and expect you to consider me a gentleman, and treat me accordingly.

'I shall always believe every word you say, until I find you guilty of lying, and then I can not; nobody believes a liar, if he has any temptation to lie.

'Never tell me any thing to the disadvantage of any fellow-student. I mean to have strict rules, and to have them strictly obeyed; but I shall never make a rule which I would not more willingly see broken than I would have any one of you violate what ought to be his feeling of honor towards a fellow-student. It is the meanest thing that any boy can do.

'I have examined you very carefully, as you all know, and have taken every means of finding out your character and capacities, and your opportunities. Some of you have enjoyed every advantage. You have lived in pleasant homes, with intelligent and well-informed parents and friends, and you have formed habits of reading good books, and being otherwise pleasantly and well employed. Others of you have been blessed with none of these privileges, and have had no opportunities of forming good habits. Now I am going to examine you, for some weeks, carefully and severely, in a considerable variety of studies. I shall do this that I may arrange you according to your attainments and capacities, so that no one may be kept back from doing what he is capable of, and that the slow and ill-prepared may be fairly tried.

'After I shall have ascertained, in this way, of what each of you is capable, in all the studies, I shall, when I find that a dull boy has done his best, feel for him the same respect, and give him the same mark that I shall to the brightest boy in school who has only done *his* best.

'I beg of you, boys, never to try to surpass each other. Help each other in every way you can. Try to surpass yourselves. Say, 'I will do better to-day than I did yesterday, and I resolve to do better to-morrow than I can do to-day.' In this way, you who are highest and most capable will always, through life, be friends, and the best friends. But if you try to surpass each other, some of you will inevitably be enemies.'

I said this with a vivid remembrance of the bitter feelings entertained by individuals in several of the classes I had known in Cambridge, towards some of their classmates, who might have been, all their lives, their best friends, if this terrible ambitious desire of acknowledged superiority had not prevented.

These principles of action, which I have here given in a few sentences, occu-

pied half an hour or more, every morning, for the first week. I explained and enlarged till I felt sure that I was fully understood.

When I told them I should always believe them, I could not help seeing a generous resolution fixing itself more and more firmly in the expression of every countenance. When I enlarged upon the nobleness of refusing to betray each other, I rejoiced to see a surprised but delighted feeling of exultation on the faces of most of them, and something like inquiry on other faces. When I enlarged upon the beauty of generously helping each other, and the meanness and poor selfishness of trying to climb over others, I observed a dubious expression in some faces, as if they were trying to settle a question, and of proud satisfaction in others, as if rejoicing to see it rightly settled. When I told them that I intended to be perfectly just towards them, as soon as I knew them well enough to see what would be justice, I saw hope beaming in the eyes of some sad faces where it seemed as if it had always, till then, been a stranger.

I have always felt, as I became acquainted with my pupils, (which I sought to become, as soon as I could): Here is a boy who is able to take care of himself; he only wants opportunity. But here is a poor fellow who is discouraged; he wants aid and encouragement in every thing; he can not do without me; I must win his affection; if possible, make him love me. Then he will draw near me, and learn to rely upon me, and I shall be able to help him. I have constantly been convinced, from the time I first felt the divine character of the truths of the New Testament, that invariably the best thing to be done for every child is to educate his conscience, to make him feel the enormity and ugliness of falsehood and evil, and the preciousness and beauty of truth and good. This is the one great truth which every teacher and every parent, especially every mother, should learn, without which, indeed, no noble character can be formed. Educate the conscience.

By a careful examination of many weeks, I found what each of my pupils had done, and pretty nearly what he was capable of doing, so that I could arrange them in little classes, according to their capacity and attainments. In this way I could lead some of them to do very much more than they could have done if they had been arranged together, those who were diligent and bright and had made actual progress, with the dull boys, who were without much real attainment. This was something; I could hear lessons, but I could not, in most cases, give much instruction.

There was a single exception. I had long been acquainted with Warren Colburn, had taken many long walks with him, on which we had discussed, somewhat fully, different modes of teaching; and I had been very particularly struck by his original ideas as to the true way to teach arithmetic. He had then a private school, which occupied much of his time. I told him that if he would, beginning with the simplest numbers, write out questions in the order in which he thought they ought to be put, I would try them with my pupils, and tell him how far I agreed with him, and, if I found any thing to correct or alter, I would let him know. This he was glad to do; and I gave out, according to his arrangement, all the questions in the manuscript of his first edition. I found scarcely a word to correct, and was surprised and much delighted with the successful experiment.

The effect upon my boys was most satisfactory. They soon found themselves

answering instantaneously, and without difficulty, questions which, without this drill, it would have been impossible for them to answer.

This, let it be remembered, was the questions of the first edition, those given by Colburn himself. That first book was the most important step in teaching that had ever been made. The use of it, just as it was, was a blessing to every child who had to be taught. It was *mental*, acting directly upon the mind. That blessing has been forfeited in almost every subsequent edition. The book is now cruelly and stupidly put into the hands of poor children to be studied, and has altogether ceased to be *mental* arithmetic.

After the division of the boys, according to capacity and real attainment, was made, from careful examination, I soon found, as I have already stated, that some of them could do, satisfactorily, many times more than others, and I accordingly gave to the foremost and most capable, in addition to other studies, lessons in geometry and French, and some little of real instruction in history, illustrated by geography and chronology; and recommended, for their reading at home, the lives of some of the remarkable men of ancient and modern times. For I thought then, as I do now, that history, ancient as well as modern, is to be taught most satisfactorily and pleasantly to the young through the lives of individual men.

I required all to commit to memory, and recite every Saturday, lines from the best English poets. This, I soon found, was pleasant to nearly all of them, and improved their taste and their memory. Several of them not only became very fond of this exercise, but read with delight some of the best poetry in the language, such as that of Goldsmith, Gray, Campbell, Scott, Cowper, Byron, Bryant, and some portions of Milton.

I also gave them subjects to write upon which required observation, such as the description of a street, a single building, the harbor, a boat, a ship, the State House, the Common with its trees and cows, Charles River; and gradually, subjects that required thought, such as truthfulness, habits of industry, self-culture, procrastination, choice of friends, diligence; and I still have, carefully preserved, many creditable compositions on these subjects by members of this first class.

The faithful preparation for the performance of all my duties, in management and instruction, occupied nearly all my time, leaving me little for society. For some weeks I was well accommodated at boarding-houses, but nowhere did I find a home. The longing for one led me to apply to a very noble lady whom I had long known, and to beg her to let me become one of her family. She granted my request in the kindest manner possible. She was the widow of Rev. William Emerson, and among her sons I found William, whom I had long known and loved, the best reader, and with the sweetest voice I ever heard, and a pleasant talker; Ralph Waldo, whom I had known and admired, and whom all the world now knows almost as well as I do; Edward Bliss, the most modest and genial, the most beautiful and the most graceful speaker, a universal favorite; and Charles Chauncery, bright and ready, full of sense, ambitious of distinction, and capable of it.

There was never a more delightful family or one more sure of distinction, the intimate acquaintance with which has had a most benignant influence on my whole life; and in that family I found a home.

To enable me to vary and enlarge my instruction, the school committee ob-

tained leave to import a few philosophical instruments. Dr. Prince, of Salem, whom I went several times to confer with, gave me aid in selecting and ordering them; and I soon had the pleasure of seeing them safely arrive from London. Some of these I used as soon as any of the boys were ready to understand and profit by them, which was very soon; so that I was able to give some real instruction.

Most of the wooden instruments soon suffered, on account of the dryness of our climate when compared with that of London, and had to be repaired or somewhat changed.

I required all my boys to declaim choice selections in prose and in poetry. This was a new thing; some of them enjoyed it, and gradually learned to speak extremely well.

We never had any difficulty in the management of offenses. Indeed, in school, there were very few to manage. But some difficulties arose on the play ground, in which I declined to interfere, and the settlement of which many of the boys considered important. So I recommended that they should form a court, before which such cases might be tried. A judge was accordingly chosen by themselves, a jury of ten, and advocates on each side. To qualify themselves for the permormance of these duties, the boys found themselves obliged to go into the court-rooms, and see how justice was discovered and administered by real judges and advocates and juries. Several cases were very successfully tried, and the decisions and awards as honestly given, and, apparently, as justly, as they are in the courts of the Commonwealth.

At the end of the first half-year, a public examination took place. The hall was crowded by people who wanted to see how the English Classical School was managed. I explained, in a few words, my modes of governing and of teaching, and begged them to judge for themselves. The declamation was good; the examinations in geography, history, and French satisfactory; the poetical recitations very gratifying. In mental arithmetic, an exhibition was made which struck every body as wonderful. Questions were given out which few persons present would have thought it possible to answer, and which were answered fully, clearly, and instantly. The effect was such as had never been dreamed of. The applause was astounding; and the audience separated with a conviction, in the minds of some persons, that Boston had rarely seen such a school before.

For arithmetic, my pupils were constantly drilled in Colburn's Mental, learning not much else; and they told me that it constantly happened that, in their little dealings at the shops, they knew instantly the amount of their purchases, while the seller had to cipher them out on their books or slates, and often made mistakes.

The most serious difficulty I had ever encountered in the management of the boys was presented by the necessity of awarding the city medals. Six medals were sent to me to be given to the six best scholars in my first class. Who were the six best? I laid the matter before the school, telling the boys that it was impossible for me to tell who best deserved the medals. To do that I ought to know who had been most faithful, who had overcome the greatest difficulties, who, struggling against nature and inadequate preparation, had made really the greatest progress. I had never had a head in any class. It would not have been difficult to guess who would have been at the head. But one

who, from excellent preparation and fine natural talents, would have placed himself at the head, was really not so deserving of a medal as the boy who had overcome more difficulties and improved his natural powers most faithfully.

I must assign the medals. I should do it as well as I could, but I could not be sure that I did it justly. I did, accordingly, give the medals to the six whom I considered the most deserving, and who were apparently the best scholars. This assignment gave evident satisfaction in almost every case, but there was one boy who was bitterly disappointed, and who naturally charged the disappointment to me. He never looked kindly at me from that hour; and whenever, for years after, I met him on the street, he looked away, with a cloud on his face. If I had had one medal more, I would have given it to him. But there were only six to give. I ought to have gone to the committee and insisted upon having another to bestow; but I did not. The poor boy, afterward a somewhat distinguished man, never forgave me,—and I never forgave myself; I never look back upon the whole matter, I never think of him, but with pain.

My original purpose in seeking the place of principal of the English Classical School was to try the experiment of making the formation and improvement of character the leading object of the school. I taught as well as I could, but always considered this teaching of little consequence compared with that of the formation in my pupils of a single and noble character. I always began school with reading a few verses from the New Testement, pointing out the great lessons they gave and the truths they taught, and asking a blessing from the Giver of all good. To be able to speak confidently of the effect of my teaching, I must be able to look into the hearts of my pupils. Judging from appearances, the observance of order and good habits, the mutual kindness I saw, and the affectionate confidence and respect entertained toward myself, I had reason to thank God for his blessing upon my work.

I had been pleasantly and successfully employed in the English Classical School for nearly two years, when the Hon. William Sullivan, several of whose sons had been with me in my school in Lancaster, told me that he wanted me to teach his daughters, and that he would, if I consented, find twenty-five young ladies to be my pupils, for the instruction of whom I should be much better paid than I was then paid.

The very reason why he wished me to take charge of his daughters was, 'that I had been so successful in the education of boys, on the highest and most unexceptionable principles. He considered the education of girls, on such principles, more important than that of boys, because they would have almost the entire education of their children. Most men have scarcely any thing to do with the highest education of their children, even their boys. It is all left to the mothers; and if the highest education, the formation of the purest character, was desirable for all children, it must be given by the mothers.' These considerations, when I came to dwell upon them, naturally produced a strong effect, and made me ask myself whether I should not be able to do more good as a teacher of girls than it would be possible for me to do as a teacher of boys.

At the same time that Mr. Sullivan was urging me, his friend, Josiah Quincy, then mayor of the city, said he would venture to promise me, if I would remain, an addition of $500 to my salary, which would make it equal to the highest salary then given to any teacher in New England. The final arrangement was concluded in April, 1823.

On the 9th of June, 1823, thirty-two young ladies from some of the best families in Boston, met Mr. Emerson as pupils in what was then a boarding-house, on Beacon Street, and from that day he was never without more applicants than he could admit, until he relinquished his work in 18—.

Young Ladies' School—Boston.

My object was, naturally, to give my pupils the best education possible, to teach them what it was most important for every one to know, and to form right habits of thought, and give such instruction as would lead to the formation of the highest character, to fit them to be good daughters and sisters, good neighbors, good wives, and good mothers. I wished to give them, as far as possible, a complete knowledge of our rich and beautiful English language. With this in view I set them all to study Latin, since all the hardest words in our language, as in French and Italian, are thence derived. Some fathers begged me not to let their daughters waste their time upon Latin, but rather devote it to French and Italian. All such girls I set immediately to study French. But to the rest I gave four or five lessons every week in the Latin language, with as little as possible of the grammar. I kept up this for two years always, and in some cases for three. At the end of the two or three Latin years, I set them to study French and then Italian. These studies were very easy, as they found that they knew already the roots of nearly all the hard words, and so could give much of their time in writing the languages.

At the end of three or four years, those who had studied Latin knew more of French and Italian than those who had given all their time to them. In Italian, those who had studied Virgil faithfully, found little difficulty with Dante, who had followed Virgil so far as language alone was in question, and whose language is more like Virgil's Latin than it is like modern Italian. Those who had studied only French and Italian, found Dante almost unintelligible, and were, nearly all of them, obliged to give him up. Many years afterward, I spent half a year in Rome, and became acquainted with some of the teachers. They told me they never thought of setting their pupils to read Dante. It was almost unintelligible to them.

For arithmetic, my pupils were constantly drilled in Colburn's Mental, learning not much else; and they told me that it constantly happened that, in their little dealings at the shops, they knew instantly the amount of their purchases, while the sellers had to cipher them out on their books or slates, and often made mistakes.

In history, I began and long continued in the old way, giving out six or eight pages in some excellent writer, such as Robertson, and requiring my pupils to answer the questions I put to them at the next morning's recitation. This was more satisfactory to some of them than to me, so that, after some years, I undertook to teach them history in another way. On warm days in summer, for the school then stretched into summer, I set them all down with their maps before them, and for one or two hours, gave them, in my own words, what I considered the most interesting and important facts and thoughts in a portion of history, sometimes, however, reading long passages when they were clear and well written.

This made them familiar with the authors I quoted, and often led to a more

intimate acquaintance. In the two months during which this reading was continued, not much history could be given, but a love for it was formed which led to pleasant reading, by themselves, of many favorite volumes, and to the habit of reading good books, which has, in many instances, lasted always.

In natural philosophy, I began with the easiest text-books I could find, and with a few experiments making things clear and creating an interest. These early books were English, and very excellent. When I had to use American, I soon found that they were usually the poor abridgments of larger treatises, made by ignorant persons, for the printer. The apparent originals I found little better, made by illiterate people, for sale in the schools and academies. This drove me to the real originals, so that I was led to read Newton's *Principia*, La Place, Galileo, Lavoisier, and other books, the works of the original thinkers. To do this required an immense deal of time, so that I was actually driven into the habit of never going abroad to spend my evenings, with the exception of one evening in a week, to meet at a club a small number of very old friends.

Parting words to his Pupils.

After forty years of successful teaching, Mr. Emerson in perfect health and in good heart for further work, was persuaded by his best friends to relinquish his school, and spend two years abroad. From the chapter headed "Farewell," we take a few lessons of wise counsel of universal application to young ladies who never enjoyed the advantages of his personal instruction.

If we teachers have been able to do any thing for you, it has been to prepare you to go on without our aid.

We have endeavored, every morning, to open to you some lesson from the words of the Saviour or his apostles, or those mighty, inspired men of old, whose language, ever since it was uttered, has furnished the fittest expression for the deepest wants and the highest aspirations of the human soul; expression of penitence and sorrow for sin, of prostration under affliction, of confidence and filial trusts in that Father who alone can help,—the strong and unwavering confidence which a feeling of reliance on the strength of the Infinite Helper alone can give, and of the boundless hopes of immortality. We have endeavored to show you not only how comforting and necessary these words are to us, but how transcendently wise and reasonable. We have endeavored to teach you not only to say, with sinful David, 'I am afflicted and ready to die,' and 'What is man that thou art mindful of him?' but with triumphant Paul, 'I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.' We have done this, not only because we have ourselves daily felt the need of the instruction, the consolation, and the wisdom, which we find in these divine words and which we can find nowhere else, but because we have wished to do something to induce you, dear children, to form the habit of daily searching in these exhaustless treasures of wisdom and truth and love. And my earnest prayer to God is, that, if all the other lessons I have endeavored to inculcate shall be blotted from your practice and your memory, this at least may remain.

We have every day invited you to prostrate yourselves, with us, before the throne of mercy, and to ask of God those things which are necessary for us. And this we have done not only because we have ourselves daily and hourly felt the need of support, strength, and guidance, which we believe God alone can give us; for, in reference to our special and personal wants, we would obey

implicitly the command of our Saviour, 'Enter into thy closet, and pray to thy Father in secret,' but we have endeavored, in this also, to do something to form in you the habit of beginning every day and every work with asking the blessing of God. I believe in the efficacy of prayer. I believe that the sincere and heartfelt prayer is always heard; and, when it is a right prayer and offered in a right spirit, I believe it is always granted. How far we may pray for temporary blessings I know not. For myself, I dare not ask for any thing temporal without adding, 'Not my will but Thine be done.' But for spiritual blessings, the only ones of any great consequence, we may pray without ceasing. Weak, frail, and tempted, as we are, we must pray; and however strong the temptation may be, I believe that if, in the moment of temptation, we can, in the spirit of Christ, throw ourselves into the arms of the Father and ask, Father, strengthen thy child, we shall obtain strength.

What, then, are the most important lessons which you have been learning, or which you ought to have been learning, during this preparatory course of discipline? Is not the first so to use, improve, and occupy every talent of body and of mind, every affection of the heart, and every faculty of the soul, that they shall be at least twofold greater and better than when they were committed to you? Have you a right, on any other condition, even to hope for those gracious words of welcome from the great Master, 'Well done, good and faithful servant! enter thou into the joy of thy Lord?'

Is not the second, to set up a standard, in the improvement of these talents, higher than any thing earthly can furnish, a standard which shall be made up from your highest conceptions of what is best and most beautiful in the visible works of God, and of which you have a model, in spiritual things in Him only who came in the image of the Father? Is it not to aim continually to be perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect?

Is it not your duty, in the third place, to devote all these powers, thus carried as far towards perfection as you can have strength and opportunity to carry them, to the service of your fellow-creatures? To learn how, in your sphere and according to your ability, to love your neighbor as yourself?

And is not the highest and most consummate and comprehensive of duties, which the Saviour has repeated as the first of all the commandments, to consecrate yourselves, with all your powers of body improved by obedience to his laws, with all your mental faculties brightened and strengthened by the study of his works, with all your social affections perfected by devotion to his creatures, with all the capacities of your spiritual nature elevated by habitual reverence, by contemplation on his law and communion with him in prayer, to consecrate all to his love, to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength?

Think not that you are bound to forget or to sacrifice yourselves. On the contrary, the divine lesson of the talents *commands* us to cultivate and improve to the utmost *every* faculty we find ourselves possessed of. It only substitutes, for the selfish motives by which the man of this world is influenced, motives incomparably higher and stronger and more enduring. What higher motives for self-cultivation and self-improvement can we even conceive of than the hope of becoming more fit to be servants of God, fellow-workers with Christ, ministers of good to men?

Whatever faculty you find within you, do not fear to use and cultivate it to

the highest degree. Whence, for example, is a love of the beautiful? Is it not the gift of him who is the Author of all of beauty that there is in creation? Can you hesitate to exercise the faculty he has given you upon the objects for which it was given? There are some among our fellow-creatures who are so constituted, or so educated, that they are to be won from evil only by their love of the beautiful. Study all forms of beauty and all means of expressing it. It can not be useless to attempt to copy the beautiful shapes in which God has formed the works of his hand, or the colors in which he has clothed them.

If you live within reach of objects of natural history, do not let the opportunity be lost of studying them. Study plants, birds, shells, rocks, any thing that is God's workmanship. Do not, for a moment, think that the study of his works, purused in a right spirit, can fail to bring you nearer to him.

Cultivate the power of expression. Study language. The first miraculous gift to the earliest converts to Christianity was the gift of tongues. It was necessary for the highest service then; it is not less so now. By it we understand better, in proportion as we pursue the study, whatever is said or written in our own language or in other languages. By means of it we penetrate into whatever is the object of investigation, and set in order our own thoughts and conclusions, and make them clear and definite to ourselves. By means of it only do we communicate to others, for their good or pleasure or our own, our thoughts, feelings, wants, purposes, and aspirations; and we express them forcibly and effectually just in proportion as we possess more fully, as we have cultivated more faithfully, this wonderful power of expression. The extent of our knowledge is measured, in some degree, by the extent of our vocabulary. By nothing else is man so distinctly raised above other animals as by the gift of articulate language; and by nothing else is one man so distinguished from another. The literature of a nation is the expression of the thoughts, meditations, fancies, and conclusions of the thinkers of that nation. Acquaintance with literature is an acquaintance with the minds of which it is the exponent. The study of language is, therefore, the most useful study in the preparatory course of every one's education, and the study of general literature is, through life, one of the most delightful and profitable of human pursuits.

Our own English literature is, probably, taking all things into consideration, the richest of all literatures, and for us it is, without question, far the most valuable. I would therefore recommend to each one of you to make it a point to become somewhat fully acquainted with this noble literature. It will take many years. But the time, and you must devote only leisure time to it, will be well and most pleasantly spent; and in obtaining this knowledge you will necessarily become acquainted with the leading thoughts of the best thinkers, upon all the most important subjects, in morals, taste, criticism, history, philosophy, poetry, theology, antiquities, and philanthropy, that have occupied the minds of men. To have a great object like this in view will give a purpose to your reading, and will prevent its being desultory, though it may seem so.

There is a great deal of poetry in the language which is not worth reading. Of that, a compendium, such as Cleveland's, will furnish you with sufficient specimens. But there are great and noble poets with whom I would advise you to become familiar. Such are Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Cowper, Scott, Bryant, Gray, Goldsmith, Longfellow, Coleridge, Young, and Pope, especially the first eight or nine.

There are certain portions of history with which every well-educated person should endeavor to become familiar. Such are the history of our own country, of our mother country, of Western Europe in modern times, of Greece, of Rome, and of Judæa, which last you will best learn from the Sacred Scriptures.

I recommend to you, as valuable parts of your reading, books of travels and books of biography, as making you acquainted, better than any thing else, with the world in which God has placed you, and with the occupants of that world. Biography tends to make us charitable. He must be thoroughly bigoted who shall continue to think ill of our brethren the Methodists, after reading attentively the life of Wesley; or to condemn in a mass those who belong to the Catholic Church, after having become intimate with the character of Fénélon. The life of Elizabeth Fry, or of William Penn, proves that there are earnest and sincere Christians amongst the Quakers; the life of Leighton shows that a bishop may be very humble, and that of Peabody or of Channing, that vital piety may dwell with one who rejects all authority of man's device, and admits that only of the simple Word of God.

We are all willing enough to believe in the piety, intelligence, and Christian faithfulness of those of our own sect: it is therefore particularly important, if we would make our reading help us to become charitable, in the comprehensive sense of charity, as explained to us by St. Paul, that we should seek to become acquainted with those who differ from us most in their theological opinions.

Upon the subject of morals, of moral philosophy, I have constantly referred you to the source of light and truth. It is profitable to read other books upon the subject, but it is dangerous to consider them as having authority.

As a help to careful reading and reflection, and to the storing up for use of what is most valuable, I would advise you to keep a diary, *not of your feelings*, but of the good thoughts or beautiful images which are presented or suggested by your observation, by your reading, or by conversation. This will cultivate your powers of expression, improve your habits of attention and observation, and strengthen your memory; and if rightly used, it will give you materials for improving and elevated conversation.

Conversation may be made the most delightful of all arts. Its first and necessary uses are to carry on intercourse in all the business of life, to communicate our wants, sorrows, feelings, affections, and purposes. It may be made an instrument to instruct, soothe, and delight. Too little is thought of it, and too little pains are taken to improve in it. Hence we find very few good talkers, where there might be many. Most people make no progress at all in it; they talk at sixty as they talk at sixteen. They say what comes into their mind, without reserve or selection, without choice of thought or of language. It should be managed much better; it may, by each one of you. A daily recurring opportunity of doing good to others by doing good to yourself, of contributing to the pleasure, instruction, and elevation of those nearest and dearest, ought to demand a better preparation. She who will take pains to have suitable topics for conversation, topics which will bring in narrative, imagery, witticism, sentiment, and will study the art of introducing them naturally and gracefully, will make herself a charming companion, and will be a blessing to the circle of which she is the ornament. Let me enjoin upon you to take pains in regard to your conversation, and let me remind you that the indispensable graces of a good talker are simplicity, sincerity, and truth.

We have taken much pains, in the regulations of the school, to induce you to form habits of punctuality and order in the disposal of your time. These you will find of the utmost consequence. After a few years, and as soon as you shall have entered upon the active duties of life, most of you will have very little leisure for reading or writing or private thought. That little will depend on your habits of order and punctuality, and will be of scarcely any avail, unless with severe economy. But those few moments of leisure, wisely used, will make the difference between thoughtful, well-informed, wise, and agreeable ladies, and frivolous and gossiping old women.

There are two practical rules in reading which I would gladly engrave upon your memory. Be not deceived by names. A book with the best name—a sermon or theological treatise—may be the vehicle of arrogance, self-sufficiency, bigotry, pride, uncharitableness, in short, of whatever is most inconsistent with, and hostile to, the very spirit of Christianity; while a romance or a song may breathe the spirit of gentleness, humility, love, and charity,—the highest and peculiar graces of the gospel. Remember that he who began his prayer with thanking God that he was not as other men were, went away condemned.

The second rule is, remember that your heart, your imagination, your conscience, are in your own keeping. Whatever tends to stain the purity of your imagination, whatever tends to increase your pride and self-love, to make you think better of yourself and of those who agree with you, or to diminish your charitableness, and make you think ill of others, of those who differ from you, whatever tends to diminish your love and reverence for God and his Providence, is bad and to be shunned, by whatever name it may be called.

I have spoken of some of the means you must use to improve the talents of which you will be called to render an account; and as all the parts of life are necessarily connected, I have naturally anticipated something of the uses to be made of the talents so improved. I shall not, of course, undertake to enter into all which is meant by devoting our talents to the service of our fellow-creatures. Every good life is necessarily devoted, directly or indirectly, to the service of mankind. We have before us, therefore, a subject as broad as human life, and as various.

To a single point in this wide field I would ask for a few moments your attention: it is the duty of educating yourselves for a life of charity, of devoting to charitable uses the talents you will have improved. I wish you to consider this question, whether it is not the duty of each one of you to prepare herself to do something effectually to relieve or diminish the wants, the ignorance, the sufferings, and the sins of her poor fellow-creatures? And by this preparation I mean something different from the general, vague, good purpose, which almost every woman has, to be charitable to the poor. I mean a special preparation, a careful inquiry as to what are the wants and what the condition of the poor, and what ought to be and can be done by Christian women of them. I should be most thankful to my Father in Heaven if I could know that he would move the hearts of many of you to choose this for your profession, as deliberately, as thoughtfully, and as resolutely as your brothers are choosing law, medicine, commerce, or some useful art. A great purpose for which Christ came on earth is not accomplished, the gospel is not yet preached to the poor; and I think it never can be until woman takes up the work.

We add Dr. Emerson's portrait of Louis Agassiz as a teacher.

THE HOPKINS BEQUEST AT NEW HAVEN.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Town, and Colony of New Haven were singularly blessed in having among the early settlers and organizers of their society two such men as Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport—for no two men in all New England took a deeper personal interest, or larger views of education, in the institution of public schools. To their early, enlightened, and persevering labors must be ascribed the credit of commencing in New Haven, before it ceased to be an independent colony, institutions of public instruction, which in time were developed into the Hopkins Grammar School, and Yale College.

THEOPHILUS EATON.

THEOPHILUS EATON, for twenty years the chief magistrate of the Colony of which he was one of the principal founders, was born in Stony-Stratford in Oxfordshire, in the year 1590–91, and died in New Haven Jan. 7, 1658. He received his education from his father, and in the endowed Grammar school of Coventry, where his father was a 'faithful and famous minister.' His inclinations drawing him to business, and not to ministerial life, as his father wished, he went up to London, and there worked his way into a large commercial trade, particularly with the ports of the Baltic. He was made deputy-governor of the London mercantile guild of which he was a member, and for a time was the agent of the King of England at the Court of Denmark. He was married twice—his second wife being the widow of David Yale* and daughter of Dr. Morton, Bishop of Chester. At the time of his decision to assist in founding a new colony in New England in 1636, he was a citizen and merchant of great commercial and social consideration in London; and his personal influence, weighed with many of his neighbors and mercantile friends of the same religious views, to induce them to exchange their old homes of ease and affluence for the perils and hardships of the wilderness.

* ELIHU YALE, whose timely benefaction to the College in New Haven has associated his name with that institution, was the son of Thomas Yale, a son of Mrs. Eaton by her first husband, David Yale. He was born in New Haven, and returned to England with his grandmother, Mrs. Eaton, soon after Governor Eaton's death.

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To Theophilus Eaton is justly ascribed the selection of Quinnipiac as the site of the new colony—for he at once on his arrival in New England in June, 1637, addressed himself to the personal examinations of the territory and the inducements held out for settlement, by Plymouth and elsewhere, while Mr. Davenport busied himself with the ecclesiastical questions which were agitating the churches of the Bay. On him also fell the drafting of ordinances for the provisional government of the town, as well as the framing of the Code of 1656 for the colony. He presided in all meetings of the free planters in town meetings, and in the General Court, after the union of Milford, Guilford, Branford, and other settlements with New Haven, in 1643, from which date he was first designated by the title of governor, which office he held by annual and unanimous election, till his death in January 8, 1658. Governor Eaton was emphatically the chief magistrate of his little colony, and his good sense adjudicated disputes, after all parties interested had told their story in their own way, without much regard to forms and technicalities, 'according to the rule of righteousness.' He laid on himself the lowliest as well as the highest functions of magistracy. He took his share in all business risks that aimed to make New Haven a commercial town. When these failed, he turned his attention to agricultural occupations. He set the example of ornamenting his house lot with trees and shrubbery, and had a flower as well as a vegetable garden, and thus made New Haven from the start a town of pleasant residences. "He never had," says Governor Hopkins, "a repenting or repining thought about his removing to New England. In this matter he hath a grace far exceeding mine." Just before his death, to his wife, who seems never to have been satisfied with her new home, and from time to time urged her husband to return to London, he said calmly, "I shall die here." He took special interest in the establishment of a school, and in keeping up contributions for the relief of poor scholars at the college, at Cambridge. He kept the Court advised of his correspondence with teachers in different parts of New England, that "this town might never be without a suitable schoolmaster." To the education of his own son, and the sons of Mrs. Eaton by her former husband, he was always attentive.

In 1643, he was appointed with Mr. Gregson to meet commissioners from Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, to consult for the common interest, and in consequence the four colonies formed a league offensive and defensive. In this first American Congress he always appeared as one of the delegates of New Haven, and several times presided over its deliberations.

FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLES OF NEW HAVEN, JUNE 4, 1639.

On the 5th of April, 1638, the company of planters which had located at Quinnipiack, after fasting and prayer, formed their political association by what they called a 'plantation covenant,' 'to distinguish it from a church covenant, which could not at that time be made, a church not being then gathered.' In this compact they resolved, 'that, as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so likewise in all public offices which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing of laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature,' they would 'be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures hold forth.' It had no external sanction, and comprehended no acknowledgment of the government of England.

The 4th day of the 4th month, called June, 1639, all the free planters assembled together in a general meeting, to consult about settling civil government, according to God, and the nomination of persons that might be found, by consent of all, fittest in all respects for the foundation work of a church, which was intended to be gathered in Quinipiack. After solemn invocation of the name of God, in prayer for the presence and help of his spirit and grace, in those weighty businesses, they were reminded of the business whereabout they met, (viz.) for the establishment of such civil order as might be most pleasing unto God, and for the choosing the fittest men for the foundation work of a church to be gathered. For the better enabling them to discern the mind of God, and to agree accordingly concerning the establishment of civil order, Mr. John Davenport propounded divers queries to them publicly, praying them to consider seriously, in the presence and fear of God, the weight of the business they met about, and not to be rash or slight in giving their votes to things they understood not; but to digest fully and thoroughly what should be propounded to them, and without respect to men, as they should be satisfied and persuaded in their own minds, to give their answers in such sort as they would be willing should stand upon record for posterity.

This being earnestly pressed by Mr. Davenport, Mr. Robert Newman was entreated to write, in charaters, and to read distinctly and audibly in the hearing of all the people, what was propounded and accorded on, that it might appear, that all consented to matters propounded, according to words written by him.

Query I.—Whether the Scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men, in all duties which they are to perform to God and men, as well in families and commonwealth, as in matters of the church? This was assented unto by all, no man dissenting, as was expressed by holding up of hands. Afterward it was read over to them, that they might see in what words their vote was expressed. They again expressed their consent by holding up their hands, no man dissenting.

Query II.—Whereas there was a covenant solemnly made by the whole assembly of free planters of this plantation, the first day of extraordinary humiliation, which we had after we came together, that as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so likewise in all public officers which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature, we would

all of us be ordered by those rules which the Scripture holds forth to us; this covenant was called a plantation covenant, to distinguish it from a church covenant, which could not at that time be made, a church not being then gathered, but was deferred till a church might be gathered, according to God. It was demanded whether all the free planters do hold themselves bound by that covenant, in all businesses of that nature which are expressed in the covenant, to submit themselves to be ordered by the rules held forth in the Scripture?

This also was assented unto by all, and no man gainsaid it; and they did testify the same by holding up their hands, both when it was first propounded, and confirmed the same by holding up their hands when it was read unto them in public. John Clark being absent, when the covenant was made, doth now manifest his consent to it. Also Richard Beach, Andrew Law, Goodman Banister, Arthur Halbridge, John Potter, Robert Hill, John Brocket, and John Johnson, these persons, being not admitted planters when the covenant was made, do now express their consent to it.

Query III.—Those who have desired to be received as free planters, and are settled in the plantation, with a purpose, resolution, and desire, that they may be admitted into church fellowship, according to Christ, as soon as God shall fit them thereunto, were desired to express it by holding up their hands. Accordingly, all did express this to be their desire and purpose by holding up their hands twice (viz.) at the proposal of it, and after when these written words were read unto them.

Query IV.—All the free planters were called upon to express, whether they held themselves bound to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the securing of the purity and peace of the ordinance to themselves and their posterity according to God? In answer hereunto, they expressed by holding up their hands twice as before, that they held themselves bound to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the ends aforesaid.

Then Mr. Davenport declared unto them, by the Scripture, what kind of persons might best be trusted with matters of government; and by sundry arguments from Scripture, proved that such men as were described in Exod. xviii. 2; Deut. i. 13, with Deut. xvii. 15, and 1 Cor. vi. 1, 6, 7, ought to be intrusted by them, seeing they were free to cast themselves into that mold and form of commonwealth which appeared best for them in reference to the securing the peace and peaceable improvement of all Christ his ordinances in the church according to God, whereunto they have bound themselves, as hath been acknowledged.

Having thus said he sat down, praying the company freely to consider, whether they would have it voted at this time or not. After some space of silence, Mr. Theophilus Eaton answered, it might be voted, and some others also spake to the same purpose, none at all opposing it. Then it was propounded to vote.

Query V.—Whether free burgesses shall be chosen out of the church members, they that are in the foundation work of the church being actually free burgesses, and to choose to themselves out of the like estate of church fellowship, and the power of choosing magistrates and officers from among themselves, and the power of making and repealing laws, according to the word, and the dividing of inheritances, and deciding of differences that may arise, and all the businesses of like nature are to be transacted by those free burgesses? This was put to vote, and agreed unto by lifting up of hands twice, as in the former it was done. Then one man stood up and expressed his dissenting from the rest in part; yet granting, 1. That magistrates should be men fearing God. 2. That the church is the company where, ordinarily, such men may be expected. 3. That they that choose them ought to be men fearing God; only at this he stuck, that free planters ought not to give this power out of their hands. Another stood up and answered, that nothing was done, but with their consent. The former answered, that all the free planters ought to resume this power into their own hands again, if things were not orderly carried. Mr. Theophilus Eaton answered, that in all places they choose committees in like manner. The companies in London choose the liveries by whom the public magistrates are chosen. In this the rest are not wronged, because they expect, in time, to be of the livery themselves, and to have the same power. Some others entreated the former to give his arguments and reasons whereupon he dissented. He re-

fused to do it, and said they might not rationally demand it, seeing he let the vote pass on freely, and did not speak till after it was past, because he would not hinder what they agreed upon. Then Mr. Davenport, after a short relation of some former passages between them two, about this question, prayed the company that nothing might be concluded by them on this weighty question, but what themselves were persuaded to be agreeing with the mind of God, and they had heard what had been said since the voting; he entreated them again to consider of it, and put it again to vote as before. Again all of them, by holding up their hands, did show their consent as before. And some of them confessed that, whereas they did waver before they came to the assembly, they were now fully convinced, that it is the mind of God. One of them said that in the morning before he came, reading Deut. xvii. 15, he was convinced at home. Another said that he came doubting to the assembly, but he blessed God, by what had been said, he was now fully satisfied, that the choice of burgesses out of church members, and to intrust those with the power before spoken of, is according to the mind of God revealed in the Scriptures. All having spoken their apprehensions, it was agreed upon, and Mr. Robert Newman was desired to write it as an order whereunto every one, that hereafter should be admitted here as planters, should submit, and testify the same by subscribing their names to the order. Namely, that church members only shall be free burgesses, and that they only shall choose magistrates and officers among themselves, to have power of transacting all the public civil affairs of this plantation; of making and repealing laws, dividing of inheritances, deciding of differences that may arise, and doing all things and businesses of like nature.

This being thus settled, as a fundamental agreement concerning civil government, Mr. Davenport proceeded to propound something to consideration about the gathering of a church, and to prevent the blemishing of the first beginnings of the church work, Mr. Davenport advised, that the names of such as were to be admitted might be publicly propounded, to the end that they who were most approved might be chosen; for the town being cast in several private meetings, wherein they that lived nearest together gave their accounts one to another of God's gracious work upon them, and prayed together, and conferred to their mutual edification, sundry of them had knowledge one of another; and in every meeting some one was more approved of all than any other; for this reason, and to prevent scandals, the whole company was entreated to consider whom they found fittest to nominate for this work.

Query VI.—Whether are you all willing and do agree in this, that twelve men be chosen, that their fitness for the foundation work may be tried; however there may be more named, yet it may be in their power who are chosen to reduce them to twelve, and that it be in the power of those twelve to choose out of themselves seven, that shall be most approved of by the major part, to begin the church?

This was agreed upon by consent of all, as was expressed by holding up of hands, and that so many as should be thought fit for the foundation work of the church, shall be propounded by the plantation, and written down and pass without exception, unless they had given public scandal or offense. Yet so as in case of public scandal or offense, every one should have liberty to propound their exception, at that time, publicly against any man that should be nominated, when all their names should be writ down. But if the offense were private, that men's names might be tendered, so many as were offended were entreated to deal with the offender privately; and if he gave not satisfaction, to bring the matter to the twelve, that they might consider of it impartially and in the fear of God.

These articles—free, like the 'plantation covenant' of the previous year, from all acknowledgment of allegiance or subjection to the parent country—were on the day of their adoption subscribed by sixty-three persons, and soon after by about fifty more.

The fifth article, establishing the same condition of franchise as that in force in Massachusetts, may be presumed to have been recommended by the same reasons as had there prevailed.

JOHN DAVENPORT.

THE REVEREND JOHN DAVENPORT, whose deep religious convictions, and broad educational views were incorporated into the civil and social organization of the town and colony of New Haven, was born in Coventry, Warwickshire, England, in the year 1597. Educated in the Grammar school of his native city, and in one of the colleges (Merton or Magdalene*) of the University of Oxford, he devoted himself to theological studies, and in 1624, was vicar of St. Stephen's church, in Coleman street, London. Here his early school acquaintance with Theophilus Eaton, who had become a prosperous merchant, was ripened into a close friendship that determined the future of both their lives. By degrees Mr. Davenport's views of the ecclesiastical questions of the day diverged more and more from those of the High Church party, and harmonized with those which were represented by Preston, Cotton, Robinson, and Hooker. His association with Dr. Preston, master of Emanuel college, one of the most eloquent and learned divines of the period, and with others in organizing, in 1628, a society to support a body of stated lecturers and preachers, to supply the neglected parishes of the kingdom, exposed him to the suspicions of Laud, who soon brought the authors of that movement before the Court of Exchequer, and their funds (£6,000) into the king's treasury. His attempt with others to help the impoverished ministers who had been ejected from their parishes in the ecclesiastical disturbances of Germany, made him still more obnoxious to those who wished to make the clergy dependent on the bishops. A conference with Mr. Cotton, who had retired from St. Botolph's church, in Boston, Lincolnshire, because of his moral inability to conform to the Church of England in matters of doctrine and discipline, followed by another with the Bishop of London, confirmed him in the opinion that it was his duty to resign his benefice, and escape from a warrant that was out against him into Holland.

In 1633, he became colleague-pastor with Rev. John Paget in a Presbyterian church of English residents in Amsterdam. As the two pastors could not agree on the mode of administering baptism to children of parents who were not church members, Mr. Davenport gave up this connection in 1635, and conducted a catechetical exercise in his own lodgings in the afternoon, when the public services of the city were closed.

Returning to London at the close of 1635, he took a personal in-

* Mather says he was admitted to *Brazen-nose* (Brasinium or Brasin-huse, that portion of King Alfred's hall devoted to brewing), and afterward to Magdalen.

terest in the emigration to New England, having before contributed with his friend and parishioner Eaton to the expenses of obtaining the charter for Massachusetts in 1628, and attended the meetings of the company in London in 1629. A letter from Mr. Cotton in Boston, New England, to the effect 'that the order of the churches and commonwealth was now so settled, as to realize to his mind the new heaven and the new earth wherein dwells righteousness,' seems to have decided both him and Mr. Eaton to become the leaders of a new expedition, composed principally of Londoners, which arrived at Boston in the Hector and another vessel, in June, 1637.

The wealth and reputation of the new emigrants for intellectual endowments and moral worth, made it very desirable for the colonies already organized to retain them as residents; but while Mr. Davenport entered at once into the discussion of religious problems, Mr. Eaton, with other members of the company, made a journey to Connecticut, to explore the lands and harbors on the coast. Of these, glowing accounts had already reached Boston—especially of 'the excellent country at Quaillipioak river' through Capt. Stoughton, and of 'that famous place called Queenapiok, that hath a fair river, fit for harboring ships, and abounds with rich and goodly meadows,' through Capt. Underhill. The commercial advantages of the place, whose Indian name was Quinnipiac, fixed at once the choice of the explorers, and Mr. Eaton returned to Boston, leaving seven men to begin the settlement—of which number were Joshua Atwater, a gentleman of distinction, and Isaac Beecher, the ancestor of the Beechers of our day. The following letter from Rev. John Davenport and Mr. Eaton will explain the motives which governed their removal beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts:—

To the much honored the Governor, Deputy, and Assistants, and General Court of Massachusetts:

It may please the worthy and much honored Governor, Deputy, and Assistants, and with them, the present court, to take knowledge that our desire of staying within this patent was real and strong, if the eye of God's providence (to whom we have committed our ways, especially in so important an enterprise as this, which, we confess, is far above our capacities) had guided us to a place convenient for our families and for our friends. Which as our words have often expressed, so, we hope, the truth thereof is sufficiently declared by our almost nine months' patient waiting in expectation of some opportunity to be offered us, for that end, to our great charge and hindrance, many ways.

In all which time, we have, in many prayers, commended the guidance of our apprehensions, judgments, spirits, resolutions, and ways, into the good hand of the only wise God, whose prerogative it is to determine the bounds of our habitations according to the ends for which he hath brought us into these countries; and we have considered, as we were able, by his help, whatsoever place hath been propounded to us, being ready to have, with contentment accepted (if by our stay any public good might be promoted) smaller accommodations, and upon dearer terms (if they might be moderately commodious) than, we believe, most men, in the same case with us, in all respects would have done. And whereas

a place for an inland plantation, beyond Watertown, was propounded to us, and pressed with much importunity by some whose words have the power of a law with us, in any way of God, we did speedily and seriously deliberate thereupon, it being the subject of the greatest part of a day's discourse. The conclusion was, that, if the upland should answer the meadow ground in goodness and desirableness (whereof yet there is some ground of doubting) yet, considering that a boat can not pass from the bay thither, nearer than eight or ten miles distance, and that it is so remote from the bay and from any town, we could not see how our dwelling there would be advantageous to these plantations, or compatible with our conditions, or commodious for our families or for our friends.

Nor can we satisfy ourselves that it is expedient, for ourselves, or for our friends, that we choose such a condition, wherein we must be compelled to have our dwelling-houses so far distant from our farms, as Boston or Charlestown is from that place, few of our friends being able to bear the charge thereof (whose cases, nevertheless, we are bound to consider), and some of them that are able, not being persuaded that it is lawful for them to live continually from the greatest part of their families, as in this case, they would be necessitated to do. The season of the year, and other weighty considerations, compelled us to hasten to a full and final conclusion, which we are at last come unto, by God's appointment and direction, we hope in mercy, and have sent letters to Connecticut for a speedy transacting the purchase of the parts about Quillypieck, from the natives which may pretend title thereunto; by which act we are absolutely and irrevocably engaged that way; and we are persuaded that God will order it for good unto these plantations, whose love so abundantly above our deserts or expectations, expressed in your desire of our abode in these parts, as we shall ever retain in thankful memory, so we shall account ourselves thereby obliged to be any way instrumental and serviceable for the common good of these plantations as well as of those, which the Divine Providence hath combined together in as strong bond of brotherly affection, by the sameness of their condition, as Joab and Abishai were, whose several armies did mutually strengthen them both against several enemies—2 Sam. 10: 9, 10, 11, or rather they are joined together as Hippocrates his twins, to stand and fall, to grow and decay, to flourish and wither, to live and die together. In witness of the premises, we subscribe our names,

JOHN DAVENPORT,
THEOPH. EATON.

The 12th day of the 1st Month [March], Anno 1638.

The story of Mr. Davenport's agency in the first settlement of the New Haven colony and the organization of the first church there, is admirably and lovingly told by Dr. Bacon, in the following passages taken from his Historical Discourses on the completion of two hundred years, of the First Church in New Haven, in 1838, published in a volume of 400 pages in 1839.

During a period of fourteen months, while they were rearing some temporary shelters, clearing away the dense growth of the wilderness, and raising their first crops from the soil, they were praying, and fasting, and inquiring, and debating, to get wisdom for the great work of laying the foundations of their church and of their commonwealth. The town was 'cast in several private meetings, wherein they that dwelt most together gave their accounts one to another of God's gracious work upon them, and prayed together, and conferred to mutual edification,' and thus 'had knowledge, one of another,' and of the fitness of individuals for their several places, in the foundation work, or in the superstructure.

They began, indeed, very soon after their arrival, by forming, at the close of their first day of fasting and prayer, a 'plantation covenant,' in which they solemnly pledged themselves to each other, and to God, 'that as in matters that

concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so likewise in all public offices, which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing of laws, dividing allotments of inheritances, and all things of like nature,' they would be governed 'by those rules which the Scripture holds forth.' But under this general compact, they at first made only a temporary arrangement for the management of their religious and civil affairs.

At length, on the fourth, or according to the present style, the fourteenth of June, 1639, every thing having been prepared for so grand an occasion, 'all the free planters'—which expression includes all who were partners in the undertaking of planting the colony—met in Mr. Newman's barn,* for the purpose of laying, with due solemnities, the foundations of their ecclesiastical order, and of their civil government. The solemnities of the occasion were introduced, it is said, by a sermon from Mr. Davenport on the words, 'Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars.' Then, all present having been seriously warned 'not to be rash or slight in giving their votes to things they understood not,' but 'without respect to men, as they should be satisfied and persuaded in their own minds, to give their answers in such sort as they would be willing they should stand upon record for posterity,' they voted, unanimously, that the Scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of men in all duties, as well in families and commonwealth, as in matters of the church.

Then Mr. Davenport declared to them in the language and arguments drawn from the Scriptures—Old and New—what kind of persons might be trusted with matters of government—viz., 'able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness'—'men of wisdom and understanding, and known among your tribes'—'not strangers, but brethren, and those whom the Lord your God shall choose'—'not the unjust, or the unbelieving, but the holy.' After which, the company having been entreated 'freely to consider whether they would have it voted at this time or not,' it was deliberately voted that 'free burgesses shall be chosen out of the church members, they that are in the foundation work of the church, being actually free burgesses, and to choose to themselves out of the like estate of church fellowship; and the power of choosing magistrates and officers from among themselves, and the power of making and repealing laws according to the Word, and the dividing of inheritances, and deciding of differences that may arise, and all the business of like nature, are to be transacted by these free burgesses.' From this, after the vote had been taken, one man expressed his dissent in part. That man, though the record does not name him, was probably the Rev. Samuel Eaton,† of whom it is related by several authors, that he dissented from Mr. Davenport in respect to the principles of civil government. In expressing his dissent, 'he granted, that magistrates should be men fearing God; that the church is the company where ordinarily such men

† Rev. Samuel Eaton was a brother of the governor, Theophilus Eaton, and came over in the same vessel, and for a time assisted Mr. Davenport. He returned to England in 1640 to organize a company of emigrants to settle Branford. He was induced to remain, and settle over a Congregational church at Duckenfield, in Cheshire, whence he removed to Stockport. He was turned out of his living and silenced in 1662, with two thousand ministers who could not conform to the requisition of the Act of Parliament as to the manner in which they should worship God. Wood gives the titles of six of his published works.

Nathaniel Eaton, who attained an unenviable notoriety as Rector of 'the School,' at Cambridge, the germ of Harvard college, and whose transactions were a sore grief to his uncle the governor, was a son of Rev. Samuel Eaton.

may be expected; and that they that choose them ought to be men fearing God; only at this he stuck, that free planters ought not to give this power out of their hands.' Upon this a debate arose. To the reply made by some one, that whatever was done, was done with the consent of the planters, and that the government which they were forming was to originate strictly in the will of the people, the objector answered, 'that all the free planters ought to resume this power into their own hands if things were not orderly carried,' and therefore that this constitution which made no provision for such a contingency was defective. Mr. Theophilus Eaton illustrated the equity of the proposed arrangement, by showing, that in all places civil power is in the hands of a part for the benefit of the whole, and reminded them that in London, with the constitution of which city they were familiar, the companies choose the livery, and the livery choose the magistrates. 'Some others,' it is recorded, 'entreated the former to give his arguments and reasons whereupon he dissented. He refused to do it, and said they might not rationally demand it, seeing he let the vote pass on freely, and did not speak till after it was passed, because he would not hinder what they were agreed upon.' The debate having proceeded thus far, Mr. Davenport, who appears to have acted throughout as moderator of the meeting, made 'a short relation of some former passages between them two about this question,' and 'prayed the company that nothing might be concluded by them on this weighty question, but what themselves were persuaded to be agreeing with the mind of God;' and in view of what had been said since the vote was taken, 'he entreated them again to consider of it, and put it again to vote as before.' It was voted again with one consent. 'And some of them confessed, that whereas they did waver before they came to the assembly, they were now fully convinced.' Having thus settled this principle as 'a great fundamental agreement concerning civil government,' they proceeded another step toward the organization proposed.

Then, by the consent of all, it was agreed, 'that twelve men be chosen, that their fitness for the foundation-work may be tried;' 'and that it be in the power of these twelve to choose out of themselves seven, that shall be most approved of the major part, to begin the church.'

The seven pillars chosen to begin the church, according to the arrangement just described, were Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, Robert Newman, Matthew Gilbert, Thomas Fugill, John Punderson, and Jeremiah Dixon. By these seven persons, covenanting together, and then receiving others into their fellowship, the first church of Christ in New Haven was gathered and constituted on the 22d of August, 1639.

At a meeting of the 'seven pillars' held by them as a 'Court,' all former trusts created to meet the exigencies of a new settlement were pronounced vacated and null; their associates in the Church, nine in number, were recognized as 'freemen,' and Theophilus Eaton was elected by the sixteen as the 'Magistrate' for a year, and four other persons were chosen with him to be 'Deputies,' and with them a public 'Notary' or Secretary, and a 'Marshal' as Sheriff. To these officers Mr. Davenport addressed a 'charge,' in the nature of an oath, and the civil government of Quinnipiac, which did not

receive the name of New Haven till Septem. 1640, was established, in which the privilege of voting and holding civil office was confined to church members, and the courts conducted all trials without jury. To these peculiarities should be added an interference by the magistracy "under the general rules of righteousness," with the internal economy of families, and the personal habits of individuals, which has been the occasion of much reproach and ridicule.

We do not propose to follow Mr. Davenport into his administration of the office of pastor, but only in his labors to found a system, and institutions of education. But before doing so, we will abridge Mr. Bacon's notice of his leaving New Haven and of his death.

In the year 1651, Mr. Davenport was invited to remove to Boston and become the pastor of a new church there—the second church in that town, which was organized the year before. But his attachment to New Haven was too strong. He chose rather to remain in this little and unprosperous colony, where the entire constitution, ecclesiastical and civil, was conformed to his views of the mind of God, than to leave these interests for a settlement in a more prosperous community. . . But when the government of New Haven was absorbed in the jurisdiction of Connecticut, by the Charter of 1662,—when his own ideal of a civil state, organized on the basis of church membership, was lost in the more secular qualifications—when the church itself seemed likely to become a part of the civil constitution, Mr. Davenport felt that 'Christ's interest was miserably lost,' and he could not resist the pressing call of the First Church of Boston to become the successor of John Cotton, and John Norton. His church refused to accept his resignation, or in any way to consent to his removal. The utmost to which they could be brought by his persuasions, as well as the entreaties of the church in Boston, was, that if he was determined to go, they would no longer oppose his determination, though they still refused to take the responsibility of consenting. Upon this he considered himself at liberty to act according to his own judgment; and in 1668, probably in the month of April, just thirty years after the commencement of his ministry here, he removed to Boston with his family. He and his son, with their wives, were received into the church at Boston, on the 11th of October, and his ordination as pastor there,—or, as we should say, his installation,—took place on the 9th of December.

Mr. Davenport was, at this time, more than seventy years of age. What minister so far advanced in life, would now be called from one church to another, because of the eminency of his qualifications for usefulness? When was there ever another such instance of competition and controversy between churches, for the enjoyment of the ministry of one who, always an invalid, had numbered more than three score years and ten? How rarely can you find a church who, when a minister has torn himself away from them, retain for him so strong and reverent an affection? This distinguished man died suddenly on the 11th of March, 1670; and was buried in the tomb of his friend John Cotton.

* There was a strong minority opposed to Mr. Davenport, growing out of the question of the 'synod,' and 'the half-way covenant,' which Mr. Davenport had vigorously opposed. They protested against the call to Mr. Davenport, and not being allowed to withdraw, they seceded and formed a new church, afterwards, and now known as the old South Church, in Boston.

THE FIRST TOWN SCHOOL AND SCHOOLMASTERS.

The school policy of the early settlers of New Haven was substantially the same as in the River towns, and has been briefly described in the chapter on the School Polity of Connecticut. The citations from the early records which follow,* are more full and throw additional light on the difficulties of establishing schools in a new community—schools which shall meet the educational wants of parents who had enjoyed good opportunities themselves, and at the same time not be too burdensome to the poor who do not appreciate.

The first emigrants to New Haven could nearly all of them read the Bible; about three-quarters of the men could write at least their names. Among forty-eight freemen who signed the Fundamental Agreement, previous to 1640, thirty-five signed their own names, and thirteen made their marks.

As early as 1641, it was ordered that a free school shall be sett up in this towne, and our pastor, Mr. Davenport, together with the magistrates shall consider whatt yearly allowance is meete to be given to itt out of the common stock of the towne, and also what rules and orders are meet to be observed in and about the same.

The same order is repeated in a more extended form four years later, in a revision of such orders as were regarded of a more permanent nature, as follows:

For the better trayning upp of youth in this towne, that through God's blessinge thay may be fitted for publique service hereafter, either in church or commonwealth, it is ordered that a free schoole be sett upp, & the magistrates with the teaching elders are entreated to consider what rules and orders are meete to be observed, and what allowance may be convenient for the school master's care and paines which shal be paid out of the townes stocke. According to which order, £20 a year was paid to Mr. Ezekiel Cheevers, the present schoole-master, for two or three years at first, but that not proving a competent maintenance, in August, 1644, it was enlarged to £30 a year and so continueth.

Mr. Cheevers' connection with the School continued eleven years. In 1649 he was put on trial before the First Church in New Haven on charges which in no way affected the general correctness of his life and character, and which in our day would be esteemed both frivolous and impertinent, but on which he was convicted.† The next years Cheevers removed to Ipswich, and subsequently to Boston, where he died in 1708.

The immediate successor of Cheevers was William Jeanes or Janes, under the following vote of the town:

Oct. 3, 1650.—It was propounded that a schoolmaster might be provided for the town. The court approved the motion and chose the Magistrates, Elders, Deacons and Deputies for the particular court to consider when to have one and what salary to allow and whether the town should not bear a part and the parents of the children taught a part, and whether parents should not be compelled to put their children to learning, at least to learn English and to wright.

May 19, 1651.—For the encouragement of Mr. Janes in teaching school, the court ordered that he should have £10 for this year, to be paid out of the

* *Historical Sketch of Public School Instruction, in New Haven*, by Horace Day, Secretary of the Board of Education, in City Year Book for 1872.

† Mr. Cheever's answer to the charges of 'offensive carriage, both in private meetings of the Church and in the Public Assembly, and the necessity of casting him out until his stiff and proud spirit is brought into more member-like frame,' will be found in Connecticut Historical Society's Collections, Vol. I.

Town Treasury; the year to begin when he begins teaching, which was the ———. The rest he is to take of the parents of the children that he teacheth, by the quarter, to make him up a full recompense for his paines.

Oct. 29, 1651.—Mr. Janes desired to know of the town if they would not give him liberty to go to Wethersfield to accept the proffer made him to teach school, for he heareth there is another coming hither and there will not be employment for both. Upon this motion he had (by vote) liberty given him to go, yet so as they desyred he would stay if he see good.

14 Nov. 1651.—The Governour acquainted the court that now the schoole master is come, and some course must be taken to provide for his lodging and dyet, and to repair the schoole-house, and consider what the town will allow him a yeare and what his worke shall be. Therefore it is necessary a committee should be chosen to treate with him. The court chose the ruling Elder, the four deputies and the treasurer as a committee to treat with him and provide for him and declare that they are willing to allow him £30 a yeare out of the treasury or any greater summe as they can agree not exceeding £40, and that his worke should be to perfect male children in ye English after they can reade in their Testament or bible, and to learne them to wrighte and so bring them on to latin as they are capable and desire to proceede therein.

17 Nov. 1661.—The Committee appointed the last court to treate and agree with the schoole master, acquainted the court with what they had done, viz: that he proposed to have £20 a yeare and the towne to pay for his chamber and dyet (which they have agreed with Mr. Atwater for, for 5s. a weeke): That he have libbertie once a yeare to goe see his friends which was propounded to be in harvest time: That his paye bee goods, and some of it such as wherewith he may buy bookes, and defraye charges in his travel. That if he be called away (not to the same worke) but some other imployment which may be for the honour of Christ, he may have libbertie; and for this he will teach the children of this towne (having the benefit of strangers to himself) after they are entered and can reade in ye Testament, to perfect them in English and teache them their latin tongue, as they are capable, and to wright. After consideration the Towne voted to accept ye termes propounded.

11 March, 1652.—The Governour acquainted the court that he heard the schoole master is somewhat discouraged because he hath so many English scholars which he must learn to spell, which was never the townes mind, and it was now ordered that the schoole master shall send back such scholars as he sees doth not answer the first agreement with him, and the parents of such children were desired not to send them.

The teacher to whom these notices refer was Thomas Hanford, or Handford, who came to this country in 1637, and settled at Scituate. He was a teacher in Roxbury, Mass., before his removal to New Haven. His connection with the school in New Haven lasted less than a year. He removed to Norwalk in 1662, and was the first pastor of the church. His death occurred in 1693.

8 Nov. 1652.—The Governor informed the court that the cause of calling this meeting is about a schoole master, to let them know what he hath done in it; he hath written a letter to one Mr. Bower, who is schoole master at Plymouth and desireth to come into these parts to live; and another letter about one Mr. Rowlandson a schooler which he heareth will take that imployment upon him; how they will succeede he knows not; but now Mr. Janes is come to the towne and is willing to come hither again if he may have encouragement. What course hath been taken to get one, he [Mr. Janes] was acquainted, and if either of them come, he must be entertained, but he said, if another came, he should be willing to teach boyes and girles to read and wright, if the Towne thought fitt and Mr. Janes being now present confirmeth it. The Towne generally was willing to incourage Mr. Janes his coming, and would allow him at least ten pounds a year out of the treasury; and the rest he might take of the parents of the children, he teaching by the quarter as he did before, to make it of a comfortable maintaynance, and many of the town thought there would be neede of two school-masters, for if a lattin schoole master come, it is feared he will be discouraged if many English schollers come to him: Mr. Janes seeing the

Towns' willingness for his coming again, acknowledged their love and desired them to proceede no further in it at this time, for he was not sure he shall get free where he is; and if he doe, he doubt it will not be before winter. Therefore no more was done in it at present.

May 1, 1654.—A complainte was made that the scoole-master is so employed in teaching children sent to him to learne their letters, that others for whom the scoole was chiefly intended (as Lattin scollars) are neglected, wherefore two of the townsmen were now sent to send all such children home, and desired the scoolemaster not to receive any more such.

Colony School.

In 1659, the project was conceived of a Colony School, which should be common to all the inhabitants of the several towns.

The Court looked upon it as their great duty to establish some course (that through the blessing of God) learning may be promoted in the jurisdiction, as a means for ye fitting of instruments for publique service in church and commonwealth, did order that £40 a year shall be paid by the treasurer for the furtherance of a grammar schoole, for the use of ye inhabitants of the jurisdiction, and that £8 more shall be disbursed by him for the procuring of bookes of Mr. Blinman, such as shall be approved by Mr. Davenport & Mr. Pierson as suitable for this worke. The appointing of the place where this schoole shall be settled, the person or persons to be imployed, the time of beginning, &c. is referred to the gouvernor, deputy gouvernor, ye magistrates & ministers settled in the jurisdiction, or so many of them as upon due notice shall meet to consider of this matter.

The magistrates of Guilford made an immediate offer of the Whitefield House (the stone house still standing—1873,) 'for the furtherance of this worke.' Nothing however was done in the matter till the next year (1660), when 'The Court being deeply sensible of the small progress or proficiency in learning that hath yet been accomplished, in the way of some particular town schooles of later years in this colony' and 'yet notwithstanding what this court did order last yeare or formerly, nothing hath yet bene done to attain the ends desired, upon which considerations and others like,' they ordered, in addition to the £40 per annum already provided, that £100 more should be paid from the Jurisdiction treasury to encourage the undertaking, 'granting that speciale respect to our brethren at New Haven to be first in imbracing or refusing the courts' encouragement or provision for a schoole, whether to be settled at New Haven towne or not; but if they shale refuse, Milford is to have the next choice, then Guilford and so in order, every other towne on the maine, within the jurisdiction, have their liberty to accept or refuse the court's tender, yet it is most desired of all that New Haven would accept the business, as being a place most probable to advantage the well carrying on of the schoole, for the ends sought after and endeavored after thereby.'

At the same court which established the Colony School, an addition was made to the law concerning education, providing that 'The sonnes of all the inhabitants within this jurisdiction shall (under the same penalty) be learned to write a ledgible hand, so soone as

they are capable of it.' A month later, 'it was agreed that Mr. Peck, now at Guilford, should be schoolmaster, and that it should begin in October next, when his half year expired there; he is to keep ye schoole, to teach the schollers Lattine, Greek & Hebrew, and fitt them for the Colledge; and for the salary, he knows the allowance from the colony is £40 a year.'

April 3, 1660.—Great disorders amongst children in the Meeting House in the time of divine worship was complained of, and that it might for the time to come be prevented, 'it was ordered that the scholers' seat shall be filled with boys under 16 years of age, and Edward Parker was desired to take the oversight of them; Brother Hull and Brother Beaman of those yt sett about the staires of the pulpitt, who, if they observed any disorder, the first time they are to complaine to their parents. But if they offend a second time they are to complaine to authority, that such disorders may be punished, yt God be not provoked.'

In 1661, at the Feb. March, and August meetings, the chronic trouble of all new settlements came into debate, the enlarging the old or the building of a new house, which ended in a plan of enlargment with an additional room by partition for the master, or for such as he sees meet.

We know little of the habits of the scholars at this early day. An incidental allusion to them in the trial of Goodwife Spinage and others, for allowing card playing in their houses, show that they were not wholly exempt from human frailties. '6th of August, 1661.—Goodwife Spinage was told that it is also informed that her house is a place where young persons also play at cards, and that she herself is principally active in it, and that against the minde of her husband. To which she answered by confessing that the schollars had there played at cards on ye last dayes of weeks in the afternoon, and on play dayes, but in ye evening never. She said that she did not then judge it to be a sinne, but she was now sorry that she gave away to any such disorder.'

Jan. 7, 1661.—The indentures of Samuel Hitchcock were canceled 'because he had not been taught to write and read as he ought.'

Aug. 11, 1662.—Mr. Davenport further propounded to 'ye Towne something about ye Colony Schoole, and informed them that the Committee for ye schoole made it a great objection against the keeping of it up that this towne did now send scholars only five or six; now, therefore, if ye would not have ye benefit taken away, you should send your children to it constantly and not take

them off soe often, and further said that he was in ye schoole and it grieved him to see how few schoolars was there.'

Town School Revived.

After the failure of the Colony School, the endeavor was made to revive the old Town School for the instruction of the youth of the town in classical studies under Mr. Osborn, who left before the close of the year, and in June, 1663, there is the following entry respecting Mr. Pardee.

June 15, 1663.—The Deputy Governor informed the Towne concerning ye necess.ty of having a schoole master for the teaching of children, and sayd he had spoken with Mr. Davenport and they new none so fit for it at present as George Pardee, who desired to know ye townes mind. Mr. Pardee did not feel himself strong in his classics—'he had lost much of what learning he formerly had attained, but if he had a competent maintenance allowed him for his family, he should give himself and time wholly to ye worke for ye regaining what he had lost, but if that could not be, he must take all opportunities, evenings and mornings, in other ways for the supply of his family.'

[To Mr. Pardee's propounding as to his work and his pay—it was answered]. His work was to teach English and carry on his scholars in Latin as far as he could; to learne them to write, and something was said about arithmetic as very necessary in these parts. 'As it was scarce known in any place to have a free school for teaching of English and writing, it was proposed to allow twenty pounds out of the towne treasury, and ye rest to be payed by those who sent schollars to ye schoole as he and they could agree.' Mr. Pardee 'was advised to be careful to instruct the youth in point of manners, there being a great fault in that respect, as some expressed.'

Before the year (1663) had expired, Mr. Davenport 'hath a letter from the Bay that there is a desirable man to be obtained for the Grammar Schoole.' He was therefore 'disposed to make sure of him, lest he should provide for himself otherwise.' Mr. Pardee was not disposed to leave till the end of his year, 'and many thought there was not matter here for a grammar schoole, and as the thing was a great discouragement formerly,' it was decided to let Mr. Pardee continue his year out.

Almost cotemporaneously with the abandonment of the Colony Grammar School, the colony itself, as an independent jurisdiction, ceased to exist. For a quarter of a century the New Haven settlements, united at first by community of sentiment and afterwards by formal association, had enacted laws, established tribunals, administered justice and inflicted capital punishments, with no other warrant than was to be found in the obvious necessities of their case and in those general rules of civil policy which Moses had recorded for the government of the Hebrew race. With the extinction of the New Haven Colony authority and the incorporation of its several towns within the limits and under the charter of the Connecticut Colony, the general legislation in respect to education in these towns, became thereafter the legislation of Connecticut.

THE HOPKINS BEQUEST.

The records of the Town and Colony of New Haven, and his own letters, are full of evidence of Mr. Davenport's great desire to establish a Grammar School and College, and for a time he cherished the hope that the bequest of his friend Governor Edward Hopkins, would enable the town to make a permanent beginning in both institutions. The history of this bequest, the hinderances in the way of its early distribution, and the final action of the Trustees, have already been given. Of the estate in New England, the sum of £400 was assigned to Hartford, and the residue was equally divided between 'the towns of New Haven and Hadley, —'it being provided further that out of the half of the estate which Hadley hath, one hundred pounds shall be given and paid to Harvard College.' Under a decree in chancery, in 1712, £800 of the estate in England was paid to Trustees for the benefit of Harvard College and the Grammar School, in Cambridge.

The sum realized out of that portion of the estate set out to New Haven was £412, and was by the "town court, consisting of nine magistrates and deputies, and the officers of the church at New Haven," applied to the support of a grammar school. Mr. Davenport had previously expressed his wishes as to the donation to the General Court, in the following communication:

The Reverend Mr. John Davenport's resignation of Governor Hopkins' donation to the general court of New Haven, May 4th, 1660.

Quod felix faustumque sit!

On the 4th day of the fourth month, 1660, John Davenport, pastor to the Church of Christ at New Haven, presented to the honorable general court at New Haven, as followeth:

MEMORANDUM,

I. That, sundry years past, it was concluded by the said general court, that a small college, such as the day of small things will permit, should be settled in New Haven, for the education of youth in good literature, to fit them for public services, in church and commonwealth, as it will appear in the public records.

II. Hereupon, the said John Davenport, wrote unto our honored friend Edward Hopkins, Esq., then living in London, the result of those consultations. In answer whereunto, the said Edward Hopkins wrote unto the said John Davenport, a letter, dated the 30th of the second month, called April, 1656, beginning with these words,

MOST DEAR SIR,

The long continued respects I have received from you, but especially, the speakings of the Lord to my heart, by you, have put me under deep obligations to love and a return of thanks beyond what I have or can express, &c. Then after other passages (which being secrets hinder me from shewing his letters) he added a declaration of his purpose in reference to the college about which I wrote unto him, That which the Lord hath given me in those parts, I ever designed, the greatest part of it, for the furtherance of the work of Christ in those ends of the earth, and if I understand that a college is begun and like to be carried on, at New Haven, for the good of posterity, I shall give some encouragement thereunto. These are the very words of his letter. But,

III. Before Mr. Hopkins could return an answer to my next letter it pleased God to finish his days in this world: Therefore, by his last will and testament

(as the copy thereof transcribed and attested, by Mr. Thomas Yale, doth shew) he committed the whole trust of disposing his estate in these countries (after some personal legacies were paid out) unto the public uses mentioned, and bequeathed it to our late honored governor, Theophilus Eaton, Esq., his father-in-law, and to the aforesaid John Davenport, and joined with them, in the same trust, captain John Cullick, and Mr. William Goodwin.

IV. It having pleased the most high to afflict this colony greatly by taking from it to himself, our former ever-honored governor, Mr. Eaton, the surviving trustees and legatees met together, to consider what course they should take for the discharge of their trust, and agreed that each of them should have an inventory of the aforesaid testator's estate in New England, in houses, and goods, and lands, (which were prized by some in Hartford intrusted by captain Cullick and Mr. Goodwin) and in debts, for the gathering in whereof some attorneys were constituted, empowered and employed by the three surviving trustees, as the writing in the magistrates' hand will shew.

V. Afterwards, at another meeting of the said trustees, they considering that by the will of the dead, they are joined together in one common trust, agreed to act together, with mutual consent, in performance thereof; and considering, that by the will of the testator, two of New Haven were joined with two of Hartford, and that Mr. Hopkins had declared his purpose to further the college intended at New Haven, they agreed that one half of that estate which should be gathered in, should be paid unto Mr. Davenport for New Haven, the other half to captain Cullick and Mr. Goodwin, to be improved for the uses and ends fore noted where they should have power to perform their trust, which, because they would not expect to have at Hartford, they concluded it would be best done by them in that new plantation unto which sundry of Hartford were to remove, and were now gone; yet they agreed that out of the whole 100l. should be given to the college at Cambridge, in the Bay; the estate being 1000l. as captain Cullick believed it would be, which we now see cause to doubt, by reason of the sequestrations laid upon that estate, and still continued by the general court at Hartford, whereupon some refuse to pay their debts, and others forsake the purchases they had made, to their great hindrance of performing the will of the deceased, according to the trust committed to them, and to the great endamagement of the estate.

VI. The said John Davenport acquainted the other two trustees with his purpose, to interest the honored magistrates and elders of this colony in the disposal of that part of the estate, that was by their agreement to be paid thereunto, for the promoving the college work in a gradual way, for the education of youth in good literature, so far as he might, with reserving in himself, the power committed to him for the discharge of his trust: they consented thereunto. Accordingly on the election day, it being the 30th day of the third month, he delivered up into the hands of the honored governor and magistrates the writings that concern this business: (viz. the copy of Mr. Hopkins his last will and testament, and the inventory of his estate in New England, and the appraisement of his goods, and the writings signed by the surviving trustees for their attornies, and some letters between the other trustees and himself,) adding also his desire of some particulars for the well performing the trust as followeth:

1. He desireth of New Haven town,

First, That the rent of the oyster shell field, formerly separated and reserved for the use and benefit of a college, be paid from this time forward, towards the making of some stock for disbursements of necessary charges towards the college till it be set up, and afterwards to continue for a yearly rent as belonging to it, under the name and title of college land.

Secondly, That if no place can be found more convenient, Mrs. Eldred's lot be given for the use of the college, and of the colony grammar school, if it be in this town, else only for the college.

Thirdly, That parents will keep such of their sons constantly to learning in the schools, whom they intend to train up for public serviceableness, and that all their sons may learn, at least, to write, and cast up accounts competently, and may make some entrance into the Latin tongue.

Fourthly, That if the colony settle 40l. per annum, for a common school, and shall add 100l. to be paid towards the building or buying of a school house and library in this town, seeing thereby this town will be freed from the charges which

they have been at hitherto to maintain a town school, they would consider what part of their former salary may be still continued for future supplies towards a stock for necessary expenses about the college or school.

2. He humbly desireth the honored general court of the colony of New Haven.

First, That the 40l. per annum formerly agreed upon, to be paid by the several plantations, for a common grammar school, be now settled in one of the plantations which they shall judge fittest, and that a schoolmaster may forthwith be provided to teach the three languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, so far as shall be necessary to prepare them for the college, and that if it can be accomplished, that such a schoolmaster be settled by the end of this summer, or the beginning of winter. The payments from the several plantations may begin from this time.

Secondly, That if the common school be settled in this town, the honored governor, magistrates, elders, and deputies, would solemnly and together visit the grammar school once every year, at the court for elections, to examine the scholars' proficiency in learning.

Thirdly. That for the payments to be made by the plantations, for the school, or out of Mr. Hopkins' estate, towards the college, one be chosen by themselves, under the name and title of steward, or receiver, for the school and college, to whom such payments may be made, with full power given him by the court to demand what is due, and to prosecute in case of neglect, and to give acquittances in case of due payments received, and to give his account yearly to the court, and to dispose of what he receiveth in such provisions as can not be well kept, in the best way for the aforesaid uses according to advice.

Fourthly, That unto that end a committee of church members be chosen to meet together and consult and advise, in emergent difficult cases, that may concern the school or college, and which can not be well delayed till the meeting of the general court, the governor being always the chief of that committee.

Fifthly, The said John Davenport desireth, that while it may please God to continue his life, and abode in this place, (to the end that he may the better perform his trust,) in reference to the college, that he be always consulted in difficult cases, and have the power of a negative vote, to hinder any thing from being acted which he shall prove by good reason to be prejudicial to the true intendment of the testator, and to the true end of this work.

Sixthly, That certain orders be speedily made for the school, and when the college shall proceed, for it also; that the education of youth may be carried on suitably to Christ's ends, by the counsel of the teaching elders in this colony; and that what they shall conclude with consent, being approved by the honored magistrates, be ratified by the general court.

Seventhly, Because it is requisite that the writings which concern Mr. Hopkins his estate be safely kept; in order thereunto, the said John Davenport desireth that a convenient chest be made, with two locks and two keys, and be placed in the house of the governor, or of the steward, in some safe room, till a more public place (as a library or the like) may be prepared; and that one key be in the hands of the governor, the other in the steward's hands. That in this chest all the writings now delivered by him to the magistrates may be kept; and all other bills, bonds, acquittances, orders, or whatsoever writings that may concern this business be put and kept there; and that some place may be agreed on where the steward or receiver may lay up such provision as may be paid in, till they may be disposed of for the good of the school or college.

Eighthly, Because our sight is narrow and weak, in viewing and discerning the compass of things that are before us, much more in foreseeing future contingencies, he further craveth liberty for himself and other elders of this colony, to propound to the honored governor and magistrates what hereafter may be found to be conducible to the well carrying on of this trust, according to the ends proposed, and that such proposals may be added unto these, under the name and title of USEFUL ADDITIONALS; and confirmed by the general court.

Lastly, He hopeth he shall not need to add, what he expressed by word of mouth, that the honored general court will not suffer this gift to be lost from the colony, but as it becometh fathers of the commonwealth, will use all good endeavors to get it into their hands, and to assert their right in it for the common good; that posterity may reap the good fruit of their labors, and wisdom, and faithfulness; and that Jesus Christ may have the service and honor of such provision made for his people; in whom I rest. JOHN DAVENPORT.

This document while it shows the deep conviction entertained by the author, of the value of general intelligence, especially in the view of the subject entertained by him, in common with all the prominent men among the first settlers of New England, as the means of diffusing sound religious instruction, also evinces his broad and liberal views as to the constituent features of a system of public education for the colony, viz.: common town schools, elementary and high, "that all their sons may learn, at least, to write and cast up accounts competently, and may make some entrance into the Latin tongue," a county common grammar school for such of their sons, "whom they intend to train up to public serviceableness," a town or county library, and a college for the colony. The views presented in this document, in respect to the grammar school, were reiterated before a town meeting, held February 7th, 1667.

"Mr. John Davenport, senior, came into the meeting, and desired to speak something concerning the school; and first propounded to the town, whether they would send their children to the school, to be taught for the fitting them for the service of God, in church and commonwealth. If they would, then, he said, that the grant of that part of Mr. Hopkins his estate, formerly made to this town, stands good; but if not, then it is void; because it attains not the end of the donor. Therefore, he desired they would express themselves. Upon which Roger Alling declared his purpose of bringing up one of his sons to learning; also Henry Glover one of Mr. William Russell's, John Winston, Mr. Hodshon, Thomas Trowbridge, David Atwater, Thomas Meeks [Mix]; and Mr. Augur said that he intended to send for a kinsman from England. Mr. Samuel Street declared, that there were eight at present in Latin, and three more would come in summer, and two more before next winter. Upon which Mr. Davenport seemed to be satisfied; but yet declared, that he must always reserve a negative voice, that nothing be done contrary to the true intent of the donor, and it [the donation] be improved only for that use, and therefore, while it can be so improved here, it shall be settled here. But if New Haven will neglect their own good herein, he must improve it otherwise, unto that end it may answer the will of the dead."

The declarations thus made meant something. Among the graduates of Harvard College from 1660 to 1700, when the population of the colony did not exceed five hundred, as many as one in thirty were from the town of New Haven, and among them are the names of many of the townsmen, who responded in the affirmative to Mr. Davenport's appeal—and these graduates became clergymen, teachers, magistrates, and useful and influential citizens. The Hopkins' Grammar School at New Haven has been maintained for nearly two centuries, not as a common town school for mere elementary instruction, nor yet as a local school, but as a classical school open alike to pupils from beyond, as well as from within the limits of New Haven, and as such, has helped to train up "many hopeful youths in a way of learning for the public service of the country."

The Hopkins fund at this time [1858] consists of a valuable lot on which the school house stands, a building lot in Grove street, valued

Final Action of Mr. Davenport.

When the plan of a Colony Grammar School broke down, in 1662–3, and the town of New Haven, in 1663, had revived the Town School, Mr. Davenport, ever mindful of his great desire to settle in New Haven 'a small college, such as the day of small things will permit, for the education of youth in good literature, to fit them for public service in church and commonwealth,' made a tender of Governor Hopkins donation to the town of New Haven, as appears from the New Haven Town Records for April 28, 1664.

After the names were called the Deputy Governor informed the town that Mr. Davenport had something to acquaint them withall, therefore he desired that they would seriously attend to it. Then Mr. Davenport informed the Town that there was a trust committed to him by the last will of Mr. Hopkins—and they might remember how that, in Mr. Eaton's time, there was thought of erecting a college here or collegiate school—and for that end the oyster-shell-field was designed for such a use, and since a town lot called Mrs. Eldred's lot and Mr. Goodyear offered his house to that end but not accepted—and in this time he said that he wrote to Mr. Hopkins about such an intendment--who answered that he would do something to encourage it; and so in his last will he did bequeath part of his estate that was in New England to that end—and committed that part to Mr. Eaton himself, Capt. Cullick and Mr. Goodwin, and left it wholly to their dispose as they saw good, as if it were their own estate—but they well knew his meaning therein. Now it pleased God to take away Mr. Eaton and after him, Capt. Cullick: now there was letters passed between them about the dispose of this estate and attorneys appointed about gathering up the estate where it was in the country. But the Magistrates of Connecticut laid a restraint upon the estate, till they had a copy of Mr. Hopkins' will and an inventory taken of the estate, and after this was done, then they would have a copy of the will attested from the Court of the probate of wills in England; and when this was done they still kept on the restraint, so that when Mr. Winthrop was in England, Mr. Dally (who was put in trust with Mr. Hopkins his estate in England) dealt with him about it, and Mr. Winthrop promised him, that when he came over it should be set at liberty, but notwithstanding it was not till this spring, for that now it is free. Mr. Davenport further said that Mr. Goodwin and himself had consulted by letter about the dispose of it—and he told him he would dispo e of it to the Commonwealth—and so he did to the General Court—but the failing of the colony school put an end to that, so that now he would dispose of it to New Haven town—but yet to be improved to that end for which it was given by Mr. Hopkins, viz—to fit youth (by learning) for the service of God in church and commonwealth—therefore he would have the town consider how this should be attained. He further said that the estate was something damnified—yet it is thought when all is paid there will be a thousand pound in the whole of which Hartford have gained four hundred for a school—now the rest was in their trust and he had writ to Mr. Goodwin about it and that he thought it was meet New Haven should have more than Hadley—and so Mr. Goodwin agreed to pay the one hundred pound out of his part to the college in the Bay which they had purposed before to give to it: Mr. Davenport further signified to the town, that there was five hundred pounds more after the death of Mistress Hopkins, which Mr. Dally was engaged to see paid. These things he said he acquainted the town withall, that if he should die they might know the state of things. He further said, that we are at present in a low way for learning, therefore he would have the town not to be wanting to themselves in this business, but his desire and advice was that the town would allow that maintenance as they had formerly done for a Grammar school—and to send to the President of the College for an able man for that work to teach the Languages—he also desired that the town would appoint a committee that might take care about this estate, both to appoint some for the

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

receiving of it and improving of it and sending for a schoolmaster, and also, there being many books belonging to the town, that they might consider about building a library upon that lot before mentioned—and what else may be thought necessary for this work. Mr. Jones then spake and said that he thought, that that which Mr. Davenport had propounded was very acceptable to the town, and might be much for the advantage both of colony and town in the well being of them. Mr. Davenport further said that he had writ to those concerned about the estate, that they would sett off that which was to be sold —and he thought that they would do us that favor as to dispose of that part of the estate which is most free to us.

The town declared their acceptance of the Hopkins bequest, on the terms propounded by Mr. Davenport, and voted the sum of £30, per annum, for a Grammar School as they had formerly done, constituting 'the Magistrates, Elders, Deacons, and Deputies of the Court, as they shall arrive, to be a committee for the trust.' A formal 'grant' was executed by Mr. Hopkins in 1768, after his removal to Boston, which is entered in full on the records of the town, as well as on the records of the trustees of the school. After rehearsing the will and the agreement of the trustees named therein, he states the object of the instrument: 'that the Grammar Schoole *or Colledge*, att Newhaven already ffounded and begun may be provided for maintained and continued for the encouragement and bringing up of hopefull youths in the Languages, and other good Literature, for the publique use and service of the Country.' He names his trustees and empowers them to manage and improve the estate, 'to order, regulate and direct the said *Collegiate* School,'—'to make choice of such school master (and Usher if need be) as they shall approve of to be sufficiently qualified to undertake such a charge, and able to instruct and teach the three learned Languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, so far as shall be necessary to prepare and fit youth for the college.' He continues: 'If the said Committee or their successors shall find the said ends by this grant not attained at New Haven, and that the said Grammar or Collegiate School hereby endowed and provided for should be dissolved and wholly cease, I obtest them by the will of the dead, which no man may alter, and by the trust committed to me and them, whereof we must give our account to that great Judge of all, that this gift of the said Edward Hopkins, Esq., deceased, be by them the said Committee wholly translated and disposed of elsewhere where the said ends may be attained.' He reserves for himself the right of a negative on the acts of the Trustees, during his lifetime. He stipulates that the Oyster-shell-field and Mrs. Eldred's lot shall be settled upon the School forever. Finally, he declares the former grant of 1660 to be null and void, in consequence of the laying down of the Colony School.

List of Rectors from 1664 *to* 1878.

1664. The Grammar School, set up by the town in 1663, does not appear to have come into the possession of any income from the Hopkins bequest till after 1664, and the first teacher was George Pardee, whose qualifications did not come up to Mr. Davenport's standard, who had recommended to the town—to the President of the College (Harvard), 'for an able man to teach the Languages.' The man sent by President Chauncey was one of his own sons, a graduate of the class of 1661, but there is no record of his having taught, but it is of record that Mr. Pardee, 'who had lost much of what learning he had formerly attained,' undertook 'to teach English to those who should come to him, and to carry them on in Lattine so far as he could; also to learn them to write.'

1667. SAMUEL STREET, a graduate of Harvard College, in the class of 1664, and son of Rev. Nicholas Street, teacher of the church in New Haven, became rector in 1667, and continued till 1673, when he was settled over the church in Wallingford. At a town meeting in Feb., 1667, Mr. Street stated 'that there were eight scholars in Latin, and three could come in summer, and two more before next vacation.' 'Upon which Mr. Davenport seemed to be satisfied; but yet declared that he must always reserve a negative voice, that nothing be done contrary to the true interest of the donor.'

1674. GEORGE PARDEE was re-elected (the town being left destitute) 'to teach youth to read English, and the Accidence, and any Grammar rules as far as he could, and to write.' In 1677, on occasion of an order from the General Court concerning the lack of a grammar school at New Haven, Mr. Jones stated that after the gift of the Hopkins legacy to the town (1664), 'a Latin School was *set up and continued until Mr. Street removed*,' but that 'for about three years there had been only an English school.' After a long debate about the condition of the estate, the Record concludes:

'The town now being informed in the state of things about the school, they fell to a loving debate to promove the business that a school according to the Law might be set up, and therefore it was desired that parents or such as have children, would be careful to send their children to the school, and to continue them at it, that they may attain to some proficiency whereby they may come to be fit for service to God in church or commonwealth, and [were] pressed with *the custom of our predecessors and the common practice of the English nation to bring up their children in Learning*.'

1683. THEOPHILUS MUNSON 'agreed that Ensign Munson go on with the Grammar School at New Haven to make up his year current, and his allowance to be £40 pr. ann. as formerly. Also that trial be made of the sufficiency of the said Ensign Munson, and if he be found sufficient to instruct or fit hopeful youth for the College, according to the trust committed to us,' that he have £50 for the ensuing year.'

1684. JOHN HERRIMAN, son of John Herriman who 'kept the ordinary' at New Haven, at that time an officer of trust and dignity under the town. He graduated at Harvard College in 1667, and ministered to the church in New Haven, more or less, from 1676 to 1682. He was afterward first minister of Elizabethtown, N. J.

1687. JOHN DAVENPORT, grandson of the first pastor of New Haven, graduated at Harvard, in 1687. Undertook the School in August of the same year,

and continued it for some four years or more. He afterward became minister of Stamford.

1694. SAMUEL MANSFIELD was *Schoole Master* in this year, and continued in the position until 1699. He graduated at Harvard, in 1690, having been, like his predecessors, assisted in his education from the Hopkins fund. After leaving the School, he went into the West India trade. Died, 1701.

1699. JOSEPH MOSS. 'Sir Moss . Be gun . to keep scole . the 27 : of . November 1699 : then . sayed Moss . put . in by the Committee.' (*School Records.*) Three years before this his father was 'allowed the use of Colledge meadow rent-free, for his encouragement in giving his son Colledge Learning.' He graduated at Harvard, 1699. After he left the school, November, 1706, he became minister of Derby. 'No clergyman in his time had a higher reputation in Connecticut, than Mr. Moss.' *Prof. Kingsley.*

1706. JOHN JAMES. Received an honorary degree at H. C., 1710. He kept the school only six weeks.

1707. SAMUEL COOKE, Y. C. 1705. Continued to teach the school for eight years, and went from it to become minister of Stratfield, (Bridgeport.) He was, in 1732, Fellow of the College. Died in 1747.

1716. DANIEL BROWNE, Y. C. 1714. Tutor in Y. C. Went to England to receive orders as an Episcopal minister, where he died of small-pox, 1723.

1718. JAMES PIERPONT, Y. C. 1718. Son of the pastor of New Haven. Tutor in Yale College, 1722–4. Died, 1776.

1721. RICHARD TREAT, Y. C. 1719. 'Mr. Treat took the care of the Grammar School in Newhauen 31th day May anno Domini 1721.' Was minister of Abington, Mass., and *not* D. D. This title belonged to another of the same name who graduated six years later.

1721. (Sept. 18th.) SAMUEL MIX, Y. C. 1720. Son of Samuel Mix, of New Haven.

1729. DANIEL MUNSON. 'Agreed with Ensigne theophelus Munson for his son Daniell Munson to keep the gramer scholl for on year to begin 22d Nouember and to keep about 7 hours in the day in the winter season and about 8 hours in the sumer season in each day and not to exceed twelve play dayes in the year and for his Reward he is to have the money raysed on the scoollers heads and the Rents of the money and of the land and Meadow of this present year.' Y. C. 1726.

1730. MOSES MANSFIELD, Y. C. 1730. Of a New Haven family in which prevailed a talent for school keeping. *Vide infra.*

1734. WILLIAM WALCOTT, Y. C. 1734. Tutor, 1735. Died, 1799.

1735. ISAAC DICKERMAN, Y. C. 1736. Taught the school for six weeks, October and November of 1735.

1738. ——MILLS, Gideon, Y. C. 1737, or Ebenezer, Y. C. 1738.

1740. MOSES MANSFIELD. The same who kept the school in 1730.

1741. JOHN WHITING, Y. C. 1740. Tutor, 1743–7. Was afterward Judge of Probate in New Haven, and Deacon of the First Church. Died, 1786.

1742. RICHARD MANSFIELD, Y. C. 1741. Son of Jonathan Mansfield, the Secretary and Treasurer of the Trustees. Was ordained in England, 1794, as an Episcopal minister, and took charge of congregations in West Haven, Derby, and Waterbury.

1747. MOSES TUTTLE, Y. C. 1745. Marked as a minister, in the Triennial Catalogue of Yale College.

1747. BENJAMIN TALLMADGE, Y. C. 1747. Minister of Brookhaven, L. I., where he died, 1786. He was father of Col. Benjamin Tallmadge, of the army of the Revolution.

1747. ELIPHALET BALL, Y. C. 1748. Born at New Haven. Became minister of Woodbridge, and afterward of Ballston, N. Y., which was named for him. Died, 1497. He taught the school only a single week.

1747. TIMOTHY PITKIN, Y. C. 1747. Tutor. Afterward minister of Farmington, and Fellow of the College. Died, 1811.

1749. JOHN HOTCHKISS, Y. C. 1748; received degrees, also, from Harvard, New Jersey, and Dartmouth Colleges. He was a New Haven merchant, and was killed in the British invasion of New Haven, July, 1779.

1751. THOMAS WILLIAMS, Y. C. 1748. Was a preacher of the gospel, but never ordained. Died, 1778.

1753. JONATHAN WELLS, Y. C. 1751. Tutor, 1754. Died, 1792.

1754. JOHN NOYES, Y. C. 1753. Son of the pastor of the First Church, New Haven. Died, 1767.

1757. TIMOTHY JONES, Y. C. 1757. Died, 1800.

1759. NOAH WILLISTON, Y. C. 1757. Minister of West Haven, where he died in 1811.

1760. EBENEZER GROSVENOR, Y. C. 1759. Minister at Scituate, Mass. Died, 1788.

1761. MATTHEW MERRIAM, Y. C. 1759. Minister at Berwick, Me. Died, 1797.

1761. AVERY HALL, Y. C. 1759. Son of Rev. Theophilus Hall, of Meriden. Minister at Rochester, N. H. Died, 1820.

1762. HADLOCK MARCY, Y. C. 1761.

1764. PUNDERSON AUSTIN, Y. C. 1762. Tutor, 1765. Died, 1773.

1765. WILLIAM JONES, Y. C. 1762. Merchant in New Haven. Died, 1783.

1768. BUCKINGHAM ST. JOHN, (from Norwalk,) Y. C. 1768. Tutor, 1770. Died by drowning, while Tutor, 1771. An elegy was written on the occasion of his death, by Judge Trumbull, author of 'M'Fingal.'

1770. SAMUEL DARLING, Y. C. 1769. Became a physician at New Haven, and Deacon of the First Church. Died at New Haven, aged 91, in 1842.

1771. ACHILLES MANSFIELD, Y. C. 1770. In 1779 became minister of the Church of Killingworth, in which office he died, in 1814.

1774. WILLIAM LOCKWOOD, Y. C. 1774. Tutor, 1779. Minister at Glastenbury. Died, 1828.

1777. CHAUNCEY GOODRICH, Y. C. 1776. Tutor, 1779–81. Afterwards U. S. Senator, and Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut. Died, 1815.

1778. SAMUEL BIRD, Y. C. 1776. Became a planter in Georgia. Died, 1822.

1780. ZEBULON ELY, Y. C. 1779. Tutor, 1781. From 1782 till his death, in 1824, minister of Lebanon, Conn.

1782. THOMAS LORD, Y. C. 1780.

1782. RICHARD WOODHULL, Y. C. 1752. Tutor, 1756–61; also, 1763–5.

1785. WALTER KING, Y. C. 1782. 1787, minister at Norwich, Conn. 1813, at Williamstown, Mass. Died, 1815.

1785. DAVID DAGGETT, Y. C. 1783, LL.D., Judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut, United States Senator, Professor of Law in Yale College. Died 1851.

1786. JARED MANSFIELD, Y. C. 1777. He was born in 1759, of the New Haven family of Mansfields, largely represented in this list. After leaving the Hopkins Grammar School, in 1795, he became instructor in that sustained by the friends, in Philadelphia. His '*Essays, Mathematical and Physical*,' published about 1800, was the first volume of original mathematical research issued in this country. After this he was successively Surveyor General of the United States for the Northwestern Territories, and Professor in the Military Academy at West Point. Died at New Haven, 1831.

1790. ABRAHAM BISHOP, Y. C. 1778. For many years Collector of the Port of New Haven. He was appointed to take the school at the close of Mr. Mansfield's term, and had permission to keep the school in his own house. He retained it for five months, when he 'agreed with the Committee to resign,' and they re-appointed—

1790. JARED MANSFIELD, who remained now for five years, and probably raised the school to a higher reputation than it had afterwards until the accession of Mr. Olmstead. He taught in his own house in State street, near Chapel.

1795. STEPHEN TWINING, Y. C. 1795. Steward of Yale College 1819–1832. Died, 1832.

1796. JOHN HART LYNDE, Y. C. 1796. Lawyer at New Haven, and Clerk of the Courts. Died, 1817.

The Committee 'made choice of Sir Hart Lynde to keep the Grammar-school for the stipend of £60 *per annum*; and said Lynde is permitted a poll-tax of half-a-dollar per quarter for each grammar scholar. And the Committee agreed that said master have one week vacation at commencement, also one week on the annual election in May. Said master is not to indulge the scholars with liberty of playing on Wednesdays in the afternoon.'

1797. JAMES MURDOCK, Y. C. 1797. D. D., and Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Andover Theological Seminary. Translator of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, and of the Syriac New Testament, into English. Died, 1856.

'Dr. James Murdock, of the class of 1797, told me that he spent one-third of his time, the first quarter, in trying to persuade the boys to behave with propriety, without success, when he applied the rod vigorously for a while, and then let matters slide. Professor Kingsley informed me that President Dwight cautioned him against taking the school, for it was so bad that it would probably injure his reputation. This was in 1799. A member of the class of 1815 told me that a boy whom he attempted to chastise the *first day* of his service, ran out of the house, and that he chased him home and punished him in his father's yard. Such facts may aid you to catch a glimpse of the olden and the later time.'

Dr. Azel Backus, of the class of 1787, having charge of the school a few days in behalf of a friend, attempted to chastise a disorderly boy, but found the whole school in motion to assault him. Retiring to a corner of the room, as the assailants approached, that able and distinguished polemic encountered and defeated the entire force.

1797. ELI IVES, Y. C. 1799, M. D., and Professor in the Medical Department of Yale College.

1801. SHUBAEL BARTLETT, Y. C. 1800. Minister of the church in East Windsor from 1804 until his death in 1854.

1802. JONATHAN HUNTINGTON LYMAN, Y. C. 1802. Lawyer in Northampton, Mass. Died, 1825.

1805. NATHANIEL FREEMAN, Y. C. 1805. Pastor at Greenfield. Died, 1854.

1807. HENRY SHERMAN, Y. C. 1803. Pastor at Weston, Ct. Died, 1817.

1808. ELIZUR GOODRICH, Williams College, 1806. Lawyer in Hartford.

1810. EBENEZER KELLOGG, Y. C. 1810. Professor at Williams College. Died, 1846.

1810. CHAUNCEY ALLEN GOODRICH, Y. C. 1810. D. D., Professor in Yale College, editor of a Greek Grammar; in 1832 of Greek Lessons; in 1852 of 'Select British Eloquence.' In 1829 established the 'Quarterly Christian Spectator,' and was its sole editor till about 1836. Also, an important contributor to other religious periodicals. Editor of Webster's Dictionary. Died, 1860.

1812. ELEAZAR THOMPSON FITCH, Y. C. 1810. D. D., Livingston Professor of Divinity in Yale College from 1817 till his resignation in 1852. Died 1871.

1812. EDWIN WELLS DWIGHT, Y. C. 1809. Clergyman at Richmond, Mass. Died, 1841.

1813. WARD SAFFORD, Y. C. 1812. Minister in New York, and founder of City Missions in America. Died, 1851.

1813. ELISHA MITCHELL, Y. C. 1813. D. D., Professor of Natural Sciences in the University of North Carolina. Perished in 1857, on a mountain in that State, which has since received the name of Mitchell's Mountain.

1814. ZEDEKIAH SMITH BARSTOW, Y. C. 1813. D. D., Minister at Keene, N. H., where he died, in 1876.

President Wolsey, at the celebration of the two hundreth anniversary of the Hopkins School in 1860, in relating his experience of Hopkins Grammar school life, "from the time he took his last thrashing at Hartford, most undeservedly, from Master Parsons, to Mr. Barstow, under whose tuition he himself learned to thrash the good wheat out of the classics, speaks of Mr. Barstow as the prince of schoolmasters, and of wonderful originality."

1815. RANDOLPH STONE, Y. C. 1815. Was the last man who held the office of *butler* in Yale College. Became a minister, and labored on the Western Reserve, in Ohio. Died, 1840.

1815. EBENEZER SEELEY, Y. C. 1814. A lawyer at New Haven, and mayor of the city. Removed to New York, where he died, in 1866.

1816. ZEDEKIAH SMITH BARSTOW, again, for one quarter.

1816. RUFUS WOODWARD, Y. C. 1816. Died at Edinburgh, 1824.

1816. JOSEPH DRESSER WICKHAM, Y. C. 1815. Was the last amanuensis of President Dwight. Afterward minister in Oswego, N. Y., and from 1823 to 1876, Principal of the Burr Seminary, Manchester, Vt.

1817. GEORGE HILL, Y. C. 1816. United States Consul in Asia Minor.

1817. WILLIAM CHAUNCEY FOWLER, Y. C. 1816. Professor in Middlebury and Amherst Colleges, and author of an elaborate treatise on English Grammar, and of the History of the Chauncey Family.

1818–20. HECTOR HUMPHREYS, Y. C. 1818. Professor in Trinity College, Hartford, and President of St. John's College, Maryland. Died, 1857.

1820–1. EDWARD TURNER, Y. C. 1818. Professor in Middlebury College. Died, 1838.

1821–3. STEPHEN D. WARD, New Jersey College, 1819. Clergyman in Maine and Massachusetts. Died, 1858, at Agawam, Mass.

1824–5. HENRY HERRICK, Y. C., 1822. Clergyman at Exeter.

1825. WILLIAM RUSSELL. Editor, Author, Teacher. For an account of his labors, see Barnard's American Journal of Education, Vol. iii, 139–42.

1825. SIMEON NORTH, Y. C. 1825. D. D., LL.D., Tutor, Professor, and President of Hamilton College.

1825–7. GEORGE NICHOLS, Y. C. 1824. Teacher in Hadley and in Springfield, Mass. Died in Springfield, 1841.

1826–9. ROBERT MCEWEN, Y. C. 1827. D. D., Clergyman at Enfield, Mass.

1829–31. ASA DRURY, Y. C. 1829. Professor in Cincinnati College, Ohio, died, 1870.

1831–3. NOAH PORTER, Y. C. 1831. D. D., Professor and President in Yale College.

1833–4. JOHN OWEN COLTON, Y. C. 1832. Pastor of the Chapel street Church, New Haven. Compiler of Colton's Greek Reader. Died, 1840.

1834–5. SAMUEL W. S. DUTTON, Y. C. 1833. D. D., Pastor of North Church, New Haven. Died, 1866.

1835–6. CHARLES ALONZO GAGER, Y. C. 1835. Died, 1841, in Egypt.

1836–7. NELSON WHEELER, Y. C. 1836. Professor in Brown University. Died, 1855.

1837–8. WILLARD M. HARDING, Y. C. 1837. Minister at Princeton, Mass.

1838. ROBERT HAMILTON PADDOCK, Y. C. 1837. M. D., Professor in Starling Medical College, Ohio.

1839. ISAAC JENNINGS, Y. C. 1837. Minister at Stamford. Died, 1864.

1840. HAWLEY OLMSTED, a graduate of Yale College, in 1816, and for twenty-five years Principal of a classical school at Wilton, Conn., became rector of this school in 1840, and 'by his thorough instruction, and decided and efficient government raised it from a very depressed state, to one of great prosperity,' He resigned in 1849, from impaired health, and died in 1868. In 1825, and in 1826, Mr. Olmsted was member of the legislature, and as chairman of the Committee of Education, recommended several measures of reform in the Common School System, which were carried out by others in 1838–39.

1849. EDWARD OLMSTEAD, Y. C. 1845.

1854. ROBBINS LITTLE, Y. C. 1851.

1854. JAMES MORRIS WHITON, Y. C. 1853. Became rector in September, 1854, and opened the term with four pupils, the number increasing during the year, to twenty-five. In 1857, the attendance reached about 80, and required an additional room and an assistant, (Mr. Wilder Smith, Y. C., 1857), and so continued until 1864, when Mr. Whiton resigned. After a pastorate of twelve years, he was elected Principal of Williston Seminary, at East Hampton.

1864. HENRY N. JOHNSON, Y. C. 1861.

1873. WILLIAM L. CUSHING, Y. C. 1872.

Management—Organization—Fund.

The entire management of the New Haven Hopkins School remains with the Trustees as originally constituted by Mr. Davenport, without any act of incorporation, or modification by the town—all vacancies by death having been filled by the survivors.

Trustees in 1878:—Henry White, elected 1839; T. D. Woolsey, 1840; E. W. Blake, 1846; T. A. Thatcher, 1854; H. C. Kingsley, 1860; A. C. Twining, 1863; S. E. Baldwin, 1869.

Rector: William L. Cushing, with six assistant Teachers.

Tuition, $25 for the Fall term, and $20 for the Winter and Summer terms, each,—or $65 for the year.

Fund in 1878 consists of school lot and building in High street, valued at $20,000, and $2,000 in Bank stock.

NOTE.—The following *Code of Regulations*, drawn up for the government of the *New Haven Hopkins Grammar School* in 1684, is printed from a copy carefully transcribed from the Records of the School, by Mr. Lyman Baird.

"Orders of y^e Comittee of trustees for the Grammer Schoole at Newhaven to be observed & attended in ye said Schoole, made, agreed upon & published in ye s^d Schoole in ye yeare 1684.

"1st. The Erection of ye s^d Schoole being principally for ye Institucion of hopefull youth in ye Latin tongue, & other learned Languages soe far as to prepare such youths for ye Colledge & publiq^e service of ye Country in Church, & Comonwealth. The Chiefe work of ye Schoole-M^r is to Instruct all such youth as are or may be by theire parents or Frends sent, or Comitted unto him to y^t end wth all diligence faithfullnes and Constancy out of any of ye townes of this County of Newhaven upon his sallary accompt only, otherwise Gratis. And if any Boyes are sent to ye M^r of ye said Schoole from any other part of ye Colony, or Country. Each such boy or youth to pay ten shillings to ye Mast^r at or upon his entrance into ye said Schoole.

"2. That noe Boyes be admitted into ye s^d Schoole for ye learning of English Books, but such as have ben before taught to spell ye letters well & begin to Read, thereby to perfect theire right Spelling, & Reading, or to learne to write, & Cypher for numeracion, & addicion, & noe further, & y^t all others either too young & not instructed in letters & spelling, & all Girles be excluded as Improper & inconsistent wth such a Grammer Schoole as ye law injoines, and is ye Designe of this Settlem^t, And y^t noe Boyes be admitted from other townes for ye learning of English, w^thout liberty & specially licence from ye Comittee.

"3. That the Master & Schollars duly attend the Schoole Houres viz. from 6 in ye morning to 11 a Clock in ye forenoone, And from 1 a Clock in the afternoone to 5 a Clock in the afternoone in Summer & 4 in Winter.

"4. That the M^r shall make a list or Catalogue of his Schollars names And appoint a Monitor in his turne for one week or longer tyme as the M^r shall see Cause, who shall every morning & noone at least once a day at ye set tyme Call over ye names of ye Schollars, and Note down the late Commers, or Absent. And in fit season Call such to an accompt That the faulty, & truants may be Corrected or reproved as theire fault shall deserve.

"5. That the Schollars being Called together the M^r shall every morning begin his work wth a short Prayer for a blessing on his laboures & theire Learning.

"6. That prayer being ended the Master shall Assigne to every of his Schollars theire places of Sitting according to theire degrees of learning. And that (having theire Parts, or Lessons appointed them) they Keepe theire Seats, & stir not out of Dores, with[out] Leave of the Master, And not above two at one tyme, & soe successively: unless in Cases of necessity.

"7. That ye Schollars behave themselvs at all tymes, especially in Schoole tyme with due Reverence to theire Master, & with Sobriety & quietnes among themselvs, without fighting, Quarrelling or calling one anoth^r or any others, bad names, or useing bad words in Cursing, takeing the name of God in vaine, or other prophane, obscene, or Corrupt speeches which if any doe, That ye M^r forthwith give them due Correccion. And if any prove incorrigible in such bad manners & wicked Corrupting language & speeches, notwithstanding form^r warnings admonishions & Correccion that such be expelled ye Schoole as pernicious & daungerous examples to ye Rest.

"8. That if any of ye Schoole Boyes be observed to play, sleep, or behave themselves rudely, or irreverently, or be any way dissorderly att Meeting on ye Saboath dayes or any other tymes of ye Publiq^e worships of God That upon informacion or Complaint thereof to ye due Conviccion of the offender or offenders, The Master shall give them due Correccion to ye degree of ye Offence. And y^t all Correccions be wth Moderacion.

"9. That noe Lattine Boyes be allowed upon any p^retence (sicknes, and disability excepted) to withdraw, or absent themselvs from the Schoole, without liberty graunted by the Master, And y^t noe such liberty be graunted but upon ticket from ye Parents or frends, & on grounds sufficient as in Cases extraordinary or of absolute necessity.

"10. That all the Lattin Schollars, & all other of ye Boyes of Competent age and Capacity give the M^r an accompt of one passage or sentence at least of ye sermons the foregoing Saboth on ye 2^d day morning. And that from 1 to 3 in ye afternoone of every last day of ye week be Improved by ye M^r in Catechizing of his Schollars y^t are Capeable."

Condition of the Funds in 1877–8.

I. The £400 allotted to Hartford by the original trustees "for erecting and maintaining a schoole," and received by vote of the inhabitants in town-meeting, "to be employed for the promoting of learning, with whatsoever else is already given or shall be raised to that intent," is now represented, September 1, 1877, by a fund of $37,580, of which $31,580 is invested in mortgage securities, and $6,000 in cash and stocks. The income for the year 1876–7, amounted to $2,662, of which $1,200 was paid to a classical teacher in the Public High School, and $40 to the treasurer—the residue being invested for the enlargement of the capital.

II. The funds of the New Haven Grammar School consisted, in 1877–8, of the school-lot and building, with equipment, on High street, and $3 000 in stock—total about, $20,000.

III. The Hadley Grammar School, or Academy fund. including all donations to the original grammar school, amounted in 1877, to $35,000, and the income to $2,621, of which $1,000 was paid to a classical teacher, who was principal of the Town High School, and $500 to a female assistant in the same.

IV. Of the £100 "given by the trustees to the college at Cambridge in the bay," we find no mention in any printed College document beyond the record of the 'legacy' credited to Edward Hopkins as having been received in 'corn and meal,' and we have received no satisfactory account of its past management or present condition, in reply to written and personal applications to the college authorities in 1853, and in 1878. We cannot accept the plausible inference of President Eliot, that "having been received in meal, it was probably soon eaten up by the students or the corporation." We do not think Mr. Davenport, or Mr. Goodwin, who looked so sharply after their allotments to New Haven and Hadley, failed to remind the president and treasurer of Harvard College of the "public ends" of the donor in making his bequest; or that Mr. Davenport, when he came to reside in the neighborhood of the college, and was busy in giving his last instructions respecting the grammar school in New Haven, would overlook any neglect or diversion of the trust at Cambridge. We wait for light from the successors of the college authorities of 1658–64.

V. The £500 which, according to the will of Gov. Hopkins, should have been conveyed within six months after the death of Mrs. Hopkins to the original trustees of the New England estate or their assigns, but which in 1712 with the accumulating interest was conveyed to a new set of trustees in Massachusetts, and applied by them to the College and Grammar School at Cambridge—the original sum, increased by the sale of land donated by the General Court—is now represented by a capital of $53,847, and an unexpended 'Detur Fund' of $1,200. The income of the Hopkins Charity is distributed as follows: 5 per cent. is held as a reserve; of the residue 25 per cent. is paid to Cambridge High School for 'grammar learning;' and 75 per cent. to Harvard College—7½ for prizes for meritorious students, and 67½ for students in divinity.

I. EDUCATION:—A NATIONAL INTEREST.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

In the ordinance of the Congress of the Confederation in 1785, respecting "the disposing of lands in the Western territory," "section sixteen of every township" was reserved for the maintenance of public schools.

The ordinance of 1787, "for the government of the Territory northwest of the river Ohio," confirmed the ordinance of 1785, and declared "that religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged."

The Constitution of the United States, after setting forth in the Preamble in words of sublime import the national objects for which the people of the United States had ordained this fundamental law, expressly grants to Congress the power "to dispose" of the public lands and other property—"to exercise exclusive jurisdiction" over the district to be ceded as the seat of government—and "to lay and collect taxes, &c., to provide for the common defense and general welfare."

In the Convention of 1787, which framed the Constitution, Mr. Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, on the 29th of May and the 18th of August, and subsequently Mr. Madison, of Virginia, submitted propositions "to provide for the establishment of a National University at the seat of government," "for the advancement of useful knowledge," "and the promotion of agriculture, commerce, trades and manufactures." On the 14th of September, both of these delegates moved to insert in the list of powers vested in Congress, "to establish a university in which no preference or distinction should be allowed on account of religion." This motion was opposed by Gouverneur Morris, of New York, and was lost, as reported by Mr. Madison, expressly on the ground that the power to establish such a university was included in the grant of exclusive legislation over the district in which the government should be located. And as we learn from other sources, and from

the subsequent recommendations by President Washington, the power to encourage agriculture, trade, manufactures, and education, was understood by him, and other statesmen, to be included in the first clause of the enumerated powers of Congress "to lay taxes and to provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States."

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Fresh from the discussions of the Convention which framed the Constitution, of which he was the presiding officer, and called by the unanimous voice of his countrymen to inaugurate, as its chief executive, the national government, George Washington, in his first formal recommendation of special measures to both Houses of Congress, on the 8th of January, 1790, after commending further legislation for an efficient and uniform plan of military organization, as well as of a national judiciary, calls attention to the necessity of "uniformity in the currency, weights and measures;" "the advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures," "the effectual encouragement, as well as to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, as to the exertions of skill and genius in producing them at home;" "facilitating the intercourse between the distant parts of our country by a due attention to the post-office, and post-roads"—did not hesitate to add:—

> Nor am I less persuaded, that you will agree with me in opinion, that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one, in which the measures of government receive their impression so immediately from the sense of the community, as in ours, it is proportionably essential. To the security of a free constitution it contributes in various ways; by convincing those who are intrusted with the public administration, that every valuable end of government is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people; and by teaching the people themselves to know and to value their own rights; to discern and provide against invasions of them; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority, between burdens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of society; to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect for the laws.
>
> Whether this desirable object will be the best promoted by affording aid to seminaries of learning already established, by the institution of a national university, or by any other expedients, will be well worthy of a place in the deliberations of the legislature.

In his speech to both Houses of Congress, December 7th, 1796, after referring to the measures adopted for the encouragement of manufactures, and urging immediate attention to agriculture as a matter of individual and national welfare—and especially of constituting a board (or as has since been done, by a National Depart-

ment) "charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled by premiums and small pecuniary aids to encourage, and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement. This species of establishment contributes doubly to the increase of improvement, by stimulating to enterprise and experiment, and by drawing to a common center the results everywhere of individual skill and observation, and spreading them thence over the whole nation"—he again returns to the expediency of establishing a national university, and also a military academy; and proceeds:—

The assembly to which I address myself, is too enlightened not to be fully sensible how much a flourishing state of the arts and sciences contributes to national prosperity and reputation. True it is, that our country contains many seminaries of learning highly respectable and useful; but the funds upon which they rest are too narrow to command the ablest professors, in the different departments of liberal knowledge for the institution contemplated, though they would be excellent auxiliaries.

Amongst the motives to such an institution, the assimilation of the principles, opinions and manners of our countrymen, by the common education of a portion of our youth from every quarter, well deserves attention. The more homogeneous our citizens can be made in these particulars, the greater will be our prospect of permanent union; and a primary object of such a national institution should be, the education of our youth in the science of government. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important, and what duty more pressing in its legislation, than to patronize a plan of communicating it to those who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country.

In a letter addressed to Alexander Hamilton, from Philadelphia, September 1st, 1796, referring to the topics which he wished to introduce in his Farewell Address, a draft of which he had enclosed in a former letter, Washington regrets "that another subject (which in my estimation is of interesting concern to the well-being of this country) was not touched upon also;"—

I mean education generally. as one of the surest means of enlightening and giving just ways of thinking to our citizens, but particularly the establishment of a university; where the youth from all parts of the United States might receive the polish of erudition in the arts, sciences, and belles-lettres; and where those who were disposed to run a political course might not only be instructed in the theory and principles, but (this seminary being at the seat of the general government, where the legislature would be in session half the year, and the interests and politics of the nation of course would be discussed,) they would lay the surest foundation for the practical part also.

But that which would render it of the highest importance, in my opinion, is, that at the juvenile period of life, when friendships are formed, and habits established, that will stick by one, the youth, or young men from different parts of the United States would be assembled together, and would by degrees discover that there was not that cause for those jealousies and prejudices which one part of the Union had imbibed against another part:—of course sentiments of more liberality in the general policy of the country would result from it. What but mixing of people from different parts of the United States during the war rubbed off those impressions? A century, in the ordinary intercourse, would not have accomplished what the seven years' association in arms did; but that ceasing, prejudices are beginning to revive again, and never will be eradicated so effectually by any other means as the intimate intercourse of characters in early life,—who in all probability will be at the head of the counsels of this country in a more advanced stage of it.

To show that this is no new idea of mine, I may appeal to my early communications to Congress; and to prove how seriously I have reflected on it since, and how well disposed I have been, and still am, to contribute my aid toward carrying the measure into effect, I enclose you the extract of a letter from me to the Governor of Virginia, and a copy of the resolves of the legislature of that State in consequence thereof.

I have not the smallest doubt that this donation (when the navigation is in complete operation, which it certainly will be in less than two years,) will amount to £1200 or £1500 sterling a year, and become a rapidly increasing fund. The proprietors of the Federal City have talked of doing something handsome towards it likewise; and if Congress would appropriate some of the western lands to the same uses, funds sufficient, and of the most permanent and increasing sort, might be so established as to invite the ablest professors in Europe to conduct it.

In a letter to Hamilton, dated Sept. 6, 1796, Washington adds:

If you think the idea of a university had better be reserved for the speech at the opening of the session, I am content to defer the communication of it until that period: but even in that case, I would pray you, as soon as convenient, to make a draft for the occasion, predicated on the ideas with which you have been furnished: looking at the same time at what was said on this head in my *second* speech to the *first* Congress, merely with a view to see what was said on the subject at that time; and this, you will perceive, was not so much to the point as I want to express now, though it may, if proper, be glanced at, to show that the subject had caught my attention early.

I much question whether a recommendation of this measure to the legislature will have a better effect *now* than *formerly*. It may show, indeed, my sense of its importance, and that is a sufficient inducement with *me* to bring the matter before the public in some shape or another at the close of my political life. My object in proposing to insert it when I did, was to set the *people* ruminating on the importance of the measure, as the most likely means of bringing it to pass.

In his Farewell Address to the people of the United States, dated September 17, 1796, Washington gave utterance to that noble sentiment which has passed into an axiom of political philosophy:—

Promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

Washington did not confine the expressions of his interest in education, and especially the establishment of a national university, to his official communications to Congress and to the people of the United States. In a letter addressed to Mr. Adams, the Vice President, dated Nov. 27, 1794, on a proposition communicated by Mr. Jefferson, for "transplanting the members entire of the University of Geneva to America," there is the following passage:—

That a national university in this country is a thing to be desired, has always been my decided opinion; and the appropriation of ground and funds for it in the Federal City has long been contemplated and talked of; but how far matured, or how far the transporting of an entire seminary of foreigners, who may not understand our language, can be assimilated therein, is more than I am prepared to give an opinion upon; or, indeed, how far funds in either case are attainable.

On 28th of January, 1795, Washington addressed from Philadelphia, the following letter to the Commissioners of the Federal District:—

GENTLEMEN—A plan for the establishment of a university in the Federal City has frequently been the subject of conversation; but, in what manner it is proposed to commence this important institution, on how extensive a scale, the means by which it is to be effected, how it is to be supported, or what progress is made in it, are matters altogether unknown to me.

It has always been a source of serious reflection and sincere regret with me, that the youth of the United States should be sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education. Although there are doubtless many, under these circumstances, who escape the danger of contracting principles unfavorable to republican government, yet we ought to deprecate the hazard attending ardent and susceptible minds, from being too strongly and too early prepossessed in favor of other political systems, before they are capable of appreciating their own.

For this reason I have greatly wished to see a plan adopted, by which the arts, sciences, and belles-lettres could be taught in their fullest extent, thereby embracing all the advantages of European tuition, with the means of acquiring the liberal knowledge, which is necessary to qualify our citizens for the exigencies of public as well as private life; and (which with me is a consideration of great magnitude) by assembling the youth from the different parts of this rising republic, contributing from their intercourse and interchange of information to the removal of prejudices, which might perhaps sometimes arise from local circumstances.

The Federal City, from its centrality and the advantages which in other respects it must have over any other place in the United States, ought to be preferred, as a proper site for such a university. And if a plan can be adopted upon a scale as extensive as I have described, and the execution of it should commence under favorable auspices in a reasonable time, with a fair prospect of success, I will grant in perpetuity fifty shares in the navigation of the Potomac River towards the endowment of it.

What annuity will arise from these fifty shares, when the navigation is in full operation, can at this time be only conjectured; and those, who are acquainted with it, can form as good a judgment as myself.

As the design of this university has assumed no form with which I am acquainted, and as I am equally ignorant who the persons are, who have taken or are disposed to take the maturing of the plan upon themselves, I have been at a loss to whom I should make this communication of my intentions. If the Commissioners of the Federal City have any particular agency in bringing the matter forward, then the information, which I now give to them, is in its proper course. If, on the other hand, they have no more to do in it than others, who may be desirous of seeing so important a measure carried into effect, they will be so good as to excuse my using them as the medium for disclosing these my intentions; because it appears necessary, that the funds for the establishment and support of the institution should be known to the promoters of it; and I see no mode more eligible for announcing my purpose.

In February, 1795, Mr. Jefferson addressed from Monticello a letter to President Washington, in reference to a proposition of M. D'Ivernois, and the Professors of the University of Geneva, Switzerland, to remove in a body to the United States, and establish here a University, "comprehending a College of Languages, preparatory to the principal one of Sciences, and also a third one for the gratuitous teaching of reading and writing to the poor." Mr. Jefferson, in view of a previous communication from Washington, as to his intention to aid by testamentary devise, the establishment of a National University, thinks the acceptance of this proposition, with modifications, will give "the institution at the outset such *éclat*, and such solid advantages, as would insure a very general concourse

to it of the youths from all our States, and probably from other parts of America."

The composition of the academy can not be settled there. It must be adapted to our circumstances, and can therefore only be fixed between them and persons here acquainted with those circumstances, and conferring for the purpose after their arrival here. For a country so marked for agriculture as ours, I should think no professorship so important as one not mentioned by them, a professor of agriculture, who, before the students should leave college, should carry them through a course of lectures on the principles and practice of agriculture; and that this professor should come from no country but England. Indeed I should mark Young as the man to be obtained. These, however, are modifications to be left till their arrival here.

To this letter, Washington replied on the 15th of March, 1795:—

I had little hesitation in giving the Federal City a preference over all other places for the institution, for the following reasons. First, on account of its being the permanent seat of the government of this Union, and where the laws and policy of it must be better understood than in any local part thereof. Secondly, because of its centrality. Thirdly, because one half (or near it) of the District of Columbia is within the Commonwealth of Virginia, and the whole of the State not inconvenient thereto. Fourthly, because, as a part of the endowment, it would be useful, but alone would be inadequate to the end. Fifthly, because many advantages, I conceive, would result from the jurisdiction which the general government will have over it, which no other spot would possess. And, lastly, as this seminary is contemplated for the completion of education and study of the sciences, not for boys in their rudiments, it will afford the students an opportunity of attending the debates in Congress, and thereby becoming more liberally and better acquainted with the principles of law and government.

My judgment and my wishes point equally strong to the application of the James River shares to the same subject at the same place; but, considering the source from whence they were derived, I have, in a letter I am writing to the executive of Virginia on this subject, left the application of them to a seminary within the State, to be located by the legislature.

Hence you will perceive, that I have in a degree anticipated your proposition. I was restrained from going the whole length of the suggestion by the following considerations. First, I did not know to what extent or when any plan would be so matured for the establishment of a university, as would enable any assurances to be given to the application of M. D'Ivernois. Secondly, the propriety of transplanting the professors in a body might be questioned for several reasons; among others, because they might not be all good characters, nor all sufficiently acquainted with our language. And again, having been at variance with the leveling party of their own country, the measure might be considered as an aristocratical movement by more than those, who, without any just cause that I can discover, are continually sounding the bell of aristocracy. And, thirdly, because it might preclude some of the first professors in other countries from a participation, among whom some of the most celebrated characters in Scotland, in this line, might be obtained.

My letter to the commissioners has bound me to the fulfillment of what is therein engaged; and if the Legislature of Virginia, on considering the subject, should view it in the same light as I do, the James River shares will be added thereto; for I think one good institution of this sort is to be preferred to two imperfect ones, which, without other aid than the shares in both navigations, is more likely to fall through, than to succeed upon the plan I contemplate; which is, in a few words, to supersede the necessity of sending the youth of this country abroad for the purpose of education, where too often principles and habits unfriendly to republican government are imbibed, and not easily discarded. Instituting such a one of our own, as will answer the end, and associating them in the same seminary, will contribute to wear off those prejudices and unreasonable jealousies, which prevent or weaken friendships and impair the harmony of the Union.

On the 16th of March, 1795, Washington addressed the following letter to Gov. Brooke of Virginia:—

SIR:—Ever since the General Assembly of Virginia were pleased to submit to my disposal fifty shares in the Potomac, and one hundred in the James River Company, it has been my anxious desire to appropriate them to an object most worthy of public regard.

It is with indescribable regret, that I have seen the youth of the United States migrating to foreign countries, in order to acquire the higher branches of erudition, and to obtain a knowledge of the sciences. Although it would be injustice to many to pronounce the certainty of their imbibing maxims not congenial with republicanism, it must nevertheless be admitted, that a serious danger is encountered by sending abroad among other political systems those who have not well learned the value of their own.

The time is therefore come, when a plan of universal education ought to be adopted in the United States. Not only do the exigencies of public and private life demand it, but, if it should ever be apprehended, that prejudice would be entertained in one part of the Union against another, an efficacious remedy will be, to assemble the youth of every part under such circumstances as will, by the freedom of intercourse and collision of sentiment, give to their minds the direction of truth, philanthropy, and mutual conciliation.

It has been represented, that a university corresponding with these ideas is contemplated to be built in the Federal City, and that it will receive considerable endowments. This position is so eligible from its centrality, so convenient to Virginia, by whose legislature the shares were granted and in which part of the Federal District stands, and combines so many other conveniences, that I have determined to vest the Potomac shares in that university.

Presuming it to be more agreeable to the General Assembly of Virginia, that the shares in the James River Company should be reserved for a similar object in some part of that State, I intend to allot them for a seminary to be erected at such place as they shall deem most proper. I am disposed to believe, that a seminary of learning upon an enlarged plan, but yet not coming up to the full idea of a university, is an institution to be preferred for the position which is to be chosen. The students, who wish to pursue the whole range of science, may pass with advantage from the seminary to the university, and the former by a due relation may be rendered coöperative with the latter.

I can not however dissemble my opinion, that if all the shares were conferred on a university, it would become far more important, than when they are divided; and I have been constrained from concentering them in the same place, merely by my anxiety to reconcile a particular attention to Virginia with a great good, in which she will abundantly share in common with the rest of the United States

I must beg the favor of your Excellency to lay this letter before that honorable body, at their next session, in order that I may appropriate the James River shares to the place which they may prefer. They will at the same time again accept my acknowledgments for the opportunity, with which they have favored me, of attempting to supply so important a desideratum in the United States as a university adequate to our necessity, and a preparatory seminary.

This letter was accordingly communicated to the Assembly at their next session, when the following resolves were passed:—

IN THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES, *December 1st*, 1795.

Whereas the migration of American youth to foreign countries, for the completion of their education, exposes them to the danger of imbibing political prejudices disadvantageous to their own republican forms of government, and ought therefore to be rendered unnecessary and avoided;

Resolved, that the plan contemplated of erecting a university in the Federal City, where the youth of the several States may be assembled, and their course of education finished, deserves the countenance and support of each State.

And whereas, when the General Assembly presented sundry shares in the James River and Potomac Companies to George Washington, as a small token

of their gratitude for the great, eminent, and unrivaled services he had rendered to this Commonwealth, to the United States, and the world at large, in support of the principles of liberty and equal government, it was their wish and desire that he should appropriate them as he might think best; and whereas, the present General Assembly retain the same high sense of his virtues, wisdom, and patriotism;

Resolved, therefore, that the appropriation by the said George Washington of the aforesaid shares in the Potomac Company to the university, intended to be erected in the Federal City, is made in a manner most worthy of public regard, and of the approbation of this Commonwealth.

Resolved, also, that he be requested to appropriate the aforesaid shares in the James River Company to a seminary at such place in the upper country, as he may deem most convenient to a majority of the inhabitants thereof.

The following are provisions of Washington's last Will:—

—As it has always been a source of serious regret with me to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purposes of education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own; contracting, too frequently, not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but *principles unfriendly to republican government, and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind*, which thereafter are rarely overcome; for these reasons it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale, which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away local attachments and State prejudices, as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit, from our national councils. Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this is (in my estimation), my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to affect the measure, than the establishment of a University in a central part of the United States, to which youths of fortune and talents from all parts thereof may be sent for the completion of their education in all branches of polite literature, in arts and sciences, in acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government; and, as a matter of infinite importance in my judgment, by associating with each other, and forming friendships in juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves in a proper degree from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies, which have just been mentioned, and which, when carried to excess, are never-failing sources of disquietude to the public mind, and pregnant with mischievous consequences to the country. Under these impressions,

I give and bequeath in perpetuity the fifty shares which I hold in the Potomac Company (under the aforesaid acts of the Legislature of Virginia,) towards the endowment of a university to be established within the limits of the District of Columbia, under the auspices of the general government, if that government should incline to extend a fostering hand towards it; and until such seminary is established, and the funds arising on these shares be required for its support, my further will and desire is, that the profit accruing therefrom shall, whenever the dividends are made, be laid out in purchasing stock in the bank of Columbia, or some other bank, at the discretion of my executors, or by the treasurer of the United States for the time being, under the direction of Congress, provided that honorable body should patronize the measure; and the dividends proceeding therefrom are to be vested in more stock, and so on until a sum adequate to the accomplishment of the object is obtained, of which I have not the smallest doubt before many years pass away, even if no aid or encouragement is given by legislative authority, or from any other source.

The hundred shares, which I hold in the James River Company, I have given, and now confirm, in perpetuity, to and for the use and benefit of Liberty Hall Academy, in the county of Rockbridge, in the commonwealth of Virginia.

To the trustees of the Academy in the town of Alexandria, I give and bequeath, in trust, four thousand dollars (20 shares of stock of the Bank of A.), towards the support of a Free School, established at, and annexed to the said Academy, for the purpose of educating such orphan children, or the children of such other poor and indigent persons, as are unable to accomplish it with their own means...in lieu of the thousand pounds given by missive letter.

DONATION AND BEQUEST FOR ORPHAN AND POOR CHILDREN.

In 1785 General Washington addressed the following letter

To the Trustees of the Alexandria Academy.

GENTLEMEN:—That I may be perspicuous and avoid misconception, the proposition which I wish to lay before you, is committed to writing, and is as follows:

It has long been my intention to invest, at my death, one thousand pounds, current money of this state, in the hands of Trustees, the interest only of which to be applied in instituting a school in the town of Alexandria, for the purpose of educating orphan children, or the children of such indigent parents as are unable to give it; the objects to be considered of, and determined on by the trustees for the time being, when applied to by the parents, or friends of the children, who have pretensions to this provision.

It is not in my power, at this time, to advance the above sum; but that a measure, which may be productive of good, may not be delayed, I will, until my death, or until it shall be more convenient for my estate to advance the principal, pay the interest thereof, to wit, fifty pounds annually.

Under the state of the matter, I submit to your consideration the practicability and propriety of blending the two institutions together, so as to make one seminary, under the direction of the president, visitors, or such other establishment as to you shall seem best calculated to promote the objects in view, and for preserving order, regularity, and good conduct in the academy.

My intention, as I have before intimated is, that the principal sum never be broken in upon; the interest only to be applied for the purposes before mentioned. It was also my intention to apply the latter to the sole purpose of education, and of that sort of education as would be most extensively useful to people of the lower class of citizens, viz.: reading, writing and arithmetic; so as to fit them for mechanical purposes. The fund, if confined to this, would comprehend more subjects. But if you shall be of opinion that the proposition I now offer can be made to comport with the institution of the school which is already established, and approve of an incorporation of them in the manner before mentioned, and, thereafter, upon a full consideration of the matter, should conceive that this fund would be more advantageously applied towards clothing and schooling, than solely to the latter, I will acquiesce, most cheerfully; and shall be ready, as soon as the trustees are established on a permanent footing, by deed, or other instrument of writing, to vest the aforesaid sum of one thousand pounds in them and their successors forever, with power to manage and direct the same, agreeable to these, my declared intentions.

December 17th, 1785. G. WASHINGTON.

The above proposal was accepted by the Trustees, and they decided it was best to appropriate the fund to the institution as then established, and wholly for schooling.

By his last will, Washington made provision for the payment of the above sum as follows:

To the trustees of the Academy in the town of Alexandria, I give and bequeath, in trust, four thousand dollars (20 shares of stock of the Bank of A.), towards the support of a Free School, established at, and annexed to the said Academy, for the purpose of educating such orphan children, or the children of such other poor and indigent persons, as are unable to accomplish it with their own means...in lieu of the thousand pounds given by missive letter.

In Jan. 1786, Sam'l Hanson and Wm. Hartshorne were appointed a committee to employ a teacher, and Phillip Webster was engaged in June, who agreed to teach twenty boys, for the sum of fifty pounds per annum, in reading English, writing, and the common rules of arithmetic. The school was opened in the third story of

the Academy building, and the teacher was permitted to take fifteen additional pupils on such terms as he could, to help out his support. He was to furnish fuel, and was to be governed and regulated as the other teachers in the Academy were, by the Trustees. Subsequently several girls were admitted as members of the school. In 1789, the teacher was allowed to take twenty scholars in addition to the twenty provided for by the fund. In August, 1795, Mr. Edmund Edmonds was the teacher, and he was permitted to increase the number of his pupils until his salary should reach $500 per annum.

In 1794, President Washington addressed a letter to Rev. James Muir, one of the Trustees who applied for his annual donation for the education of orphan children:

I had pleasure in appropriating this money to such uses, as I always shall in that of paying it. I confess, however, I shall derive satisfaction from knowing what children have heretofore received the benefit of it, and who are now in the enjoyment thereof. Never, since the commencement of this institution, have I received the least information, except in a single instance, on this head, although applications for it to individuals has been frequently made.

In reply to this letter, Mr. Muir gave a particular account of each of the children who were assisted in their education by Pres. Washington's donation. They were mostly from the poorest class, and some of them even destitute of any other aid.

In July, 1800, the city government agreed to appropriate sixty pounds to this school, which they had hitherto given for the support of a school for the poor; and they were to have the right to send that class of boys to the school, though the school was limited to forty scholars.

In March, 1812, steps were taken by the trustees to introduce the Lancastrian method of teaching, which was agreed upon, and $2,000 were granted by the city to build a school-house on the Academy lot, for the school. The trustees agreed to receive two hundred pupils, and the city agreed to pay $220 a year towards the salary of the teacher. There was some opposition to the admission of girls, and a separate school in a private house was arranged for them; but soon abandoned. The building for the Lancastrian school was ready in August, 1812.

In June, 1829, the low state of the funds and other causes contributed to the reduction of the number of pupils so as to render it impracticable to carry the system into effect; and the title to the lands on which the school-house stood was granted to the corporation of the city, they agreeing to continue the school on the Lancastrian plan, from the funds derived from Gen. Washington's donation, so long as the trustees remained satisfied that the teacher

continued to attend to his duties as teacher of poor of the town, agreeable to the terms of the bequest." In August, 1831, as there were no funds to support the school, except from Gen. Washington's donation, it was thought not advisable to employ a teacher. The donation as received from the executors, was invested in twenty shares of stock of the bank of Alexandria, which failed in 1833. As there were no indications of the coming failure, which took the whole city by surprise, no blame can attach to the Trustees of this charity. They were expressly advised by Washington, not to change the investment unless there were indications of failure.

Although the fund was lost, the city authorities continued the school up to Nov., 1861, when it was interrupted by the war.

In September, 1863, the Washington school-house was occupied for a school for colored people. In 1864 it was restored to a Board of Guardians, and a school with from eighty to ninety pupils was conducted by Henry Clay Speake. He was succeeded by Col. Shay and a female assistant, till 1871, when the school came into the general state organization of Public Free Schools. The following resolutions and statistics, communicated by the City Superintendent (Richard L. Carne, Esq.,) exhibit the present (1878) condition of the Washington School.

On the 10th of January, 1866, the City Council passed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the trust committed by General George Washington to the Board of Trustees, of the Alexandria Academy, on the 17th of December, 1785, and by said trustees transferred to the Common Council of Alexandria, on the 31st of August, 1829, be, and is hereby, again transferred to the Consolidated Boards of District School Trustees, appointed by the Boards of Education of the Commonwealth, for the city of Alexandria."

On the 14th, those boards (which were superseded in April, 1871, by the organization of the City School Board, composed of the same persons), accepted the charge by the following action:

"*Resolved*, That this board accepts with great pleasure, the trust so committed to it, and that the school so transferred under it, be placed until further orders, under the charge of the Board of School Trustees of Washington District, in all matters of which this board can not legally take jurisdiction."

In Feb. 1878, the entire enrollment in the Washington District was 364, with an average attendance of 333. The schools are open to any white boy who may apply, poor or rich, orphan or otherwise. Colored children are taught in separate schools.

It is claimed by the City Superintendent, that the purposes of the Will are better carried out under the state and city system of Public Free Schools, for all children, than by a special appropriation equal to the dividend of the 20 shares of stock in the best days of the bank, for the benefit of thirty or forty orphan or poor children.

AUGUSTA SEMINARY—LIBERTY HALL—WASHINGTON ACADEMY.

Washington, in 1796, donated to Liberty Hall Academy, located near Lexington in Rockbridge County, Virginia, 100 shares of stock in the James River Company, and confirmed the donation in his last will. This seminary was originally called Augusta, from the county in which it was started, as a mathematical and classical school in 1749.* The name was changed to Liberty Hall, in the popular fervor, which burned high in the upper country of Virginia, in 1776. In 1785 it was removed to Lexington, and in commemoration of the donation mentioned, the name was changed in 1798, to Washington Academy, and subsequently (1826) to Washington College.

The following extracts from a memorial of the trustees, prepared in Jan. 1796, to give the President a true view of the state of the Academy and its claims to his favorable consideration, are of historical interest.

From a conviction of the necessity and utility of a public Seminary to complete the education of the youth, in this upper part of the State, as early as the year 1776, a Seminary—before conducted in these parts under the form of a Grammar school—received the nominal title of an Academy, and money was collected to purchase the beginnings of a library and some of the most essential parts of a philosophical and mathematical apparatus.

The question then was,—where should the Seminary be fixed? Staunton was proposed by some to be the proper place, as the most ancient and populous town, and nearest the center of population in the upper part of the State as it then stood. But considering that a Public Seminary, which was to be of permanent duration and general utility, ought not to be affected by local circumstances arising from temporary causes; and viewing the extensive lands upon the drains of Holston to the southwest, and of the Kanawha to the west, we were of opinion that the time was not very far distant when the population upon these lands must equal, if not exceed the population upon the drains of the Potomac to the northeast, upon one of which drains Staunton stands. We therefore considered the waters of the James River, as forming a kind of natural aud common center. We also felt a conviction that the extensive and fertile lands upon James River, would at a period not far remote, point out the necessity and practicability of rendering its streams navigable above the mountains, and we have been happy in seeing our expectations realizing every day. We therefore concluded, that some spot in the tract of country now known as Rockbridge county, would be the proper place, and Lexington was selected.

Through the calamities of a long and dangerous war, and the deceptions of a paper currency, together with other misfortunes, great obstructions were experienced, but being happy in able and diligent teachers, we were enabled to preserve the Academy in a state of considerable reputation and usefulness until the year 1782, when we were aided by an act of incorporation from the Legislature of Virginia, which was the first granted after the Revolution.

In 1793, by voluntary contributions and some sacrifice of private property, we were enabled to erect and finish plain but neat buildings sufficiently capacious to accommodate between forty and fifty students, and the business of education is now in full train, and the Seminary in as high reputation as could

* The first teacher was Robert Alexander, a Scotch-Irish immigrant, who brought with him a degree of A. M., from Dublin University, about 1743. He was succeeded by Rev. John Brown, D. D., in 1753. In 1774, William Graham became his assistant, and in 1776, principal. Under Mr. Graham's judicious administration the institution was removed to Lexington, and a movement on the part of the Presbytery of Hanover, to establish a new Seminary of Learning, was turned to the enlargement of this Academy.

be expected without funds. Many young gentlemen have finished their education here, who are now serving their country with reputation and usefulness in different professional departments, and a number are now collected from different parts of the country for the same end.

In September, 1796, Gen. Washington in a communication to Governor Brooke, as to the insitiution to receive his donation, says:

After careful inquiries to ascertain that place (in the upper country), I have upon the fullest consideration of all circumstances, destined the hundred shares in the James River Company, to the use of Liberty Hall Academy, in Rockbridge County.

In acknowledging the action of the Trustees in June, 1798, Washington writes:

To promote literature in this rising empire, and to encourage the arts, have ever been amongst the warmest wishes of my heart. And if the donation which the generosity of the Legislature of the commonwealth of Virginia, has enabled me to bestow on Liberty Hall—now, by your politeness, called Washington Academy—is likely to prove a means to accomplish these ends, it will contribute to the gratification of my desires.

In 1803 the Cincinnati Society, composed of the surviving officers of the Revolutionary war, organized to perpetuate kindly acquaintance among themselves, and to accumulate a fund for the relief of indigent families of soldiers, decided to dissolve the association and apply their funds to some benevolent object. On the representation of the trustees, and 'influenced by the example of Washington and a desire to promote his patriotic purpose,' they appropriated their funds, amounting to $25,000, to Washington Academy. On the basis of this endowment, the Cincinnati Professorship was created. An annual address by the first scholar of the graduating class, is delivered in commemoration of the objects of the Cincinnati Society.

In 1826, John Robinson, a trustee of the college, and a soldier under Washington, bequeathed his entire estate to the college, out of which an endowment of $40,000 was realized to found the Robinson Professorship.

During the military occupation of Lexington, in June, 1864, the buildings sustained damages, as well as the cabinets and library, but on the restoration of peace, and the accession of General Robert E. Lee to the presidency, liberal donations were received from the north and the west, as well as from Virginia, to repair damages, and equip and endow the institution more liberally than before. Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick of New York, in 1865 contributed $15,000, by which a chair of Experimental Philosophy and Practical Mechanics was instituted; Mr. Rathmel Wilson of Philadelphia, donated many rare and valuable books; and citizens of Kentucky endowed a Professorship of History and Political Economy. The whole amount of endowment yielding income, exceeds $200,000.

In 1806, Mr. Barlow published the '*Prospectus of a National Institution, to be established in the United States*,' without his name or title page. It opens with these paragraphs:

'The project for erecting a university at the seat of government is brought forward at a happy moment, and on a liberal principle. We may therefore reasonably hope for an extensive endowment from the munificence of individuals, as well as from the government itself. This expectation will naturally lead us to enlarge our ideas on that subject, and to give a greater scope to its practical operation than has usually been contemplated in institutions of similar nature.

Two distinct objects, which, in other countries have been kept asunder, may, and ought to be united; they are both of great national importance; and by being embraced in the same institution they will aid each other in their acquisition. These are the advancement of knowledge by associations of scientific men, and the dissemination of its rudiments by the instruction of youth.

We find ourselves in possession of a country so vast as to lead the mind to anticipate a scene of social intercourse, and interest unexampled in the experience of mankind. This territory presents and will present such a variety of productions, natural and artificial, such a diversity of connections abroad, and of manners, habits, and propensities at home, as will create a strong tendency to diverge and separate the views of those who shall inhabit the different regions within our limits. It is most essential to the happiness and to the preservation of their republican principles, that this tendency to a separation should be overbalanced by superior motives to a harmony of sentiment; that they may habitually feel that community of interest on which the federal system is founded. This desirable object is to be attained, not only by the operations of the government in its several departments, but by those of literature, sciences, and arts. The liberal sciences are in their nature republican; they delight in reciprocal communication, they cherish fraternal feelings, and lead to a freedom of intercourse, combined with the restraints of society, which together contribute to our improvement.

The author then goes on to develop the usefulness of the National Institution, in preparing a class of men who shall be capable of 'exploring the natural productions and capabilities of public improvements of different parts of the country—of making exact surveys, maps and charts, preparatory to constructing roads, bridges, and canals; of perfecting a system of lights, buoys, and nautical aids for coastwise and ocean commerce; for encouraging new branches of industry, by premiums for discoveries, and purchase of inventions, that these advantages may become the common property of citizens at large; and bringing the remaining parts of the wilderness of our continent, both within and without our jurisdiction, into the domain of culture and civilization.' These are noble objects for a National Institution, but Mr. Barlow dwells upon others more purely scientific—in the realms of mineralogy, botany, chemistry, mechanics, hydraulics, mathematics,—in the fine arts, literature, morals, and political philosophy. 'The arts of drawing, painting, statuary, engraving, music, poetry, ornamental architecture, and gardening would [under the encouragement of such an Institution] employ a portion of the surplus time and money of our citizens.' In these remarks Mr. Barlow anticipates the movements of the last quarter of a century.

To fortify his views the author cites the examples of France, in supporting.—1. A school of Mines; 2. A school of Roads and Bridges; 3. The Conservatory of the useful Arts; 4. Museum of Natural History, with the botanical garden, and collections of animals and minerals; 5. The Museum of Fine Arts; 6. The National Library, with its 500,000 volumes; 7. The Mint, with its laboratory and lectures; 8. The Military School of engineering and artillery; 9. The Prytaneum, or schools for children who have died in the public service, and others who proved worthy on examination; 10. College of France, with its endowed professorships; 11. Schools of Medicine; 12. Veterinary School; 13. The Observatory; 14. Bureau of Longitude; 15. Polytechnic School; 16. The Lyceum of Arts, &c. These and other institutions place the educational facilities of France on a higher plane than they ever occupied before, and are worthy of our study, and some of them of our adoption.

Mr. Barlow also cites the universities and colleges of Great Britain, the Society of Arts, the Royal Society, Observatory, Royal Institution, as deserving the consideration of Congress.

Central University, at, or near Washington.

To the National Institution, begun by the appointment of a few members of acknowledged national eminence, and increased by representatives from each State, of men eminent in special departments, he would give the establishment of a *Central University at, or near Washington*, with laboratories, libraries, and apparatus for the sciences and the arts; and gardens for botany and agricultural experiments. With this might be associated the Military Academy, the Naval Academy, the Mint, and Patent office. Most of these, which now exist in Washington in isolated, and for educational purposes, sometimes useless condition, could have been combined and developed into a magnificent university or polytechnic school.

Concluding Observations—Abridged.

Such is the outline of a system of public instruction, that would seem to promise the greatest benefits. And, although under present circumstances, it is doubtless too extensive to be carried into immediate practice in all its parts, yet there are strong reasons to wish that its general basis may be preserved entire in the law for incorporating the institution.

1. As we must solicit donations from individual citizens, and depend principally on them for its endowments, we ought to have a basis on which they can repose their confidence. This can only be done by a board of trustees, standing on the ground of a corporation—composed of men of known character and responsibility, anxious to promote the object, and pledged in honor and reputation for its ultimate success.

2. The present appears to be a more favorable moment for an establishment of this kind. A general opinion now prevails, that education has been too much and too long neglected in most parts of our country.

3. The institution will begin upon a small scale.

4. It is believed that several men of science without any compensation but the pleasure of being useful, may be engaged to give courses of lectures during

the next winter, on some of the higher branches of knowledge, such as chemistry, mathematics, political economy, jurisprudence. Such courses will give attractions to the capitol, variegate the scene and relieve the labors of those who manage her great concourse; and draw to this place many young men from the different States, who being at a loss for the means of finishing their education, are often driven to Europe. This would be a beginning for the university and lead to its interior organization.

5. Coming together from all parts of the Union, at an age, when impressions on the mind are not easily effaced, the bent of intellect will attain a similarity in all, diversified only by what nature has done before; their moral characters would be cast in a kindred mold; they would form friendships which their subsequent pursuits in life would never destroy. This would greatly tend to strengthen the political union of the States, a union which, though founded on permanent interest, can only be supported by a permanent sense of that interest.

When the men who have finished their education in this central seat, shall return to it, in maturer life, clothed with the confidence of their fellow-citizens, to assist in the councils of the nation, the same will enliven the liberal impressions of youth, combined with the cautions that experience will have taught. They will bring from home the feelings and interests of their own districts; and they will mingle them here with those of the nation. From such men the institution may perceive the good it may have done; and from them it will learn what new openings may be found in the different States, from its extension.

The following memoranda, in the hand-writing of Hon. G. C. Verplanck, is on the copy of the *Prospectus*, in the N. Y. Historical Society, as having been communicated to him by Senator Mitchell.

"In the Senate of the United States, March 4, 1806, Mr. Logan introduced a bill to incorporate a National Academy, which was read and passed to a second reading. On the 5th, it was read a second time, and referred to a committee consisting of Mr. Logan, Mr. Mitchell, and Mr. Adams; on the 24th, it was read a third time, and amended by striking out the word *national*. The motion was made by Mr. Hillhouse, and opposed by Mr. Mitchell. The vote was very strong in favor of the amendment, and no division was called. The bill was then referred to a select committee who never reported; and so ended this favorite and labored project of Mr. Barlow. He explained his plan of the academy in a pamphlet which he circulated extensively at the time. It was modeled substantially after the National Institutions of France, with modifications to suit the condition of the United States."

Mr. Barlow, in an *Oration delivered at Washington, July* 4, 1809, *at the request of the Democratic citizens of the District of Columbia*, dwells on the importance of universal education by means of a system of public schools to the preservation of the Union of the States and the republican Government based on that union.

The strength of the Union must lie in the habitual consciousness of its beneficence, and in the intelligent appreciation of the evils which would result from a dismemberment. We can not rely on standing armies, or laws against treason, or misdemeanors, or the criminal code. The people must become habituated to enjoy a visible, palpable, incontestable good; a greater good than they could promise themselves from any change. They must have information enough to perceive it, to reason upon it, to know when they enjoy it, whence it flows, how it was attained, how it is to be preserved, and how it may be lost. To despair of preserving the federal union of these republics, for an indefinite length of time without a dismemberment, is to lose the highest hopes of human society, the greatest promise of bettering its condition that the efforts of all generations have produced. The man of sensibility who can contemplate without horror the dismemberment of this empire, has not well considered its effects. And yet I scarcely mingle in society for a day without hearing it predicted, and the prediction uttered with a levity bordering on indifference, and that, too, by well disposed men of every political party. I am not yet so unhappy as to believe in this direction. But I should be forced to believe in it, if I did not anticipate the use of other means than those we have yet employed to perpetuate the union of these States—*education and inter-State intercourse.*

JOSEPH E. SHEFFIELD AND YALE SCIENTIFIC SCHOOL.

MEMOIR.

JOSEPH EARL SHEFFIELD, whose timely, continuous, and large contributions to the Scientific School of Yale College not only secured its immediate success, but placed its expansive course of instruction on a permanent basis, was born in Southport, in the town of Fairfield, Conn., June 19th, 1793. His father, Paul King Sheffield, with his father and brother, were largely engaged in the shipping interest, and took an active part in the war of the Revolution in an armed vessel, equipped and sailed by themselves, under authority of the Continental Congress. His mother was Mabel Thorp, daughter of Captain Walter Thorp, of Southport, a shipmaster and ship-owner in the Cuba trade. The extensive business of both the Sheffields and Thorp was crippled and almost destroyed by the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon.

In the year 1807, then not fourteen years old, and with only the elementary instruction of a 'village school as it was,' young Sheffield made a voyage to Newbern, N. C., in a vessel of his uncle's. This trip, with a subsequent one of the same kind, cured him of all seagoing propensities, but awakened a great desire to see the world, and take an active part in its concerns. In the following year, he became a clerk in the store of Mr. Stephen Fowler, in Newbern, and subsequently a member of the family, and at the same time, a student in the office of his brother-in-law, Dr. Thomas Webb, of the same place, where he remained till the spring of 1812. Dr. Webb was an accomplished scholar and gentleman, as well as a scientific physician, and his instruction and influence were of the highest service to young Sheffield. The only surviving child of Dr. Webb, Mrs. Robert Higgin, of Liverpool, England, in 1871 endowed a professorship (The Higgin Professorship of Dynamic Engineering) in the Yale Scientific School by a gift of £5,000, which yielded the capital of $28,000.

While on a visit to his parents, in 1812, the war with Great Britain was declared; and in a swift sailing vessel, of which he was supercargo, he ran the blockade maintained by British cruisers off

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Sandy Hook, and established a trade in naval stores between Newbern and New York—profitable to his employers and his own business experience. In the year following, he became partner in a mercantile house in Newbern, where he resided, while the other partners resided in New York. The peace of 1815 found the house in Newbern with a heavy stock of goods on hand purchased at war prices, and a corresponding amount of liabilities to be met by the sale of the same goods in a rapidly falling market. Left to his own judgment, he disposed of every thing saleable as fast as he could on the best terms he could make, and invested the proceeds in naval stores then in demand in the New York market, for which they were at once shipped. There they were sold; and the debts of the concern liquidated. The profits on his shipments to New York more than made good the losses in Newbern, to the gratification of his partners and the surprise of his more timid and tardy neighbors who were swept into bankruptcy in the revulsions which involved almost the entire mercantile community at that time. In 1816, the young merchant, then not twenty-three years old, started out on horseback into the frontier country to find a market for such goods as remained unsold. He rode over one thousand miles through North Carolina and Georgia to Fort Claiborne, on the Alabama river; and not finding on his way any town sufficiently inviting for his purpose, he dropped down the river to Mobile, then a place of 1,000 inhabitants, with a small garrison of United States troops. The organization of a territorial government over the district recently acquired from the Indians, had stimulated an immense imigration from Georgia and the Carolinas, Tennessee and Kentucky, and there were clear indications that a commercial city would be built up on the bay of Mobile, into which two beautiful rivers, each navigable for five hundred miles into the interior, poured their waters. With faith in the future of Alabama, he decided to locate at Mobile, and at once ordered by letter the shipment of the entire stock of goods unsold at Newbern. Here he pursued the same policy of selling as rapidly as possible on a falling market, and investing largely, and as fast as possible, in articles which were in demand in New York. And thus in a few months his stock of unsaleable goods in Carolina were converted into cotton and peltries which commanded a good price at once on their arrival in New York, resulting in large profits to himself and partners.

Having wound up the affairs of the mercantile firm originally located in North Carolina, Mr. Sheffield engaged in an enterprise

which taxed all his energies, and was more fruitful in varied experience than in pecuniary profits—the building on a better commercial site the future city of Mobile. The original settlement on the west side of Mobile bay was not as eligible for shipping and large business purposes as a location on the east side. This was seen by Josiah Blakeley, a merchant of New York, prior even to the cession of the Spanish claim; and at the earliest moment, after the extension of the authority of the United States, he purchased a large tract, which he called *Blakeley*. The war of 1812 arrested all improvements, and down to 1816 not a single building had been erected. In that year, two firms, Peters and Stebbins of New York, and Coolidge and Bright of Boston, reached Mobile about the same time with young Sheffield, and the three entertaining similar views of the eligible situation of the Blakeley tract for a commercial city, entered into a partnership, and in the fall of 1817 commenced building on a lage scale; providing for the educational and religious wants of the prospective population by a school-house and a church, as well as hotels, stores, wharves, and warehouses. But the vested interests of one thousand inhabitants, and an established trade, proved too much for the young firm, and Mr. Sheffield with his partners retired in time to prosecute their regular mercantile career in their first location in Mobile.

In 1822, Mr. Sheffield made the acquaintance of Mr. Henry Kneeland, an old, wealthy, and respected merchant of New York, which ripened into a confidential friendship, and introduced him to large commercial transactions, principally in cotton, with first class business men in New Orleans, New York, Liverpool, Havre, and other ports. He became one of the largest shippers of cotton, and the confidential director of Mr. Biddle in the Mobile branch of the United States Bank, having held for some time before a seat in the direction of the old bank of Mobile. In 1830–31, he advised Mr. Biddle of the evidence of favoritism on the part of the officers of the branch at Mobile and New Orleans, by which immense operations were carried on by a system of accommodation loans, which, in case of panic, would involve the bank in serious losses, and possible embarrassment. His information led to a change in the officers, and of the policy of the branch, by which the means of the bank were restored to their regular channels, without injury to the parties concerned. He was offered the presidency of the Mobile branch, which he not only declined, but resigned his position as director, lest his advice as to the policy of the bank should be attributed to personal interest.

Although his commercial standing was at its height, and his business connections such as to promise very large returns, Mr. Sheffield felt, in 1835, it would be better for his family to remove from Mobile to the North. He had married in 1822, Miss Maria St. John, daughter of Col. T. St. John, of Walton, Delaware Co., New York. With her and their children, in the spring of 1835, he took passage for New York. During the summer of that year, he purchased in New Haven, Conn., the house on Elm street, built by Nathan Smith, which he occupied about twenty years, then removing to the town residence on Hillhouse avenue. He soon purchased the adjoining property, not to enlarge his own grounds, but to convert the building which occupied it into accommodations for class-rooms, laboratories, and library of the Scientific School of Yale College; and finally, when those accommodations became too restricted, to erect on a site taken from his own garden, another building more extensive, at an aggregate cost, including site, buildings, and equipment, of over $400,000. Before dwelling on the inception and development of this great institution of science and industrial arts, and the other educational benefactions of its founder, we will note briefly Mr. Sheffield's business enterprises after he became a resident in New Haven.

At the time of Mr. Sheffield's removal to New Haven (1835) the Farmington Canal, projected by James Hillhouse, and begun under the auspices of DeWitt Clinton, had broken down for the want of funds. Efforts were then being put forth by Judge Daggett, Nathan Smith, and other prominent citizens, to resuscitate it, under the name of the New Haven and Northampton Company. In 1840, Mr. Sheffield, in connection with Seth P. Staples of New York (formerly of New Haven), Isaac H. Townsend, Henry Farnam, and others, of New Haven, bought a majority of the stock, and made the necessary advances to complete the canal, and put it in full operation to Northampton (82 miles). The funds were chiefly advanced by Mr. Sheffield, and the engineering operations by Mr. Farnam, and the work was completed and kept in operation until 1844. In that year Mr. Sheffield found it desirable, in connection with some unclosed commercial operations, to visit England and France, sold out his interest in the company, and before leaving the country, in a New Haven paper (the Morning Courier) he suggested the propriety of substituting a *Railroad* for the Canal, as more in accordance with the demands of traffic and travel. On his return from Europe, he found the suggestion had been favorably received,

surveys had been made, and his return awaited to begin the work. He was induced to buy back the stock of the Canal company at double and treble the price he had sold it for, the year previous.

A new charter was obtained, the necessary advances made, and under the indomitable energy of Mr. Farnam, the grading was done, the rails laid, and the road opened to Plainville (28 miles) in 1846. At this date, only 58 shares (out of 1,000) were owned in New Haven, and 50 of these were owned by three individuals, personal friends of Mr. Sheffield. The business men of that city did not appreciate the enterprise, and resisted all urgency to subscribe to complete the road. Upon which Mr. Sheffield wound up the accounts, and leased the road to the New York and New Haven Railroad Company for twenty years. Under new assurances of coöperation in 1847, the books were again opened, and the road put under contract to Collinsville; and in spite of refusals to subscribe, and open opposition from those who had promised aid, the road was in due time opened to Collinsville, to the State line, to Westfield, and finally to Northampton, and put in successful operation—all due to the combined energy of Mr. Sheffield and Mr. Farnam.

To Mr. Sheffield belongs the credit of clearly seeing the practicability of a railroad between New Haven and New York; of urging the undertaking against the objections of prominent men in New York and New Haven, and along the line of road, on account of the expensive bridges required for a road-bed near the shore over the estuaries and rivers, and the deep cuts, and fillings, if carried further inland. Obtaining the first charter for this purpose in May, 1844, through the agency of Judge Hitchcock of New Haven, and employing Prof. Twining (Alexander, then of Middlebury College) to make the preliminary survey at his sole expense; in raising the necessary funds, and in all the labors of the construction period, he was the active working director, until dissatisfied with the mysterious way in which the president (Schuyler) managed the finances of the corporation, Mr. Sheffield resigned his directorship, and sold out his stock several years before any frauds were actually discovered, in time to save the loss of dividends, and depreciation of shares, in consequence of these frauds.

Having a large farm near Chicago, Mr. Sheffield, in October, 1850, made a journey there, in company with his friend, Mr. Farnam, who had, on his suggestion in the previous August, made a tour of that part of the country, with a view of engaging either as engineer or contractor in some of the numerous railroads then projected. The

result of these visits was the construction and equipment of a railroad between Rock Island and Chicago (a distance of 180 miles), by Mr. Sheffield and Mr. Farnam, at an outlay of over $5,000,000, within two years and a half of the signing of the contract, and one year and a half short of the time allowed by the contract. They originated and were responsible, personally, for the memorable 'excursion' which celebrated the opening of the road from Chicago to Rock Island, and thence by steamers to the Falls of St. Anthony, in which over one thousand persons participated, including ex-President Fillmore and members of his Cabinet, foreign ministers, eminent statesmen, clergymen, scholars, and over four hundred ladies, assembled from all parts of the Union. After arrangements were all perfected, the Railroad company volunteered to pay half the cost (which was $50,000) and thus shared with Messrs. Sheffield and Farnam, the public honors of this earliest excursion between our mighty lakes and mighty rivers. Not a delay or accident of any kind occurred, by rail or by steamer, and each train and boat was 'on time.'

In the company which, in extension of the Rock Island Road, constructed the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad and the Rock Island Bridge, Mr. Sheffield was a director, until the road was opened to Iowa City in 1856, when, against the expressed wishes of his colleagues, he declined a re-election, and sailed for Europe with his family. There they remained two years, Mr. Sheffield obtaining the rest he so much needed.

EDUCATIONAL BENEFACTIONS.

Beside his large donations to the Yale Scientific School and the Trinity Parish School and Home at New Haven, Mr. Sheffield has contributed liberally to other educational institutions in Connecticut, notably to the Berkeley Divinity School in Middletown, and Trinity College, Hartford. To the former it is understood he is by far the largest benefactor at the present time, though a recent bequest (still in litigation) may result in a sum as large, or even larger. He also, some years since, gave three-quarters of a square of twenty acres in Chicago to the Theological Seminary of the North-west, for educational purposes, on a part of which their college buildings are erected; and the unoccupied portion of the lots are now very valuable. Mr. Sheffield's donations to the Young Men's Institute in New Haven, to the Trinity Parish School, and to other institutions, have been very generous and ample. The aggregate amount of his educational benefactions exceeds $650,000.

LETTER OF MR. SHEFFIELD TO THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF YALE COLLEGE.

NEW HAVEN, March 26th, 1859.

GENTLEMEN—Having on former occasions presented to your Institution two several sums of $5,000 in the shares of the New Haven and Northampton Company, for the use and purposes of the 'Scientific School of Yale College,' and having more recently presented you with the lot and building on the corner of Grove and Prospect streets, known as the Medical College, also for use of said 'Scientific School,' and being desirous of making this latter gift available to their occupancy and use at an early day, which, however, can not be done without large and costly additions amounting, as estimated, to some $25,000. And having been informed by some of the gentlemen of the Scientific School, that there is at present but faint hopes of receiving money by subscription to make these improvements, I beg to propose to make said additions and improvements at my own cost and expense, under the direction and sanction of a committee to consist of Professors J. A. Dana, John A. Porter, B. Silliman, Jr., Wm. A. Norton, and E. C. Herrick, whose approval in writing is to be had before said alterations and additions are commenced.

The only condition I ask in return for these contemplated expenditures is, that when the work is completed, and approved by said committee, or a majority of them, the College will, if requested by me, return to me the 100 shares of stock of the New Haven and Northampton Company, (my former gifts.)

I reserve the right to proceed no faster with the work than my convenience will admit; hoping, however, to do a good portion of it this year (1859.)

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

JOS. E. SHEFFIELD.

PRESIDENT WOOLSEY TO MR. SHEFFIELD.

YALE COLLEGE, July 28th, 1860.

DEAR SIR—I have been directed by the Corporation of Yale College, at their late meeting, to express to you their thanks for your very great munificence in fitting up and enlarging the building which you had already conveyed to them; and which now is, probably, the most convenient and extensive establishment, for the purposes of science, any where to be found in this country.

I am also directed to inform you, that the said Corporation voted, that the building, unless you should wish otherwise, should be called the Sheffield College of Science, or by some similar name—preserving at all events the name of the founder, and testifying hereafter our gratitude for his act.

I am, sir very respectfully your faithful servant,

THEODORE D. WOOLSEY.

MR. SHEFFIELD TO PRESIDENT WOOLSEY.

NEW HAVEN, 30th July, 1860.
Monday Morning.

DEAR SIR—I have just received your obliging and complimentary note of the 28th, conveying the wish and intention of the Corporation of Yale College, to connect my name in some way with the department of College, for which the buildings formerly conveyed to the College by me, and recently fitted up and enlarged, are intended to be used.

While I very fully appreciate and acknowledge the motives which have led the Corporation to express this wish, I beg to assure you that I can not, for several reasons, consent; but the only reason now necessary to give is, that any such step would be very likely to conflict with the movements now under consideration with me and others, for the further advancement of said Scientific School. I must therefore respectfully request that nothing further may be intimated for the present.

Very respectfully your obedient servant, JOS. E. SHEFFIELD.

MR. SHEFFIELD TO THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF YALE COLLEGE.

NEW HAVEN, October 2d, 1860.

GENTLEMEN—I have the pleasure to hand you herewith, viz.:

Twenty thousand dollars in the stock of the New Haven and Northampton Company.

Twenty thousand dollars in the 1st Mortgage Land-grant Bonds of the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad Company.

Ten thousand dollars in the 1st Mortgage Bonds of the Hampshire and Hamden Railroad Company.

Making an aggregate of fifty thousand dollars, the annual income of which, I request and direct you to appropriate as follows—viz.:

One-half of said income toward the salary of the Professor of Agricultural Chemistry in the Scientific School of Yale College.

One-quarter toward the salary of the Professor of Civil Engineering in said school.

One-quarter toward the salary of the Professor of Metallurgy in said school: and this donation is made on the express condition that neither the principal nor the income of it shall, under any circumstances whatever, be used for any other purpose, or be applied to any other object, or department of College, than the present Scientific School, by whatever name it may hereafter be called.

The purchase and fitting up of the buildings, for the use of the Scientific School, and presentation of them to College, and the present donation toward the salaries of some of the Professors, sufficiently indicate my interest in that branch of your College, in which shall be taught 'those studies, which, while they give cultivation and discipline to the mind, and impart dignity and enjoyment to life, lead to the most useful practical results.' And while I have a very high appreciation of all the other departments of your venerable institution, I beg to commend this to your particular guardianship and favor.

Asking that the correspondence in relation to these donations, both of the building and the present securities, be placed upon the records of the Corporation, in order that the object of them may not be lost sight of or misunderstood by our successors, I remain, dear sirs, very respectfully and faithfully, your friend and obedient servant, JOS. E. SHEFFIELD.

MR. HERRICK, TREASURER OF YALE COLLEGE, TO MR. SHEFFIELD.

YALE COLLEGE, NEW HAVEN, October 3d, 1860.

DEAR SIR—With no common gratitude and pleasure, I hereby acknowledge the receipt of your munificent endowment of fifty thousand dollars (invested so as to yield an income of six per cent. per annum) for the benefit of the Scientific School of Yale College.

This princely donation, with the very valuable gift of the ample and well equipped edifice for the same object, will make an enduring monument of your enlightened liberality, and of your desire to diffuse the blessings of sound practical science throughout the country. You have, furthermore, wisely secured the satisfaction of seeing in your own lifetime, the commencement of the good resulting from this important establishment, with the well grounded assurance, that it will continue and increase during ages to come.

The Corporation of the College, at their next meeting, will undoubtedly pass the proper votes for perpetuating the appropriation of the principal and interest of your gifts, in strict accordance with the directions contained in your communication of yesterday.

I inclose a letter from President Woolsey, in behalf of the Corporation, referring to the same subject—and remain, with high regard, your friend and servant, ED'W'D. C. HERRICK.

PRESIDENT WOOLSEY TO MR. SHEFFIELD.

YALE COLLEGE, October 3d, 1860.

DEAR SIR—You are probably aware that the Corporation of the 'President and Fellows of Yale College' will hold no ordinary meeting until July next. On their part, however, as President of the Board, I take this occasion of returning you thanks, in which every friend of the College will most cordially join, for your new act of munificence, by which fifty thousand dollars are provided, as an endowment for the support of professors in the Scientific School, and by which, in fact, the existence of that School, before precarious, is made certain. I am sure that, according to a fixed principle in the management of our funds, this endowment will ever be regarded as sacred to the object for which you have designed it; and to no other, even within the interest of the Scientific School; and for this purpose care will be taken, that your expressed wishes shall be put on record, and that the Corporation shall bind themselves, by a formal vote, to carry out your intentions.

Hoping that you may live to see the School, which you have so cherished, take a new start, and attain to a much higher condition of prosperity, and that you may be attended through life by the Divine blessing,

I am, my dear sir, your obliged and faithful servant,

THEODORE D. WOOLSEY.

PRESIDENT WOOLSEY TO MR. SHEFFIELD.

YALE COLLEGE, July 28th, 1861.

DEAR SIR—I have already had the pleasure of conveying to you the thanks of the Corporation for your munificence in constructing a building for the Scientific School. I have this year a similar pleasure, having been instructed by the Corporation, at the annual meeting which is just closed, to express their gratitude for your new act of kindness and munificence, in contributing a very large sum toward the endowment of the School.

It is my duty also to inform you, what indeed must be already known to you, as it has been communicated to the public, that the Corporation resolved to call the School the *Sheffield Scientific School* of Yale College.

I am, my dear sir, very respectfully yours, T. D. WOOLSEY.

TRINITY CHURCH PARISH SCHOOL AND HOME.

HISTORY.*

TRINITY CHURCH SCHOOL originated in a desire, on the part of the Rectors, and several members of the Parish, to secure to the children of the Church a course of early instruction, training, and discipline, corresponding with the general doctrines and principles of the Christian household, into which they had been adopted by their baptism. In procuring the means for founding and supporting such an institution, they relied chiefly on the voluntary donations and subscriptions of the parish; and, at the same time, they took the proper measures for securing the avails of a small legacy, left by the last will of the late JAMES FRANKLIN, of New Haven, who bequeathed to the Parish of Trinity Church, in trust, the residue of his estate, for the purpose specified in the following clause:—'The net avails of the same they shall use and apply toward the education of the poor children belonging to the Society of Trinity Church, of New Haven, so that as many as possible of the poor children of the said Society may be instructed in the first principles of what is usually termed an English education; but in selecting pupils, the said Trustees shall give a preference to the children of English parents who shall come to this city to reside.' By the terms of this will, it became necessary for the Parish to act officially; and it was thought expedient to form a school, under the immediate authority of Trinity Church, for the instruction of such children as were described in the will. But inasmuch as the avails of the legacy would furnish but a small portion of the necessary expenses of such a school,—it was proposed to raise, by donations and subscriptions, such further sum as might be found necessary to accomplish the object. Hence, annual subscriptions of one dollar, or over—annual subscriptions of ten dollars, or over, to constitute the donors Patrons of the school—and subscriptions of fifty dollars, or over, to constitute the donors Patrons for life—were solicited: and the amount obtained was sufficient to warrant the commence-

* Report of Rev. H. Croswell, D. D., in 1854.

ment of the school. Miss Sarah A. Scarritt, an able, faithful, and efficient teacher, was employed: and in her first annual report, she states:—

Trinity Church School dates its commencement from the Festival of the Ascension, May 29, 1851, on the morning of which day it was opened with appropriate religious exercises, by the associate Rector of the parish, Rev. T. C. Pitkin—set apart as a nursery of the Church, for the moral as well as the mental training of the young—and with earnest prayers commended to the good providence and blessing of Almighty God. On the ensuing Monday, June 2, the school was regularly organized, and commenced its operations with fifteen scholars, and applications for the admission of as many more as could be received. In the meantime, the Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church took formal action on the subject—and at a meeting held on the 15th of December, 1851, appointed a Board of Managers, consisting of the Rectors of the Parish, two members of the Vestry, the Trustees of the Franklin fund, the Patrons of school, and four persons selected from the annual subscribers—and adopted the plan already proposed for the permanent establishment, organization, and management of the school.

Under this organization, the school has been in successful and encouraging progress to the present time. The teacher, with the aid of two young ladies of the parish, who voluntarily gave much of their time and attention to the instruction of the children, and with the occasional assistance of several other ladies, was enabled to surmount many difficulties, which presented themselves at the commencement of the enterprise. And at a subsequent period, when the number of pupils had become too large for the management of a single teacher, Miss Jane Hall was appointed as a regular assistant, and has continued to occupy the place, and discharge her duties, to the entire satisfaction of the managers and friends of the school. During the first year, the number of pupils increased to forty. It should be remarked, however, that these were not all of the class described in the will of Mr. Franklin. *These*, of course, had the preference; *all* applicants of this class were received as free scholars; the additional expense being sustained by the subscriptions of donors and patrons; and besides these, the children of parents belonging to other religious communities were received on the payment of a small sum, quarterly, as entrance money. But the course of instruction was alike for all. The course of instruction pursued by us (says the teacher, in her first annual report) has been similar to that in our primary and public schools,—the books of instruction being selected by a committee appointed for the purpose. Besides this, the children are daily taught in the principles of our holy religion—combining, with the daily reading of the Psalms and other portions of Holy Scripture, the repetition of the Apostles' Creed, and a regular lesson in the Church Catechism. They are also instructed in sacred music. So important a branch of female education as needlework is not of course neglected, and a number of the children have made good improvement in it, during the past year.

At the time of Dr. Croswell's report (1854) the only income for the payment of teachers and other expenses was that arising from the small sum bequeathed by Mr. Franklin, and the annual subscriptions of a few patrons, and of the ladies of the Parish; but in a few years thereafter, the school received a donation of five thousand dollars from Mr. Sheffield, which enabled the association to increase its numbers and usefulness. It was still compelled to occupy the inconvenient and, to some extent, unhealthy basement of the old Church lecture-room in Gregson street, but under the active management of the lady associates, and the efficient and patient teacher, Miss Scarritt, it continued to increase.

Early in 1869, the new building in George street, built expressly for the school, and presented to it by Mr. Sheffield, was opened and the school removed to it. This building, with its light and well ventilated rooms, and all the conveniencies so much needed in school buildings, contained also very convenient apartments for the teachers, and handsome family apartments for the chaplain. In addition to this donation of a so much needed building, Mr. S., at the same time, added five thousand dollars to his former donation for income, making it ten thousand, from which we have always received semi-annual dividends at the rate of six per cent.; and this, together with the income of the early bequest of Mr. Franklin, as before noted, and the annual subscription of its lady friends and patrons, have been our chief reliance for the payment of, quite limited, salaries to the teachers.

The whole number of these children [chiefly girls from six to fifteen years of age] instructed in the Parish School since its organization, must considerably exceed one thousand, as the average daily attendance is over fifty, and some years has exceeded seventy. Almost all of these have, for the time being, been regular attendants upon the Sunday-school services; and for thorough training and intelligence it is believed they will compare favorably with any Sunday-school in the diocese. Many of its members have been baptized and admitted to the Holy Communion, and, with a very few exceptions, all have grown up to be respectable and useful members of society.

The increase of the Sunday-school Library and the expenses of the customary Christmas and Easter festivities have been sustained chiefly by the contributions of its friends and patrons, aided not a little by the sale of the work of the Parish School Guild; and for the last few years the Sunday-school has maintained itself without having received any aid from Trinity Church Parish. Important aid, however, has been rendered by the Parish in another way. Acting upon the suggestion made in Dr. Croswell's Report, a Relief Society was organized at an early date, the principal object of which was to provide clothing for the poorer children of the school, though it extended its aid to many a needy member of the Parish. This Society, under another name and with a wider field of operations, still exists, and still continues to provide for the necessities of the Parish School children as at the first.

THE DEED OF TRUST.

Having for many years entertained the feeling that it is the Christian duty of all such as have been prospered in their worldly affairs, to do something toward

relieving the wants of the poor and unfortunate, and thus contribute to the general welfare of the community in which he lives, I am moved, now in the time of excellent health, for which I devoutly thank God, to employ a portion of my time (if further spared), this and the ensuing year, in erecting for poor children, chiefly females, a spacious and comfortable school building, with apartments for the teachers, and a chaplain, (if one should be employed,) for the occupancy and use of the 'Parish School of Trinity Church' of this city, a corporate institution already existing and in operation in the Parish of Trinity Church. And on the same grounds (in George street, recently purchased of the Misses Edwards) a convenient, comfortable, and appropriate building for the occupancy and use of the 'Trinity Church Home' of this city, also a corporate institution already in successful operation within said parish. And midway between these two buildings a convenient and appropriate Chapel, to be known as and called 'Trinity Chapel,' for the use and benefit of both the aforesaid institutions; all of which, together with the land on which they are erected, I propose to present and convey to the Corporation of Trinity Church, New Haven, in trust, for the use and benefit of the aforesaid institutions, on such conditions and under such stipulations as are made and set forth in the following deed of conveyance:

Now therefore, Know all men by these presents, That I, Joseph E. Sheffield, of New Haven, in the State of Connecticut, in consideration of the foregoing premises, and divers other important considerations thereunto me moving, and in further consideration of One Dollar in hand, do hereby grant, sell, and convey to the Parish of Trinity Church of New Haven, their Wardens and Vestry, and their successors forever, in trust as aforesaid, all that certain piece and parcel of land in this city on the north side of George street, between College and High streets, bounded as follows, viz.: commencing one hundred and ninety-eight (198) feet and three (3) inches from the north-west corner of College and George streets, running northerly ninety (90) feet, thence easterly forty-eight (48) feet, thence northerly again, along the lands of Gad Day and others, ninety (90) feet and six (6) inches, thence westerly along the lands of Arthur D. Osborne, Thomas B. Osborne, Wilson Booth, and others, one hundred and forty (140) feet, thence southerly along the lands of Curtis J. Monson eighty-five (85) feet and nine (9) inches, thence easterly forty-eight (48) feet, thence southerly to George street ninety (90) feet, thence easterly along George street forty-one (41) feet, to the place of beginning, being all the rear part of the aforesaid lot, with a passage way or court forty-one (41) feet more or less on George street, leading to the buildings.

Provided, however, and it is distinctly a condition of this conveyance, that the building now in process of erection, known and intended to be known as the 'Trinity Church Home' for aged, infirm, and indigent females, situated on the north-west portion of the grounds, together with so much of the ground or yard as lies between said building and the Chapel, and also between said building and the front lots, being ninety (90) feet from George street, shall be occupied and used, solely and forever, for the purposes named and set forth in the act of incorporation of said 'Church Home,' and for no other purpose, under such conditions and regulations as are and may be made and established, from time to time, by the directors and managers of that humane institution.

And it is especially stipulated that the inmates of the said 'Church Home' shall always have reserved seats in the aforesaid Chapel when finished, and free and easy access to them, on all the customary services of the Church.

Provided further, That the Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church shall annually choose from their number a committee of five (5), including the Rector, to be called the 'Parish School Committee' (two of whom shall be their own Wardens), whose duty it shall be to consult, coöperate with, and assist the corporators and managers of the Parish School in regulating and conducting the affairs of said School for which the building is now being built, and the Chapel thereof; to advise in the employment of teachers and a chaplain (if one should be employed), or both; and may at their discretion rent so many of the Pews or Slips of said Chapel as they may deem advisable, not exceeding thirty (30) and at prices not exceeding twenty (20) dollars a year for ten (10); ten (10) dollars a year for ten (10) others; and five (5) dollars a year for ten (10) others, reserving always pews enough next nearest the chancel for the inmates of the Home and the children and teachers of the Parish School, and appropriate the income of said rented pews in aid of the chaplain's salary, and the necessary expenses and repairs of the Chapel and School building. And it is further stipulated and enjoined, and made a part of the consideration of this conveyance, that the corporation of the Parish School, before possessing or occupying the building now being built for the School, shall vote to continue to apply the income of the funds of said corporation (the most of which were contributed by me), together with the income of all future donations they may receive for the use and benefit of the School, solely and exclusively to the payment of the salaries of teachers and chaplain, when one is employed, (all of whom are expected to reside in the building thus prepared for them,) and for the necessary expenses and repairs of the school building and chapel.

And it is further stipulated, and it shall be the duty of the aforementioned Parish School Committee,' to keep an account of all income and expenditures of and for said Parish School and Chapel, and report the same, with the vouchers therefor, annually to the Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church at some meeting thereof immediately preceding their annual meeting.

And it is especially stipulated, and made a part of the consideration of this conveyance, that if at any time the said property hereby conveyed, or any part thereof, shall be discontinued for the uses and purposes of said institutions according to their several charters of incorporation as set forth in this deed, or be converted or diverted to any other use or occupation, then this conveyance shall be null and void, and the said property shall revert to me or my right heirs. And for the purpose of convenient reference, in order that the several conditions and stipulations set forth in this deed may not be lost sight of or misunderstood, it is made the duty of the Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church to have it plainly transcribed into their Parish records.

It is with a strong hope and belief that the Parish School, after the new buildings are completed and occupied, will commend itself to the especial favor of the Rector of Trinity Church, and the members of the Parish and congregation, and that the 'Church Home' for worthy infirm and indigent ladies will hereafter be moderately endowed by some of the wealthy and kind-hearted members of the Parish, so that a permanent income for it, to some extent at

least, may be relied upon, which income, together with the annual subscriptions, and the weekly and monthly contributions of the ladies of the Parish as at present, will insure to its worthy and unfortunate inmates all the bodily and spiritual comforts which it is the bounden duty of every Christian community to provide for the sick and needy, that I now make this conveyance.

To have and to hold the said premises to them, the said Wardens and Vestry, and their successors forever, for the use and benefit of The Parish School of Trinity Church, and the Trinity Church Home, respectively in manner above set forth.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 24th day of July, A. D. 1868.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of
JOHN S. BEACH,
FRANCIS WAYLAND.

JOS. E. SHEFFIELD. [SEAL.]

BUILDINGS AND DEDICATORY EXERCISES.

The buildings erected by Mr. Sheffield and dedicated to the Parish School of Trinity Church, and consecrated by the Bishop of the Diocese on Thursday, June 30, 1869, stand back from George street in a very neat court-yard, and are three in number. In the center is the beautiful little Chapel. Upon the right hand is the Home, containing rooms for twenty-four aged and indigent women—kitchen, dining-room, and parlor; with every needful convenience—gas and water through the house—and the whole finished and furnished in a style of completeness and comfort which is rarely to be found in any similar institution. On the left hand is the School Building, containing an upper and lower school-room, the house of the chaplain and rooms for the teachers.

This brief description is a mere statement of the facts of one of the most interesting and important services, and concerning one of the noblest institutions which the Church in Connecticut has ever known. These whole and complete buildings, costing nearly one hundred thousand dollars, are the gift of Mr. J. E. Sheffield, watched over by his untiring care and planned by his thoughtful wisdom. What they are in their work and meaning can not better be stated than in the words with which the Bishop concluded his sermon, and which we are kindly permitted to append here.

The noble work of Christian charity, the crowning act of which is the consecration service of the day, connects itself by a loving bond with the meaning words of the text, with the spirit which they inculcate, and with the glowing life and love of the Apostolic age. It recognizes the Lord's injunction and the Church's duty; it seeks no meaner model than the work of Jesus Christ; it gathers together, as He did, ministers to human bodies, souls, and spirits, and in the consecration of this holy and beautiful house, it presents to the Triune God, Whose awful name it bears, an offering threefold and yet only one.

On one side of us stands a home where shelter is provided for lonely, destitute, suffering age; a home where it is housed and watched and cared for, tenderly and lovingly, till the good God is pleased to call it to a better than any earthly home. On the other side rises another comely edifice, where provision is made for the spiritual and intellectual training of the otherwise uncared-for youth, the lambs, if sometimes almost outcast ones, of the Saviour's flock. And here, between the two, is placed the house of God, the God of the widow and the fatherless. How beautiful the symbolism. How eloquent, beyond all possible words of man, the unspoken words of this holy and calm retreat, in the midst of a city's life, and stir, and business! How this temple of the Lord seems to pour out, even beyond its walls, blessings of mercy and of love on the aged who come hither to spend in peaceful seclusion the remnant of their days, on the young who are gathered from what might be places of sin, and must be places of danger, to be trained for that active life from which the others have wholly passed away. 'The sparrow hath found her an house and the swallow a nest where she may lay her young; even Thy altars, O Lord of Hosts, my King and my God!'

No work like this has ever before made memorable a year in our diocesan annals; few have so illustrated the annals of our Church. I bless God that it blesses my episcopate. I bless God that it blesses my brother's rectorship. And with a full heart of grateful affection I offer here, before God's altar, to him whose generous heart and unsparing hand have planned and executed it, the honest, earnest tribute of our united thanks. Nor, as I utter these words, can I refrain from adding that no man has cause to know better than I do the thoughtful care for the holiest interests that enter into that life with one of whose noblest works you are brought into contact here to-day. This city has one memorial, this venerable and historic parish has now another. But how many there are in the remembrance of one on whom, all unworthy as he is, God has laid heavy burdens of responsibility, which that care has helped to lighten, that one would, were this the time or place, most gladly tell you. Enough here to say that the thought of them has mingled with this blessed service, and given it for him a greater even than its own great fullness of solemnity.

To you, dear friends, my brother the rector, and the members of this parish, a sacred trust is here committed. I rejoice to feel that it presents to you no new or untried field. This work of instruction has long been going on, even from the days of the venerated Croswell, among you. Nor is it any new thing for you to care for the suffering, the lonely, and the poor. It is now several years since I stated to the diocese that a home for aged and destitute women had been 'begun and carried forward in a very quiet and unostentatious way' by this parish. I congratulate you to-day that all this work for Christ finds here a home in perpetuity, and a home where it connects itself with Christian worship. Only then, when it mounts upward to God in prayer and praise, does Christian service for bodies or for souls reach its full breadth of purpose, or go down to an abiding depth of steadfastness. So, then, be it here forever! Alms and prayers, work and worship, let all be offered here to God as the ages pass onward to their consummation! While each act of love, each deed of service, each word of prayer, each note of praise, swells the Church's glorious antiphon with which, to the Lord Who says to her, expectant and waiting, 'Lo I come quickly,' she makes her answer, 'Even so come Lord Jesus.'

SHEFFIELD SCIENTIFIC SCHOOL OF YALE COLLEGE.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

HISTORY.

In the year 1846, a "Department of Philosophy and Art" was instituted in Yale College, on the same general principles as the Departments of Law, Medicine and Theology. One design in this movement was to secure better opportunities of scientific instruction for chemists, agriculturists and other students who might or might not have been members of the Academical Department. A special "Analytical Laboratory" was soon opened for the instruction of these scholars. Six years later a class in Engineering was commenced. These classes soon became known as the "Yale Scientific School," and were the beginning of the present organization. In 1860, a liberal endowment was received from Joseph E. Sheffield, Esq., of New Haven, (amounting to upwards of $100,000, and subsequently increased by further gifts of $60,000) in consequence of which the name of "Sheffield Scientific School" was given to the establishment. The school, as enlarged and re-organized, was almost exactly such a college as was contemplated in the Act of Congress of July 2, 1862, so that the Legislature of Connecticut was led, almost unanimously, to bestow upon this department of Yale College the income of the fund derived from the sale of land scrip. The act directing this appropriation was approved June 24, 1863.

TRUSTEES.

The Trustees of the institution are the Corporation of Yale College, consisting of the President of the College and ten Clerical Fellows, the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and six senior Senators of the State. The Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and three senior Senators, with the Secretary of the State Board of Education constitute the State Board of Visitors, and with the Secretary of the School, the Board for the appointment of State Students. The following persons compose the Board of Visitors in September 1867:—His Excellency James E. English, his Honor E. H. Hyde, Hon. George Beach, Hon. M. T. Granger, Hon. A. J. Gallup, and Rev. B. G. Northrup. The Secretary of the School is Professor D. C. Gilman. The President of Yale College and the thirteen professors of this department form a "Governing Board," responsible to the corporation.

SALE OF THE SCRIP.

The amount of the national land-grant conferred upon Connecticut was 180,000 acres. The scrip representing this endowment was sold by the Commissioner of the School Fund, in accordance with the directions of the Legislature, on terms approved by the Governor of the State, Hon. W. A. Buckingham.

The price which it brought was 75 cts. per acre, yielding a capital of 135,000 dollars. This was first invested in United States Ten-Forty bonds, bearing interest in gold at the rate of 5 per ct. per annum; but subsequently the Legislature directed that these securities should be sold and the proceeds invested, instead, in Connecticut State Bonds bearing interest at 6 per cent. in currency. The annual income from this fund is therefore $8,100.

OTHER FUNDS AND PROPERTY.

The school is the owner of a spacious and commodious edifice provided by Mr. Sheffield, at a cost, including outfit, &c., of about $100,000. It has invested funds, the gift of various parties, amounting to about $70,000,—and has also large collections of books, apparatus, instruments, and specimens in Natural History. Besides its own peculiar property, the school as a department of Yale College enjoys the advantages of the Public Library of the University, the Peabody Museum of Natural History, the Yale School of the Fine Arts, and other costly and serviceable endowments, which could not be replaced for half a million of dollars.

EXPERIMENTAL FARM.

No effort has been made to purchase a farm for experiment or practice. The funds of the institution are at present quite inadequate to this outlay; and the instructors believe that many if not all the advantages looked for in such an investment may be secured by observation and experiment on private farms in the neighborhood of New Haven, without expending any considerable sum in the purchase and management of a school farm, beyond a piece of ground suitable for a botanical garden and for occasional experiments, which would be a welcome accession to the school.

MANUAL LABOR.

There has been no proposal to require manual labor of the students, nor would the suggestion meet with favor. Some of the students of their own accord take part in mechanical pursuits or other industrial occupations,—and there are abundant opportunities for physical exercise in the scientific excursions which are kept up through the summer, and also in the college gymnasium, and in boating, skating, etc.

MILITARY INSTRUCTION.

Thus far military instruction has been given by an annual course of lectures from a Prussian military officer, who was a Brigadier General in the recent war for the Union. He has expounded the principles of strategy and tactics, with diagrams and other means of illustration, in an interesting and profitable manner. The provisions for military instruction proposed by Congress in the act of July 26, 1836, are now under consideration by the authorities of Yale College, and their action may modify these existing arrangements.

PUBLIC LECTURES.

Courses of public lectures have been given the last two years to mechanics in Sheffield Hall, and to farmers assembled in different parts of the State.

TUITION AND FREE SCHOLARSHIPS.

The charge for tuition is $125 per year, payable $45 at the beginning of the first and second term, and $35 at the beginning of the third term. The special student in Chemistry is charged an addition of $75 per annum for chemicals and the use of apparatus, and must supply himself with certain articles at a cost of five or ten dollars per term.

Forty free scholarships, open only to citizens of Connecticut, have been established by the State, and more than half of them are already occupied. If more applicants should appear than there are vacancies, the preference is to be given to those who have become orphans because their fathers served in the army or navy of the U. S., and next, to those who need pecuniary assistance; it being understood that all applicants must be fitting themselves for industrial occupations. The appointments are moreover to be distributed among the several counties in proportion to their population.

LODGING AND BOARD.

The school owns but one building, (known as "Sheffield Hall," the gift of Mr. Joseph E. Sheffield,) which is devoted to the necessary rooms for instruction, laboratories, museums, library, &c.

The students lodge and board in private houses. Some public provision to lessen the cost of living; for example a good dormitory, and a public boarding house conducted by the students with the co-operation of the faculty, are both most desirable.

ADMISSION.

All who enter the Sheffield School must be at least sixteen years of age, and must have mastered Algebra, Geometry, and Trigonometry,—besides what are called "the higher English branches." The entrance examinations on these studies are strict, as they are not pursued in the school, and are essential to successful progress. The regular examination is at the close of the third term and the beginning of the first term, (eight weeks after commencement.)

REGULAR COURSES OF STUDY.

The regular courses of study occupy three years, each year having three terms, two of fourteen and one of twelve weeks. During the first or Freshman year, the entire class is taught in the same studies, which are partly mathematical, partly scientific, and partly linguistic,—the object being to lay such a foundation of scholastic discipline as will be useful in any special department of study. During the second and third years, the students group themselves in seven sections, the professional character of which is clearly indicated by the titles, viz:—

1. CHEMISTRY AND MINERALOGY.
2. CIVIL ENGINEERING.
3. MECHANICS.
4. MINING AND METALLURGY.
5. AGRICULTURE.
6. NATURAL HISTORY AND GEOLOGY.
7. SELECT COURSE OF SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY STUDIES.

In all these sections attention is paid to the French and German languages. Examinations are held at the close of every term; and once a year there is an examination in writing on the studies of the year. These courses lead to the Degree of "Bachelor of Philosophy," conferred by Yale College. The Degree of "Civil Engineer" is conferred on students who pursue an advanced course of engineering, and that of "Doctor of Philosophy" on those who study for two years after having attained to a Bachelor's Degree in Arts, Philosophy and Science, and who pass a successful examination in higher departments of science.

PARTIAL COURSES.

Students qualified to pursue advanced courses of instruction in Chemistry, Practical Astronomy, Zoölogy, and other branches taught in the institution are admitted to partial and selected courses adapted to their special wants. One object of this arrangement is to aid young men to qualify themselves to become Professors, Teachers and independent investigators in various departments of natural science. There is also a "shorter course" in agriculture, definitely arranged and announced.

INSTRUCTORS.

The President of the institution is Rev. THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, D. D., LL.D. The Chairman of the Governing Board is Professor JAMES D. DANA; and the Professors and their departments are as follows:—

WILLIAM A. NORTON,	*Civil Engineering and Mathematics.*
JAMES D. DANA,	*Geology and Mineralogy.*
BENJAMIN SILLIMAN,	*General Chemistry.*
CHESTER S. LYMAN,	*Industrial Mechanics and Physics.*
WILLIAM D. WHITNEY,	*Modern Languages.*
GEORGE J. BRUSH,	*Mineralogy and Metallurgy.*
DANIEL C. GILMAN,	*Physical Geography.*
SAMUEL W. JOHNSON,	*Analytical and Agricultural Chemistry.*
WILLIAM H. BREWER,	*Agriculture.*
ALFRED P. ROCKWELL,	*Mining.*
DANIEL C. EATON,	*Botany.*
OTHNIEL C. MARSH,	*alæontology.*
ADDISON E. VERRILL,	*Zoölogy.*

The additional instructors in 1866-7, were:

MARK BAILEY,	*Elocution.*
LOUIS BAIL,	*Drawing and Designing.*
A. VON STEINWEHR,	*Military Science.*
JOHN AVERY,	*Physics, etc.,*
JAMES B. STONE,	*Mathematics.*
BEVERLY S. BURTON,	*Chemistry.*
CHARLES J. SHEFFIELD,	*Assaying.*

Some of the students are also required to attend lectures in the other departments of the University,—especially the lectures on Physics and Astronomy by Professor E. Loomis, on Human Anatomy and Physiology by Dr. L. J. Sanford, and on Mental and Moral Philosophy by Rev. Professor N. Porter.

MODES OF INSTRUCTION.

The instructors aim to impart Useful Knowledge by such methods as will secure Intellectual Discipline. The students being classified in more than twenty subdivisions, based at once on their purposes in life and on their scholastic attainments, are brought into close personal relations with the professors, who endeavor to inspire them with a love of study, rather than to incite them by a fear of discipline. At the same time, a rigid system of marks is kept up, and all who fall below a certain standard in scholarship, attendance or conduct, are subject to dismission. In the Chemical and Zoological laboratories in Civil Engineering, and so far as possible in other branches, the students are trained to practical work with the necessary instruments and apparatus. Scientific excursions are maintained through the summer under the various professors, to promote the study of Geology, Mineralogy, Botany, Zoology, etc., and sometimes to examine important manufactories and public works. The drill by recitations is constant, but lectures, both formal and familiar, are introduced to quicken the mind and impart the most recent investigations.

APPARATUS OF INSTRUCTION.

The following is a summary statement of the material possessions of the school applicable to the purposes of instruction.

I. *Pertaining to Sheffield Hall.*

1. Laboratories in Chemistry, Metallurgy, Photography and Zoology. (A laboratory in Physics and Mechanics is still very much wanted.)
2. Metallurgical Museum of Ores, Furnace Products, etc., (an extensive and increasing collection.)
3. Agricultural Museum of Soils, Fertilizers, useful and injurious Insects, etc.
4. Astronomical Observatory, having a very good equatorial telescope, by Clarke & Son of Cambridge, a meridian circle, etc.
5. A library and reading room, containing books of reference and a selection of German, French, English, and American scientific journals.
6. A collection of models in Architecture, Civil Engineering and Mechanics, and of diagrams adapted to public lectures.
7. A collection of Maps and Charts, topographical, hydrographical, geological, etc.
8. The private mineralogical cabinet of Prof. Brush, the herbariums of Professors Eaton and Brewer, the collection of native birds of Professor Whitney, the astronomical instruments of Professor Lyman,—all freely accessible to qualified students.

II. *Pertaining to the University.*

1. The College Library, consisting of 47,000 volumes, and the Society Libraries, consisting of 26,000 volumes.
2. Two Reading Rooms, one containing the newspapers and literary journals of England and the United States;—the other, quarterlies and monthlies in various languages and departments of learning.
3. The Cabinet of Minerals and Fossils,—an extensive and well known collection.
4. The Collections in Natural History.

(These collections and the mineral cabinet will be removed to the Peabody Museum when it is built; a fund of $150,000 having been given for this purpose by Geo. Peabody, Esq. of London.)

5. Apparatus in Physics and Chemistry, adapted to and employed in public lectures.
6. Collections of the Yale School of the Fine Arts.
7. Gymnasium for physical training.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS.

The number of students in 1865-6 was 92; in 1866-7 123; and at the commencement of the current year, 1867-8, 130.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following pamphlets and articles illustrate the history of the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College.

1846 and every subsequent year. Catalogues of Yale College.
Memoir of Prof. J. P. Norton. *New Englander*, vol. x., 1852.
Memorial of Prof. J. P. Norton. 12mo.
Report of the Joint Standing Committee on Education in the General Assembly of Connecticut, (May Session, 1847,) on the establishment in Yale College of Professorships of Agriculture and the Arts. (Signed by Ephm. Williams, Chairman.)
1856. Scientific Schools in Europe, by D. C. Gilman. 11 pp. 8vo.
(Printed also in Barnard's American Journal of Education.)
Scientific Education the want of Connecticut, by D. C. Gilman. 8 pp. 8vo.
(Printed also in the Conn. Agric. Soc. Trans.)
Appeal in Behalf of the Yale Scientific School. 32 pp. 8vo.
Private Proposal for Reorganizing the Scientific School of Yale College. (Foolscap sheet.)
Proposed Plan for a School of Science in Yale College. 32 pp. 8vo.
Plan of an Agricultural School, by J. A. Porter. 8 pp. 8vo.
Plan of an Engineering School, by W. A. Norton. 4 pp. 8vo.
1856. Science and Scientific Schools. An Address before the Alumni of Yale College at Commencement in 1856, by Prof. J. D. Dana.
1860. Agricultural Lectures at Yale College. Reported by H. S. Olcott. 12mo.
Regulations of the Scientific School of Yale College, (several editions in successive years.) 4 pp. 8vo.
1863. Statement respecting the Sheffield Scientific School, laid before members of the Legislature of Connecticut. 4 pp. 8vo.
1864. Prospectus of the Sheffield Scientific School. 4 pp. 8vo.
1865. Circular of the Sheffield Scientific School. 4 pp. 8vo.
Circular respecting a Course in Agriculture. 4 pp. 4to.
1866. First Annual Report of the State Visitors of the Sheffield Scientific School. 40 pp. 8vo.
1867. Second Annual Report of the Sheffield Scientific School. 64 pp. 8vo.
Acts of Congress and of the Connecticut Legislature, respecting the national grant. 4 pp. 8vo.
On the Relations of Scientific Education to Industrial Pursuits, by Prof. C. S. Lyman, an Address at the 21st Anniversary of the Sheffield Scientific School. pp. 8vo.

COURSES OF STUDY.

I.—Regular courses extending through three years, and leading to the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy in Yale College.

ADMISSION.

Candidates for admission must be sixteen years of age or more—must bring testimonials of good character. They will then be required to pass an examination in the below-mentioned branches:

Algebra—Davies, as far as General Theory of Equations. *Geometry*—Davis's Legendre. *Plane Trigonometry*, including Analytical Trigonometry—Loomis or Davies. *The Elements of Natural Philosophy*—Loomis or Olmsted. *Arithmetic* (including the Meteric system of weights and measures). *English Grammar, Geography, and the History of the United States.*

Some knowledge of the Latin language is also recommended.

FRESHMAN YEAR.

The Freshman class, preliminary to all the higher instructions of the school, pursues the following studies:

First Term.

Mathematics—Davies' Analytical Geometry. Spherical Trigonometry. *Physics*—Silliman's Principles. *English*—Exercises in Composition. *Chemistry*—Recitations and Laboratory Practice. *German*—Woodbury's Method and Reader.

Second Term.

English—Rhetoric. Practical Exercises in Elocution. *German*—Woodbury continued. Selections from approved authors. *Physics*—Silliman's Principles, and Academical Lectures. *Chemistry*—Recitations and Laboratory Practice. *Mathematics*—Descriptive Geometry and Geometrical Drawing.

Third Term.

English—Exercises in Composition *German*—Selections. *Physics*—Silliman's Principles and Academical Lectures. *Mathematics*—Surveying. Principles of Perspective. *Botany*—Gray's Manual. *Drawing*—Free Hand Practice.

JUNIOR AND SENIOR YEARS.

In the last two years of the regular courses, the students, grouped in seven sections, pursue the following studies:

1.—CHEMISTRY AND MINERALOGY.

JUNIOR YEAR.

Inorganic Chemistry—Eliot & Storer's Manual, Recitations and Lectures. *Analytical Chemistry*—Fresenius. Recitations and Lectures. *Laboratory Practice*—Repetition of Experiments from Eliot & Storer's Manual. Systematic Qualitative Analysis. Use of the Blowpipe. Quantative Analysis. *Mineralogy*—Dana's System, Lectures and Practical Exercises. *Botany*—Gray's Manual, Excursions and Preparation of Herbarium. *Zoölogy*—Lectures and Excursions. *French and German* (see Select Course).

SENIOR YEAR.

General Chemistry—Academical and Medical Lectures. *Agricultural Chemistry and Physiology*—Lectures. *Laboratory Practice*—Quantitative Mineral Analysis. Assaying. Organic Analysis. Special Investigation for Graduating Thesis. *Mineralogy*—Identification of Species. *Metallurgy*—Lectures. *Geology* Dana's Manual. Recitations and Academical Lectures. *Human Anatomy and Physiology*—Academical Lectures. *Mechanics, Steam Engine and other Prime Moters*—Lectures. *French* (see Select Course).

2,—CIVIL ENGINEERING.

JUNIOR YEAR.

Mathematics—Descriptive Geometry, with applications. Shades, Shadows and Linear Perspective. Analytical Geometry of three dimensions. Differential and Integral Calculus. *Astronomy*—Theoretical Astronomy. Practical Problems. *French* and *German*. *Practical Surveying*—Triangulation, Surveying of a Harbor, etc. Topographical Surveying. *Drawing*—Isometrical, Topographical, Mechanical.

SENIOR YEAR.

Mechanics—Theoretical Mechanics. Applications of Calculus to Mechanics. Mechanics applied to Engineering. Principles of Mechanism. Thermo-dynamics. Theory of Steam Engine. Prime Movers. *Civil Engineering*—Strength and Stiffness of Materials. Bridge Construction. Stability of Arches. Stone-cutting, with graphical problems. Constitution and properties of Building Materials. Civil Engineering proper, or the Science of Construction. *Geology*, *French*—Selections. *Field Engineering and Surveying*—Location of Roads. Laying out Curves. Geodesy. *Designing*—Designing of Bridges and other Structures. *Drawing*—Architectural and Structural.

3,—MECHANICAL ENGINEERING.

JUNIOR YEAR.

French and German—(see Select Course). Descriptive Geometry, with Applications. Analytical Geometry of Three Dimensions. Elementary Mechanics. Principles of Mechanism. Differential and Integral Calculus. Metallurgy. Shades, Shadows, and Linear Perspective. Isometrical Projection. Elements of Mechanical Drawing and Principles of Construction. Shading and Tinting, and drawing from patterns.

SENIOR YEAR.

French and German (see Select Course). *Analytical Mechanics*—Strength of Materials. Thermo-dynamics. Theory and Construction of the Steam Engine. Prime Movers. Theory of Machines. Mill work. Examination of Machinery. Mechanical Construction. Machine shop Practice. Architectural Drawing. Drawing from actual Machines. Designs of Machines.

4,—MINING AND METALLURGY.

JUNIOR YEAR.

French and German (see Select Course). *Mechanics*—Peck's Elements. Principles of Mechanism. Theory of Steam Engine. *Mathematics*—Mining Surveying—Shades, Shadows and Linear Perspective. Isometrical Projection. *Civil Engineering*—Strength of Materials. Stability of Arches. Higher and Topographical Surveying. *Geology*—Dana. *Drawing*—Mechanical and Topographical.

SENIOR YEAR.

French (see Select Course). *Mining*—Lectures. *General and Special Metallurgy*—Lectures. *General Chemistry*—Miller. *Chemical Analysis*—Fresenius. Recitations and Lectures. *Laboratory Practice*—Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis. Use of the Blowpipe. Assaying. *Mineralogy*—Lectures and Practical Exercises. *Zoölogy*—Lectures. *Mechanics*—Application to Engineering. *Drawing*,

5,—AGRICULTURE.

JUNIOR YEAR.

Agricultural Chemistry and Physiology—Structure and Physiology of Plants; Water, Atmosphere, and Soil in their relations to Vegetable Production, Improvement of the Soil by Chemical and Mechanical means. Domestic Animals; the chemical relations of their Food, Digestion, Respiration, Assimilation and Excretions; Milk, Butter, Cheese, Flesh, and Wool as Agricultural Products. Lectures. *Experimental and Analytical Chemistry*—Laboratory Practice. *Meteorology*—Academical Lectures. *Physical Geography*—Lectures. *Zoölogy*—Lectures. *Drawing*—Free-hand practice. *French and German*—Continued. *Excursions*—Botanical, Zoölogical, etc.

SENIOR YEAR.

Agriculture—The staple crops of the United States, their varieties, cultivation, management, and preparation for market. The Care, Breeding and Raising of Domestic Animals. Lectures and Recitations. *Experimental Chemistry*—Laboratory practice. *Agricultural Zoölogy*—Natural History of Domestic Animals; Insects useful and injurious to Vegetation. Lectures. *Human Anatomy and Physiology*—Lectures. *Geology*—Lectures and Recitations. *Rural Economy*, both American and Foreign. Lectures. *French and German*, continued. *Excursions*—Botanical, Zoölogical, etc.

6,—NATURAL HISTORY AND GEOLOGY.

JUNIOR YEAR.

First Term.

Zoölogy—Daily Laboratory instruction; Zoölogical Excursions. *Botany*—Gray's First Lessons. *Chemistry*—Academical Lectures. *French and German*—Selections.

Second Term.

Zoölogy and Paleontology—Laboratory Practice, Lectures. *Physical Geography*—Lectures and Recitations. *Chemistry*—Laboratory Practice. *French and German*, continued.

Third Term.

Zoölogy and Paleontology—Laboratory Practice, Lectures, Excursions (land and marine). *Botany*—Gray's Manual; Excursions. *Mineralogy*—Dana, Lectures and Practical Exercises. *French*, continued. *Drawing*—Free Hand Practice.

SENIOR YEAR.

First Term.

Zoölogy and Paleontology—Laboratory Practice, Lectures, Excursions. *Geology*—Dana's Manual. Excursions. *Meteorology*—Academical Lectures. *French*—Selections.

Second Term.

Zoölogy and Paleontology—Continued. *Botany*—Lectures on special subjects. *Geology*—Dana, Recitations and Lectures. *Anatomy and Physiology*—Academical Lectures. *French*—Selections.

Third Term.

Zoölogy and Paleontology—Continued, with Excursions. *Photography*—Practical Instruction.

7.—SELECT COURSE IN SCIENCE AND LITERATURE.

JUNIOR YEAR.

MODERN LANGUAGES.—*French and German*, continued. English Composition and Literature.

MATHEMATICS.—Peck's Mechanics, Norton's Astronomy.

NATURAL SCIENCE.—*Agricultural Chemistry*—Lectures. *Zoölogy*—Lectures and Excursions. *Botany*—Lectures and Excursions. *Mineralogy*—Lectures. *Physical Geography*—Lectures and Recitations.

HISTORY.—Recitations.

DRAWING.—Free Hand, and Architectural.

SENIOR YEAR.

LANGUAGE.—*French or German*, continued. Lectures on Language and Linguistic Ethnology. Compositions.

NATURAL SCIENCE.—*Botany and Zoölogy*, continued. *Geology*—Recitations and Lectures. *Meteorology*—Lectures. *Human Anatomy and Physiology*—Lectures. *Astronomy*—Lectures.

PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY.—Lectures and recitations, in *History and Political Philosophy, International Law, Political Economy, Ethics and Metaphysics.*

II.—PARTIAL COURSES LEADING TO NO DEGREES.

A partial course in Agriculture, occupying seven months in the winter, is arranged for the convenience of those who cannot pursue a longer course of study.

Special students desirous to become proficient in some branch of Chemistry are also received in the Chemical Laboratory.

In Natural History arrangements are also made for the instruction of special students, not candidates for degrees. The same is true in Practical Astronomy. No formal examinations are required for admission to these advantages, but they are only offered to young men who are able and disposed to be faithful in the pursuit of the courses they select.

III.—HIGHER COURSES LEADING TO THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY OR OF CIVIL ENGINEER IN YALE COLLEGE.

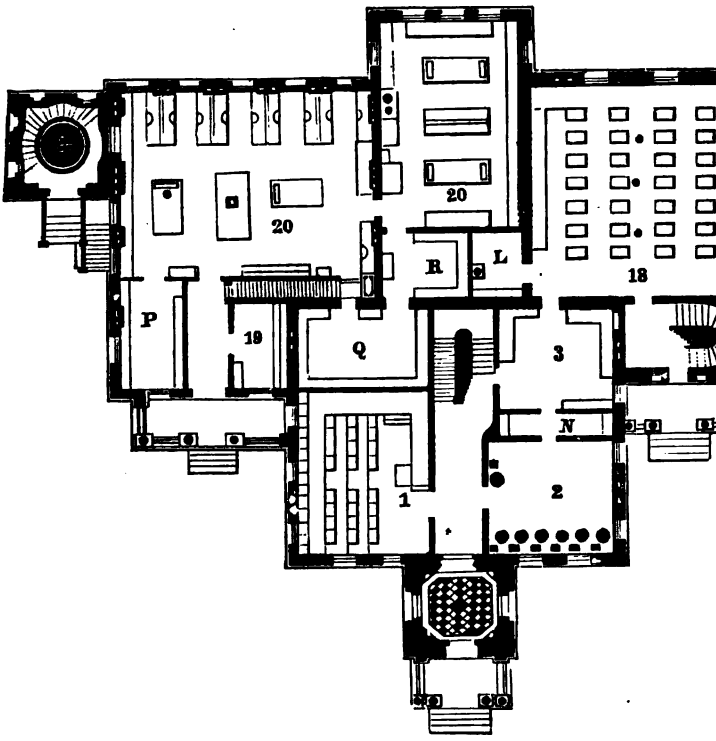
A higher course in Civil Engineering is arranged to follow the regular three years' course, and those who pursue it faithfully may receive the degree of Civil Engineer. (C. E.)

Candidates for the Degree of Ph. Dr. must have taken already a Bachelor's Degree, and must pursue in this College, a course of two years' instruction in the higher studies of at least three departments of science, terminating with a satisfactory examination.

PLANS AND DESCRIPTION OF SHEFFIELD HALL, OF THE SHEFFIELD SCIENTIFI SCHOOL, YALE COLLEGE, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Sheffield Hall is situated in Grove street, fronting College street, nearly quarter of a mile north of the College square. It is built of stone and bric covered with stucco, and consists of a principal three story structure, and tw wings (each of two stories,) now connected in the rear by another three stor building. There are three public entrances on Grove street, of which the cen tral one is the chief, leading to all portions of the building; the eastern doo leads to the principal room of the Engineering Class and to the Metallurgic Museum above it; and the western door leads to the Chemical Laboratory.

There are two projecting towers—one in front, at the main entrance, and on at the northwest corner of the building. The principal tower in front is ninet feet high and sixteen feet square. In the second and third stories are studie for two of the professors. Above these rooms is the belfry-clock with its fou dials, and surmounting the structure is a revolving turret in which the equato rial telescope is placed.



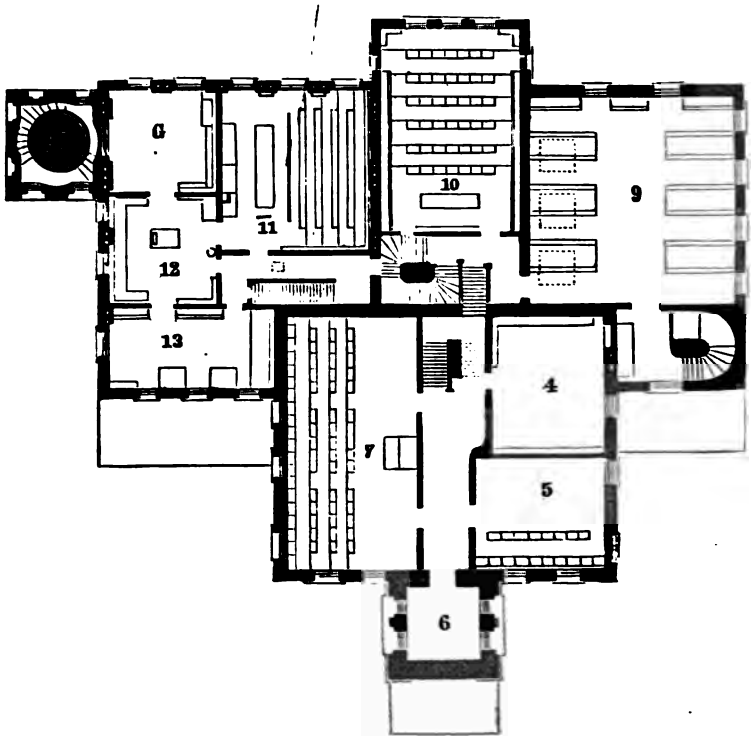
No. 1, Recitation-room, in Mathematics, Physics, etc.
" 2, " " " Engineering, etc.
" 3, Exhibition-room for engineering models, etc.
" 18, Drawing room for the Engineering and other classes.
" 19, Chemical Assistant's Office. 20, 20, Chemical Laboratory.
L, Closet.—P, Balance-room.—Q, Store room.—R, Chemical reagent room.

The northwestern tower, sixteen feet square and fifty feet high, was built for the reception of a Meridian Circle.

The extreme length of the edifice from the western tower to the east side is 117 feet; and the extreme depth is 112 feet. The three cuts which are given herewith exhibit the arrangement of rooms on each of the three stories. The basement, which is not here represented, contains a Janitor's apartment, and a metallurgical laboratory, in addition to the hot-air furnaces, store rooms, etc.

The Observatory occupies the two towers, each sixteen feet square, recently added to the edifice. In one of these is mounted an EQUATORIAL TELESCOPE; in the other, a MERIDIAN CIRCLE, with a SIDEREAL CLOCK; both telescope and circle being the recent gifts of Mr. Sheffield.

PLAN OF THE SECOND STORY.

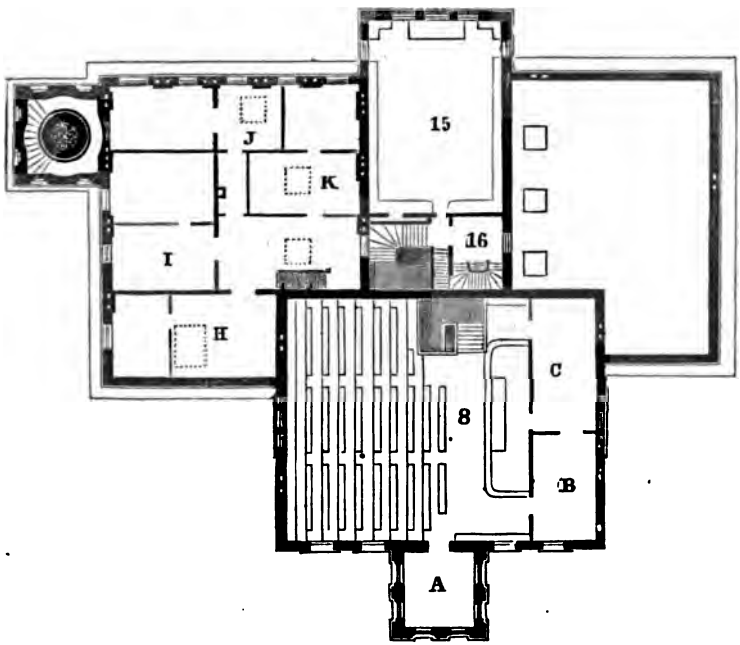


No. 4, Study—Prof. of Agriculture.
" 5, Recitation-room in Physical Geography, etc.
" 6, Study—Professor of Mining.
" 7, Recitation-room in Modern Languages, Mechanics, etc.
" 9, Metallurgical Museum.
" 10, Agricultural Lecture-room.
" 11, Chemical Lecture-room.
" 12, Private Chemical Laboratory.
" 13, Study—Professor of Mineralogy and Metallurgy.
G, Study—Professor of Analytical and Agricultural Chemistry.

The Equatorial Telescope, ordered of Messrs. Alvan Clark & Sons, of Cambridgeport, in November, 1865, was, early in October last, mounted in the revolving turret at the top of the front tower, some eighty feet above the ground, where it commands a good horizon. It is supported by a freestone pier, six feet in height, which stands on a massive floor of masonry arched in from the side walls, just above the tower clock. Though it thus partakes of whatever motion the tower itself is subject to, from winds and other causes, no noticeable inconvenience has been experienced, or is anticipated, from this source. The floor of the room, which is of wood, immediately above the stone floor, rests only in the outer walls, and does not touch the pier.

The object-glass has a clear aperture of nine inches, and is nine feet ten inches in focal length. The tube, made of pine handsomely finished, and ten inches in diameter, is at once stiff and light. Seven Huygenian eye-pieces give powers ranging from 40 to 620. All but one of these fit also a diagonal eye-tube containing a prismatic reflector. Another diagonal reflector—the first surface of an acute prism of glass—is used in observing the sun, the greater part

PLAN OF THE THIRD STORY.



No. 8, Public Lecture-room.
" 15, Library.
" 16, Librarian's room.
A, Study—Professor of Industrial Mechanics and Physics.
B and C, Apparatus-rooms.
H, Photographic Laboratory.
I, J, Dormitories.
K, Store-room.

of whose light and heat is transmitted, while the image formed by the reflected rays is viewed without inconvenience, with the full aperture of the telescope.

The equatorial mounting is the German, or Fraunhofer's—the declination axis carrying a circle of twelve inches diameter, graduated on silver so as to read by two verniers to 10″, and the polar axis carrying an hour circle of nine inches diameter, graduated to minutes of time, and reading by two verniers to five seconds.

Beneath the polar axis, in the curve of the U-shaped iron piece by which that axis is supported, is placed the driving clock. Its going is regulated by a half-second pendulum, and the intermittent motion of the scape wheel is changed into a smooth and equable motion for the telescope by the simple and ingenious device known as "Bond's Spring-Governor."

The performance of the telescope accords with the reputation of its makers. On favorable nights, it shows easily such test objects as δ Cygni, the companion of Sirius, the 6th star in the Trapezium of Orion, and, with more difficulty, γ ₂ Andromedæ. The second and third have been seen with the aperture reduced to five inches.

There is used with the telescope a bi-filar position-micrometer, with four eye-pieces, by Dollond.

A very simple observing chair enables the observer to change his position, quickly and easily, to any height required, without leaving his seat.

The revolving turret, resembling in form that of a "Monitor," rests, by a circular rail at its base, on eight grooved iron wheels, nine inches in diameter, the steel journals of which run in boxes of Babbitt's metal. It is turned by a crank, the pinion of which gears into a rack cast on the circular rail. The opening, three feet in width, extends entirely across, through the roof and sides, from base to base. It is closed by eight hinged shutters, so controlled by rods and levers as to be opened or shut with great facility.

The tower connected with the west wing was erected during the last summer, specially for the reception of the Meridian Circle purchased of the U. S. Government and formerly used in the East room of the Washington Observatory. This instrument was mounted in September on the massive granite piers, which came with it, and the bases of which are imbedded in the upper part of a shaft of solid masonry, thirty-six feet in height, nine in diameter at the base, and seven at the top. This shaft rises, independently of the building throughout, from a foundation ten feet below the surface of the ground, and is surrounded, at a few inches distance, by a double casing made of tarred felt and matched sheathing boards. It is thus well protected against sudden changes of temperature.

The Meridian Circle has a five-foot telescope, with an object glass of 3·8 inches aperture, and 58 inches focal length. It has three Ramsden eye-pieces. A diagonal eye-piece in addition has been ordered, for more conveniently observing objects at high altitudes. At the focus is a system of one horizontal, and eleven vertical, spider-lines, together with a micrometer thread movable in declination only. The mean equatorial interval of the vertical threads is 14s·167.

The axis, thirty inches in length, terminates in steel pivots two inches in diameter, and to opposite faces of its central cube are bolted the two conical frusta forming the tube of the telescope. This tube is so constructed at the

ends that the object-glass and eye-tube are readily interchangeable. On the axis, within the piers, are two circles forty inches in diameter. They are graduated on silver, the one to read by a vernier to single minutes, the other by six micrometer microscopes, to single seconds. Four of the microscopes are mounted at the corners, and two at intermediate points on the opposite sides, of a square alidade frame, which is carried by the axis, and held in position by adjusting screws connected with the pier. Attached also to the alidade is a spirit level. Suitable counterpoises prevent undue pressure of the pivots on the Y's. For finding the nadir point, and the level and collimation errors, a collimating eye-piece and vessel of mercury are used. There is also a striding level for the axis; an observing couch; and a reversing apparatus traversing the floor on rails between the piers.

This instrument, as originally constructed by Ertel & Sons, of Munich, had a thirty-inch circle at each extremity of the axis, outside of the piers. These were subsequently replaced by the present forty-inch circles on the axis inside of the piers, by Wm. J. Young, of Philadelphia, who made other minor alterations.

In the first and second volumes of the Washington Observations, this circle, in its original form, is fully described, and illustrated by plates. It has been put in adjustment, but not yet sufficiently used to test its performance.

The circle-room has a meridional opening from side to side, twenty inches in width, with roof-shutters, which are opened or shut by a single motion of a lever. The side shutters are ordinary doors.

A Sidereal Clock, by Appleton, London, the gift of William Hillhouse, Esq., of New Haven, is attached to the west wall.

The observatory possesses also a Pistor & Martin's Patent Sextant. The private instruments referred to as used by students in Practical Astronomy are: a superior portable Telescope, by Clark & Sons, of 4⅝ inches aperture and five feet focal length; a Transit Instrument with three-foot telescope, and twelve-inch circle reading by two verniers to 10″; a Sidereal Clock and an Eight-day Sidereal Chronometer. The telescope of the transit instrument has an object-glass, by Fitz, of 2⅝ inches aperture, and a micrometer, so constructed as to be used with equal facility at all angles of position, without danger of disturbing the fixed system of threads. With this micrometer, and the spirit-level attached to the alidade of the circle, this instrument is practically a Zenith Telescope, and is used as such in observations for latitude by Talcott's method. The eye-piece constantly used is a diagonal one giving a power of 200, a power warranted by the excellence of the object-glass. The instrument is mounted on a heavy iron stand, cast in one piece, which is supported by a brick pier, four feet in height, with its foundation of masonry extending several feet below the surface of the ground.

The tower clock was made by Messrs. E. Howard & Co., of Boston. It has a wooden pendulum rod eight feet in length, with a zinc compensation-tube below the bob, specially ordered for this clock. The bob is of cast iron, and about twice as heavy as those usually furnished by the makers. The rate has thus far proved to be nearly uniform and quite satisfactory. The clock is set anew to zero, whenever its error amounts to half a minute. This has occurred but twice since August last. The hours are struck on a fine toned bell of 675 lbs. weight, suspended in a separate bell-tower on the main roof, some twenty-five feet from the clock.

SHEFFIELD SCIENTIFIC SCHOOL.

New Building erected in 1873.

The new building has a front of seventy-six feet on Prospect street, and a depth of eighty-four feet, standing back from the street, sixteen feet.

The plan is rectangular, and it has substantially five stories,—a basement of eleven feet in height, first, second, and third stories, each fourteen feet high in the clear, and an attic, or fourth story, nine and a half feet high in the clear.

The general plan of the interior arrangement of rooms is based on that of the first story, provision being made for a large lecture room in the rear part of this particular one, extending across the whole rear side of the building, and occupying nearly one-half of the story. This lecture room has a capacity for seating about four hundred and fifty persons. A hall sixteen feet wide from the front entrance communicates with this lecture room, and affords room for the main staircase to the upper stories. On each side of this hall there are two recitation rooms, one 12′.5″ by 27′.5″ and one 12′.11″ by 26′.9″, making four recitation rooms and a large lecture room on the first floor.

Under these four recitation rooms in the basement of the building there are two large rooms and one small room completely finished. These rooms are all suitable for recitation rooms, being well lighted, and having a height of 11 feet.

The rear basement, under the general lecture room, is occupied by a coal room, heating furnaces and boilers, janitor's room, and water-closets. The floor of this part of the basement is lower than the front part by four feet, to permit the floor of the lecture room above to drop down that much from the front.

The second and third stories are divided alike,—two large rooms of equal size in each over the lecture room, and four rooms on each story in the front.

The south side of the second story, consisting of three rooms, is devoted to Physics; the north, consisting of three rooms, to Civil Engineering. The small rooms in front are, for the present, appropriated to the Professors in those departments for study rooms, the middle rooms for apparatus and recitation rooms, and the rear and largest rooms for apparatus, lectures, and drawing-rooms.

The third floor is arranged in a similar way. The south side is devoted to Dynamic Engineering; the large rear room on the north side to Natural History, the middle room to Botany, and the front to the purposes of a private study.

The fourth story furnishes one large room (73′ by 28′) for instruction in instrumental drawing, and eleven small rooms to be occupied as private rooms for instructors, and for store-rooms.

The interior finish of the building is plainly executed in yellow pine, coated with oil and shellac. The staircase and wainscoting of the halls are composed of pine, ash, and black walnut.

The building is heated and ventilated by boilers in the basement which furnish steam to chambers or 'radiators' under the rooms to be heated; a current of cold air passing through conduits to the radiators is heated in its passage upward to the rooms by the steam heated 'radiators.' To furnish places of exit for the heated air, separate air conduits from all the rooms, provided with ventilators, pass up through the walls to the roof.

The larger lecture room and all the recitation rooms, except two, have ventilators opening into large conduits in the center of the building, which are kept heated by the smoke flues of the boilers, which are of cast-iron, and pass up through the middle of these large conduits or ventilating shafts. The building is thus not only thoroughly warmed, but most efficiently ventilated.

SCHOOLS AS THEY WERE IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

BY J. W. SIMONDS.

[Annual Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction—1876.]

STATE LEGISLATION.

THE first settlement in New Hampshire was made in 1623, upon the Piscataqua river, and comprised the territory now occupied by Dover, Portsmouth, Rye, Greenland, North Hampton, Somersworth, Durham, Lee, and Madbury. Exeter and Hampton were settled in 1638. These settlements constituted so many different sovereignties, until they submitted to the government of Massachusetts in 1641. From that year till 1680, New Hampshire continued under a common jurisdiction with Massachusetts, and had an equitable representation in the common legislature in Boston. During this period the Massachusetts school law (acts of 1642–47) was enacted.

Those two acts, with immaterial modifications, constituted the school law of Massachusetts till after the American revolution. When New Hampshire resumed its independent character as a province, the act of 1647 was copied upon our statute books, and constituted the statute law, with slight changes, for one hundred years. It is not probable that the law of 1647 was generally enforced. The grades of schools established by this act were at first supported in part by tuition. The execution of the law was in the hands of the selectmen of the towns. The amount of money raised for the support of the schools was discretionary with towns.

An act in 1693, required the selectmen in their respective towns to raise money by assessments on the inhabitants for building and repairing school-houses, and for providing for a schoolmaster for each town in the province, under the penalty of £10 in case of failure.

In 1719, an act, almost an exact copy of the law of 1647, was passed, the only modification being the increasing of the penalty from five shillings to twenty pounds. It contained a clause authorizing towns, thinking themselves unable to comply with its terms, to seek relief from the court of general sessions.

In 1721, the derelict selectmen, who are in the preamble of the act affirmed 'to often neglect their duty,' are made liable upon their personal estates for the penalty affixed upon the towns.

At the close of the revolution our primary schools were still in their primitive rudeness, feebly and fitfully supported, while the grammar schools, for training boys for 'ye University,' existed scarcely elsewhere save in the phraseology of the statute. Such was their condition in 1789, that the legislature was awakened to the subject, and in an act of that year repealed all former acts on the subject, because, in the language of their preamble, 'they had been found not to answer the important end for which they were made.' An effort was made for their improvement by establishing the amount of money for schooling. This had hitherto been exclusively at the discretion and changeable whims of the town and selectmen, but it was now definitely fixed by statute at four pounds for every one pound of the proportion of public taxes to the individual town. This act also provided for the examination of teachers, requiring them to furnish certificates, from competent authorities, of character and qualification; established 'English Grammar Schools' for teaching 'reading, writing, and arithmetic,' and in shire and half-shire towns, grammar schools for teaching Latin and Greek, in addition to the branches required in the English grammar school,—English grammar not being required in either grade.

An excellent law was passed in 1817 for the 'Support and regulation of primary schools.' The assessment for schools was increased to ninety dollars for every dollar of apportionment of public taxes, for the sole purpose of supporting English schools within the towns for teaching 'reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, and other necessary branches of education,' and the purchase of 'wood or fuel.' The law of 1805, empowering towns to divide into school districts, was repealed.

The state school system was set forth in the law of 1827 in a very intelligent manner. The superintending school committees of the several towns were required to examine and license teachers, visit and inspect schools, to select school books, and report in writing upon the condition of the schools at the annual town meeting. This committee were also empowered, in necessary cases, to withdraw certificates, and dismiss teachers and scholars. They were allowed pay for services rendered. Teachers were required to furnish satisfactory evidences of good moral character, and could only receive pay upon showing the treasurer the committee's license. District or prudential committees were to be chosen at first at the annual town meeting; later, at the district meetings. This committee constituted the legal agency to hire the teacher, provide board for teachers, and fuel, repair the school-house, and have the

care of it. Books could be furnished needy children at public expense. The inhabitants of the district were authorized to raise money by tax to build and repair school-houses.

In 1821, an act passed the legislature requiring all banking corporations to use paper stamped under the direction of the governor, and paid for by the banks at the rate of fifty dollars on the thousand of circulation, or pay an annual tax, on the second Wednesday in June, to the state treasurer, of one-half of one per cent. on their capital stock. This tax was to constitute a Literary Fund. In 1828, this fund, amounting to $64,000, was distributed to the towns, according to the apportionment of the public taxes, to be used for the support of common schools, and other purposes of education. The disbursement of this fund was made annually upon this basis until 1847, when, by an act of that year, it was distributed according to the number of children, four years of age and upward, attending a public school not less than two weeks, as shown by the annual returns of the school committee to the secretary of state. This fund at first amounted to $10,000 annually. Now it amounts to about $27,000 in the aggregate, or forty-three cents for each scholar.

In 1833, provisions were made authorizing the superintending committee to furnish needy children with necessary school books at the expense of the town.

In 1834, a resolution passed the legislature recommending the several towns to cherish primary schools and support them, as the surest means for perpetuating free institutions, and securing the stability and happiness of this great republic. High schools, academies, and seminaries were recognized as powerful allies in promoting the cause of common education. In 1839, the clause empowering towns to divide into school districts was amended, and the sub-division was peremptorily ordered. In 1840–41, the rate of school money was increased to one hundred dollars on each dollar of the state apportionment. Another act was passed this year allowing the grading of schools when the scholars number fifty or more. In 1843, an act was passed which required the selectmen, under the penalty of one hundred dollars, upon the application of ten legal voters, to make the division of the town into school districts.

By an act of 1846, the office of Commissioner of Common Schools was established. He was required to spend at least twenty weeks in the different counties of the state for the purpose of promoting the cause of general education. He was required to make to the legislature an annual report upon the common schools of the

state. Superintending school committees were required to report annually upon the condition of schools in their towns to the commissioner. The salary of the office was $600 per annum, and personal expenses. Teachers' institutes were established by law, and towns were authorized to raise money for their support. The law this year made more effective the act of 1848 for the purpose of securing public instruction to children employed as factory operatives.

In 1848, the so-called Somersworth act became a law. It was made general in its provisions at the winter session of the same year. The rate for school money was increased to one hundred and twenty dollars on the state apportionment.

In 1850, the act establishing the office of Commissioner of Common Schools was abolished, and a new act passed for the appointment of county school commissioners, who constituted a Board of Education. One commissioner resided in each county. Each commissioner reported to the secretary of the board, and he prepared the school report.

In 1851, an act passed which required each town to raise a sum for the support of county teachers, equal to three per cent. of its required amount of school money. Two years later this sum was reduced to two per cent. of the school money, and in 1861 the institutes were abolished.

Between 1852 and 1870, the rate of assessment for support of schools was increased from $135 to $350 on the apportionment of the state tax. Within this time the Literary Fund was increased by a tax on the deposits in savings banks by non-residents. The proceeds from the sales of public lands was set apart for a school fund.

In 1867, the office of county commissioners was superseded by the act creating the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, which officer, with the governor and council, constituted the state board of education.

In 1868, a bill was passed requiring that teachers' institutes be held annually in each county, at the expense of the state. In 1874 this law was abolished, with the act establishing a board of education.

In 1870, an act was passed establishing a State Normal School. This school has been supported by appropriations annually.

By an act of 1872, 'female citizens of adult age, may hold and discharge the duties of prudential committee of any district, or of superintending school committee.'

[Mr. Simonds, in his Report for 1876, gives a history of public schools in several towns, from which we can form an intelligent opinion of the facilities of common education.]

TOWN ACTION IN RESPECT TO SCHOOLS.

Londonderry.

Londonderry was settled in 1719, a meeting-house was erected in 1720, and in 1723 a school-house of logs was built on the same beautiful common where stood the church. In size and proportion, this school-house was probably like one voted in 1727,—'eighteen feet long besides the chimney,—there shall be two fireplaces in one end as large as the house will allow,—the sides to be seven feet.' We do not find much more on record relative to school-houses, except that in 1730 it was voted that a school-house be built in each quarter of the town,—the schoolmaster to hold schools in them according to the money raised in each.

In 1720 some wanted a school, but a majority voted 'there is no school to be kept in town this winter.' 1725, 'Voted there shall be a school in each quarter of the town, if persons suitable can be found for keeping the same for six months from their commencement.' 1726, 'Voted there shall be but one school kept in town.' 1727, 'Voted the Public schools shall be kept at the meeting-house five months from date [May], the other six months in the out parts of the town where convenient.' 1729, 'Voted to leave the management of the schools with the selectmen.' 1732, Voted two public schools,—'Beaver Brook being the dividing line. Forty pounds were raised by taxation, and any additional expense incurred to be otherwise raised.' In 1734, 'There shall be three schools, one of which shall be a grammar school—the others English schools—the grammar master to go from one school to another.' Fifty pounds were raised this year. 1737, 'Voted to employ one master to keep 2 months in the South Range, 2 months in the Double Range, 2 months in the Aiken's Range, 2 months in the Back Range, 2 months in the English Range, 1 month in the *Park* and 1 month in *Canada*.' It will be noticed that some of these votes look toward the 'setting up' of a grammar school. It had been voted, in 1726, to employ Mr. David McGregor to keep a grammar school. Mr. McGregor subsequently became the pastor of the West Parish. In 1729, the town voted a certain salary to Rev. Matthew Clark, the eccentric pastor of the East Parish, succeeding the first McGregor, 'on condition of his keeping the town from employing any other grammar school master.' This thrifty proceeding seemed to have reference to an escape from the penalties of the provincial law. Toward 1750, it would seem, the classics

had in some measure given place to the common branches, for the record states 'some persons are calling for a grammar school.'

Teaching in those days was more a profession than at present, many of the teachers being men who passed their lives in this employment. In 1725, Robert Morrison, Eleanor Aiken, John Barnes, John Harvey, and Archibald Wier, were paid as teachers; in 1733, John Wilson, William Wallace, Ezekiel Steele, and Mr. Morton; in 1735, Thomas Boyes, Francis Bryan, and Mr. Goodall; in 1736, Matthew Campbell, Thomas Bacon, William McNeil, and John Eayers; in 1737, Mary McNeil, Daniel Todd, and William McNeil.

In 1789, all existing school laws were repealed, and more stringgent enacted, which required the assessment of a school tax of £5 for every twenty shillings of state taxation. School districts, with definite lines, appear to have been recognized by statute in 1805 for the first time: previously their limits had been rather capricious and changeable. Instead of *districts*, they had been termed *classes:* the prudential committee was the 'head of the class.'

Before 1805, the existing school-houses had been built by the town, or by the town assisted by private subscription. In the legislature of that year, authority was given districts to raise money for school-house building, as in the present time.

In Londonderry, the parent hive, the normal school was ever at the school-house on the common of the first meeting-house, which, not long after the revolution, became a genuine grammar and high school, under the guidance, first, of Z. S. Moor, afterward President of William and Amherst colleges, but particularly under the care of the famous preceptor, Burnham. In this school were qualified the sons and daughters of the town, who in turn became the teachers of the common schools. This high school was the germ from whence sprang the well-known Pinkerton Academy and the Adams Female Academy, both still in successful operation.

In the matter of teachers' wages, an old book of district record shows that in 1800, the average pay of a female was not far from $1 per week beside board, which was reckoned at about 5 shillings per week. In 1850, her pay was about $2 per week and board; in 1876, from $4 to $5 per week. Male teachers in 1800 received from $10 to $12 per month, and were boarded; in 1850, about $20 and board. In 1876 their pay is $50 per month without board.

The late Robert Mack, Esq., remembers the school taught by Samuel Bell, afterward Senator in Congress and Governor of the State. It was kept in the house of Mrs. Rebecca McAllister, a little tenement at the end of a lane, in a lonely and unfrequented

locality. Robert Mack was a pupil, but not present the first day. Soon after taking his seat, he was greeted with a rap over his head 'heavy enough to have dropped an ox.' As 'he had been doing nothing,' he was surprised, but his comrades assured him there had been no partiality in his case, as the master had served them all alike. It was a pleasant little initiatory ceremony, which he probably thought would be beneficial if not gratifying to his pupils. His patrons, however, thought differently. The matter was reported the next Sabbath to 'Squire Bell,' the father of the master, and on Monday morning when starting for his school, Samuel could not find his hickory cane.

HAMPTON.*

Hampton, a seaboard town in Rockingham county, has been settled two hundred and thirty-seven years, being, in the order of settlement, the fourth town in the State. The Indian name of the place was Winnacunnett. The grant for a plantation here was made early in September, 1638, by the general court of Massachusetts, that colony claiming the place by their charter (as they construed it). The settlement was begun soon afterward. On the 7th of June, 1639, the plantation was allowed to be a town. This, then, is the date of its incorporation. On the 4th of September following,—one year from the date of the grant,—the name of the town was changed to Hampton.

The earliest teacher was John Legat, whose engagement appears on record: On the 2 of the 2 mo: 1649:

> The selectmen of this Towne of Hampton have agreed with John Legat for this present yeare insueing—To teach and instruct all the children of or belonging to our Towne, both mayle and femaile (wch are capiable of learning) to write and read and cast accountes (if it be desired) as dilegently and as carefully as he is able to teach and instruct them; And so dilegently to follow the said imployment att all such time or times this yeare insueing, as the wether shall be fitting for the youth to com together to one place to be instructed: And allso to teach and instruct them once in a week, or more, in some Arthodox chatechise provided for them by their parents or masters.
>
> And in consideration hereof we have agreed to pay or cause to be payd unto the said John Legat, the som of Twenty pounds, in corne and cattle and butter att price currant, as payments are made of such goods in this Towne, and this to be payd by us quarterly, paying 5*l.* every quarter of the yeare after he has begun to keep school.

In 1671, the school was under the care of John Stephens, of whom I know but very little. Judging, however, from the correct language, the tasteful arrangement, and the neat penmanship of several specimens of his writing, now before me, I think he must have been a person of considerable mental cultivation and refinement. The salary paid to this teacher is not shown by the records, but whatever it may have been, it was according to the vote of the town already mentioned, to be raised 'as other town rates are.' But Feb. 10, 1672–3, this regulation was so modified that only £10 of the teacher's wages could be

* Selected from Report of Joseph Dow, Esq., in Annual Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction (John W. Simonds) for 1876.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

paid out of the money raised by taxation in the usual way, and the rest was to be assessed on the children attending the school. Under this arrangement, the school was not exactly *a free school.*

In a petition to the governor and council in July, 1714, it is represented that the selectmen had hired a schoolmaster for the town, to teach both Latin and English.

The town school was located in the vicinity of the meeting-house (the present site of the academy) until the spring of 1718, though in some instances it was removed to the Falls side for a few months: for instance, in 1678, the school was to be kept in the town nine months, and at the Falls side, three months.

Nov. 17, 1699, it was voted 'That if ffalls side, so called, in Hampton, doe provide and pay a schoolmaster for the teaching of their children; They shall be exempted ffrom paying to the schoolmaster at the town side so called.' Similar votes were passed at other times.

Solomon Page, a native of Hampton, graduated at Harvard college in 1729, and was afterward engaged in teaching and in preaching. He was employed here several months as a preacher during the illness of the pastor of the church.

Another teacher of the school was Thomas Barnard, a graduate of Harvard college in 1732. In October, 1735, he was admitted to the church, being then the 'schoolmaster of the town,' as the record shows. He retained his membership in the church till January 21, 1739, when he was dismissed to one of the churches in Newbury, Mass., of which he was soon after ordained pastor.

Jacob Bailey, a graduate of Harvard college in 1755, came to Hampton soon afterward as a teacher. He united with the church in March, 1758, being then 'schoolmaster of the town.' He remained here a considerable time, and married a daughter of one of the citizens. He became an Episcopal minister, and labored several years as a 'frontier missionary' in one of the towns in Maine. In the stormy period of the American revolution he was a *loyalist*, and in 1779 became a *refugee.*

It was voted, March 23, 1756, 'That the selectmen shall have the liberty of hireing a Common Reading and writing master, and in case a Grammar school is needed, the selectmen shall provide one in the Town, provided that both schools shall cost the Town no more than one constant Grammar school.'

At a town meeting held March 18, 1800, it was voted 'to leave it to the discretion of the selectmen to appoint schools as they think best for the general good of the inhabitants of the town the year ensuing.'

At an adjournment of the first annual meeting in the present century, held March 26, 1801, the town voted 'That the Rev. Jesse Appleton, the Rev. William Pidgin, Dr. Ebenezer Lawrence, Dr. Jon^a French, Oliver Whipple, Esq., be a committee to examine our schools the year ensuing.' This is the earliest mention of such a committee.

The selectmen were directed to raise what money the law required for

the support of schools, and to take advice of the school committee how the money might be laid out to the best advantage for the benefit of schools.

The first mention of a school-house is an entry made in 1692, during King William's war. The people, liable to be attacked at any moment, had built a fortification around the meeting-house, and at a town meeting held on the 17th of May, 1692, voted to extend the line of this fortification so as to inclose more space, and liberty was given to build houses in it according to the custom in other forts. It was also voted to build within the fort, at the town's expense, a house 14 by 16 feet for the use of the minister, and when not occupied by him, it was to be used as a school-house.

The town voted, Sept. 22, 1712, that a school-house, 24 feet long and 20 feet wide, should be built on the lot granted for that purpose near Dea. Dalton's house, and be finished by the last day of April following. It was also voted that the selectmen, for the time being, should have full power to get the house built, and to raise a tax on the inhabitants of the town to pay for it.

WINDHAM.

The town of Windham was originally a part of Londonderry, and was settled in 1719. It was incorporated as a distinct town in 1741.

Soon after the ordination of Mr. Williams, as pastor of the Presbyterian church, which was in 1766, Mr. W. opened a private academy for the instruction of the young in town, which was resorted to by many from other towns, of whom some were from Boston and other large places, on account of his reputation as a scholar and teacher. He fitted many for college, among whom was Joseph McKeen, D.D., afterward President of Bowdoin college.

The schools at first seem to have been private schools, taught at private houses in different neighborhoods, and the support of them by the town was the outgrowth of this, after a time. We find in 1790, the record of £27 3*s.* 4*d.*, as the amount of school money to be appropriated for schools, and the vote that the town be divided into seven classes, and the school money divided accordingly. In 1791, it was voted 'not to have the selectmen hire a Master to send through the town,'—from which it is to be inferred that after this they employed several teachers instead of one.

The school money was raised by a tax separate from other taxes, and known as the school tax. At an early period a lot of land was given by James Wilson, of Londonderry, for the benefit of schools in Windham, that was afterward sold by vote of the town, March 29, 1791:

The town has raised and sent out several ministers and teachers, thirteen of whom at least are college graduates,—one of whom is now president of a western college; another, the principal of a deaf and dumb institute in Wisconsin; and a third, the principal of a high school in Minnesota.

WILTON.

Wilton was first settled in 1738. The first record which we find respecting schools, aside from the locating of the lots of land, which were set apart by the grantors of a portion of the township for the use of schools, was in 1767, when the town 'voted to raise six pounds, lawful money, for a school this year,' and chose the selectmen 'a committee to provide said school.' For the next ten years about the same amount was annually raised, and the schools were kept in dwelling-houses, in different parts of the town, as would best accommodate the inhabitants.

One hundred years ago, the branches of study were limited to reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic. The methods of instruction, even in these, were extremely imperfect. The pupils had no text-books in arithmetic. The schoolmaster usually—not always—possessed one. He communicated a rule orally to his scholars, who wrote it out in their 'manuscripts,' which generally consisted of a few sheets of coarse paper stitched within a brown paper cover. Then an example under that rule was given which the pupils solved, and copied the operation into their manuscripts below the rule. When a sufficient number of examples had been thus disposed of, another rule was given, and so on, till the mathematical education of the pupil was completed.

Many of the teachers, both men and women, who have assisted in forming the intellectual and moral character of the successive generations of youth in Wilton, have been eminently fitted for their vocation. Among those who at various times taught in the district schools of the town, and afterward became widely known as public men, were Prof. John Abbott, of Bowdoin College; Benjamin Abbott, LL.D., for many years Principal of Phillips Academy at Exeter; Rev. Samuel Barrett, D.D., of Boston; Rev. S. R. Hall, first Principal of the Teachers' Seminary at Andover, Mass.; and Rev. Warren Burton, author of 'The District School As It Was,' and in his latter years eminent for his labors in the cause of home education. Of these, Mr. Barrett and Mr. Burton received the rudiments of their education in the schools of Wilton.

In 1803, Rev. Thomas Beede was installed as minister of the town, and remained in that capacity till 1829. He was a ripe scholar, a man of genial manners, and deeply interested in the improvement of the young. In addition to his pastoral labors, he sometimes taught one of the district schools, sometimes a select school, and also gave private instruction to advanced students at his home. His influence in promoting the educational interests of the town was incalculable. A remarkably large number of the young men of Wilton acquired a liberal education during his ministry.

For more than twenty years before the State made any provision for the supervision of schools, the town of Wilton annually chose some of its best qualified citizens 'a committee to inspect the schools.'

HAMPSTEAD.

Hampstead was first settled in 1728, but not incorporated as a town till 1749. At the annual meeting in 1750, among other things, it was voted 'to hire a schoolmaster for six months in ye summer season, to teach ye children to read and write.'

The Testament was then the only reading and spelling-book known; and a copy-book consisted of a few leaves of the roughest paper. To this limited list of studies arithmetic was soon added. At first no text-book was used. Such examples as would come up in the ordinary course of a man's business were given out by the teacher, and the four fundamental rules taught orally. In time, Pike's Arithmetic made its appearance, grew into general favor, and for a long time remained in exclusive use. But that, like every thing else, must give place to improvement. Then followed Welch's, Adams's Old and New, Colburn's, and lastly, to the honor of our town, the analytical, thorough, and concise treatise by one of Hampstead's most distinguished sons.—The North American Arithmetic, by Frederick Emerson, instructor in Boston.

The New Testament was, at first, the only reading book used; but from the sacredness of the book, and on account of its being ill adapted to the capacities of different ages, it was superseded by other books.

The American Preceptor, and for a long time also the English Reader, were favorite text-books. In the improvements of the age, these books gave way to a series well adapted to the different ages and capacities of youth, by another distinguished son of Hampstead, Benjamin D. Emerson, Esq., Roxbury, Mass.

The same author has furnished to the world a simple, neat, well-arranged, and correct spelling-book (Emerson's National Spelling-Book), which has been extensively used in the schools in this town for nearly twenty years.

In 1767, twenty pounds lawful money, was raised, and in 1782 it was raised to thirty pounds. About the same amount was raised yearly until 1800, when $75 was raised 'to support a woman's school, to be proportioned same as other money.'

DUBLIN.

The first settler was William Thornton in 1749. He was followed soon after by people from the North of Ireland. In 1773, the first record of any town-action is made in a grant of four pounds ($13.33) 'to keep a woman's school in three parts of the town,' which would give each school $4.44. At 44 cents per week—the usual price in those days—this would employ a teacher, if she 'boarded round,' ten weeks in each of the three places.

For the three years next succeeding, six pounds, or twenty dollars, was annually granted for schools. In 1777, no money was raised for the purposes of education. In 1779, the town voted 'to raise one hundred pounds for schools the present year.' This sum was probably reckoned in depreciated continental money, and would really amount to a few cents

less than $20. In 1780, the selectmen were authorized 'to assess what they think proper' for schools.

In 1782, the town voted $26.67, and the selectmen were instructed 'to divide the town into five parts for schooling, and give each part their proportion of school money; and each part shall lay out their money within the year in such schooling as they think best.' In 1781, 1783, and 1784, it is said no money was granted. In 1787, the town voted fifty pounds ($166.67), since which time, with some variations, the amount appropriated per annum has been upon a tolerably regular ratio of increase up to the time of the division of the town in 1870, when it was $1,500. In 1875, the amount appropriated for common schools was $850; for high school, including income of Appleton Fund, $202.50;—total, $1,052.50.

The town realized up to 1820, $1,567,15 out of the school lots reserved by the original charter 'for the school for ever;' and $9,802.25 out of a bequest by Rev. Edward Sprague, a native of Boston, Mass., where he was born May 20, 1750. He graduated at Harvard college in the class of 1770, and was ordained as the 'gospel minister' of Dublin, November 12, 1777. His death, caused by the overturning of a carriage in which he was riding, took place December 17, 1817, forty years, one month, and four days after his ordination. During his long ministry he became much attached to the people of Dublin, and at his death left most of his wealth for their benefit. He was eminently patriotic and republican in his sentiments, and a firm believer in the equal rights of all men, which is well illustrated by the following anecdote: It being suggested to him that out of his ample means he might endow a town academy, he replied,—'No, no! I want the whole people to be educated, and enjoy the benefit of my property.'

By the first clause of his last will, he gave the town of Dublin $5,000, the interest to be applied for the support of the Christian religion; and in the sixth clause we find the following paragraph: 'I give the town of Dublin all the remainder of said estate, including all my property not before given or devised by this will, to be kept for the use of schooling in said Dublin.'

At the centennial celebration of the first settlement of the town, 17th of June, 1852, a letter of Samuel Appleton, of Boston, was read, of which the following are extracts:—

I have always taken an interest in the town of Dublin. In or about the year 1786, I resided there for four months, and was engaged during that time in teaching two different schools, say of two months each, at eight dollars per month. One of the districts was in the 'Street,' as it was then called; the other in the easterly part of the town, near Peterborough. In this latter district, it was arranged with the schoolmaster to live with the family that would board and lodge him the cheapest. Having been informed where I was to board, I set out for my new home on foot, carrying the greater part of my wardrobe on my back, and the remainder tied up in a bandanna handkerchief. On arriving at the place of my destination, I found my host and hostess, Mr. and Mrs. Fairbanks, ready and apparently glad to see me. They were to receive for my board, lodging, and washing, sixty-seven cents per week. Their house

was made of logs, with only one room in it, which served for parlor, kitchen, and bedroom. I slept on a trundle-bed, which during the day was wheeled under the large bed, where the master and mistress reposed during the night. Every morning and evening there were family prayers and readings from the Bible, in which I sometimes took an active part. After spending two weeks at Mr. Fairbanks's, I removed to Mr. Perry's. He was a good farmer, his wife an excellent housekeeper, and I finished my school term, very pleasantly to myself, and I believe, very satisfactorily to my employers.

Since that time, great improvements have been made in the schools of Dublin. I am informed that it contains as good schools and turns out as competent teachers as any town in New Hampshire. In consideration of the 'good and healthy condition' of its public schools, and of the 'spirit of improvement' which appears to animate those who are engaged in them, I am induced to send to the town of Dublin my check for the sum of one thousand dollars, to be appropriated to educational purposes in such a manner as the superintending school committee shall deem expedient.

In 1822, Moses Adams, Jr., then a member of the school committee, suggested a printed form for a *school register*, which was procured and used by the teachers till 1846, when the State commenced to furnish registers for all the public schools. In 1823, a full report concerning the condition and wants of the schools was prepared, and read at the annual meeting in March, by Levi W. Leonard. Similar reports, usually by the chairman of the committee, have been presented at the annual meetings of the town ever since. The first printed report was in 1843. It was done at the expense of those who chose to subscribe for it. Subsequently it has been printed at the expense of the town, and in sufficient numbers to furnish each tax-payer with a copy.

NASHUA.

The first settlement in Nashua, then included within the limits of Dunstable, was made October, 1673. For nearly sixty years from that date, there is no information leading us to suppose a school of any kind was kept within the precincts of the township.

Dunstable, at this time, was within the limits of Massachusetts, and subject to her laws. In 1730, the town was indicted for not maintaining a school as required by law. The town at this time probably contained fifty householders, the number requisite for a grammar school, according to the law of 1647.

To comply with this law, in November, of the same year, the town voted that 'it be left with the selectmen to provide and agree with a person to keep a writing-school in the town directly, and that the sum of ten pounds be granted and raised for defraying the charges.' Here we find the first mention of a school in this town; but whether the proposed writing-school was ever kept is uncertain, as no allusion to this or any other school is made for about sixteen years.

Sept. 29, 1746, the first year the town acted under a New Hampshire charter, we find the following record:—

Voted that a schoolmaster be hired to teach children to read and write until next March; also voted that two places be appointed for the school to be kept at, also voted that one place be at the house of John Searles, if it can be had for that purpose, and the other place at the house of Mr. James Gordon, where

John McClure now lives; also voted that the school be kept at John Searles' house the first half of the time agreed to hire.

Three years later a more extended arrangement was made for this object, as follows:—

July 24, 1749. Voted to hire a school for eight months and that three months part thereof be improved the north side Nashua river in two places; one, the most convenient place near Indian Head, and one in some convenient place at one pine hill; and that two months be kept in the middle of the inhabitants between Nashua river and the Province line; and that the other three months be kept the one half at the south end and one half at the north end to be determined by the committee to be chosen, the most convenient place for that purpose; also voted and chose Messrs. John Snow, Ephraim Butterfield and Ephraim Adams a committee to hire for the school and to determine the places as aforesaid, and to draw the money to pay those charges out of the town treasury. Also voted that 140 pounds be voted for payment of the schools as aforesaid.

In 1772, the town refused to raise money for erecting school-houses, and not until 1775 did such a vote prevail. Previous to this time a room in some private house served as a school-room. Probably some are now living, in this and other towns, who can remember when they attended school in a neighbor's sitting-room, and the teacher boarding 'round.' But the men of '75 thought it better the school should have 'a local habitation and a name,' and voted that 'a school-house be built in each of the several districts, and that eighty pounds be raised for the purpose.'

In 1804, Mr. David Wallace taught here, and continued his labors until 1812. A little incident will illustrate his wonderful abilities as a pedagogue: An aspiring youth, after much study, carried the word 'spermaceti' to the master for the correct pronunciation. Examining the word very carefully, and with due deliberation, he at length said, 'You may call that "spermaketi."' Our esteemed citizen, the late Gen. Hunt, attended school here many years, and could well remember his useless endeavors to keep warm on the 'Cold Friday' of 1816.

In 1796, the town voted to raise £200 for the purpose of building school-houses in this town; also, chose David Alld, Nathan Fisk, Frederic French, Albert Roby, and James Jewell, a committee to settle or fix upon a place to build a school-house in each district in this town, provided such district can not agree among themselves.

Schools are frequently the scenes of trouble and sorrow. To remedy some difficulties not now known, in 1840 this rule was adopted: 'That parents, and those dissatisfied with the management of the school, shall state their grievances to the prudential committee, or to the teacher out of school hours.'

The Nashua Literary Institute was established in 1835, and since 1840 has been under the immediate management of Prof. David Crosby. Many of the prominent men of Nashua and the surrounding towns attribute their success in life to the faithful instruction of this noble man. Few teachers have labored in the cause so many years, or proved themselves more worthy.

Dr. Belknap, in the chapter devoted to Education, Literature, and Religion in the third volume of his History of New Hampshire, printed in 1792, remarks:—

The old laws of New Hampshire required every town of one hundred families to keep a grammar school; by which was meant a school in which the learned languages should be taught, and youth might be prepared for admission to a university. The same preceptor was obliged to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic; unless the town was of sufficient ability to keep two or more schools, one of which was called a grammar school by way of distinction. Formerly, when there were but few towns, much better care was taken to observe the law concerning schools than after the settlements were multiplied; but there never was uniform attention paid to this important matter in all places. Some towns were distinguished for their carefulness, and others for their negligence. When the leading men in a town were themselves persons of knowledge and wisdom, they would provide the means of instruction for children; but where the case was otherwise, methods were found to evade the law. The usual way of doing this, was to engage some person to keep a school for a few weeks before the court term, and discontinue it soon after. It was the interest of ignorant and unprincipled men to discourage literature, because it would detract from their importance and expose them to contempt. The people in some places, being thus misled, thought it better to keep their children at work than provide schools for their instruction.

Several instances occur in the public records, as far back as the year 1722, just at the beginning of an Indian war, that the frontier towns petitioned the assembly, for a special act, to exempt them from the obligation to maintain a grammar school during the war. The indulgence was granted them, but only on this condition, 'that they should keep a school for reading, writing, and arithmetic,' to which all towns of fifty families were obliged. In later times the conduct of the same towns has been very different. During the late war with Britain, not only those, but many other towns, large and opulent, and far removed from any danger by the enemy, were, for a great part of the time, destitute of public schools; not only without applying to the legislature for permission, but contrary to the express requirements of law, and notwithstanding courts of justice were frequently holden, and grand jurors solemnly sworn and charged to present all breaches of law, and the want of schools in particular.

The historian concludes his volume with—

Hints of Advice on several Important Subjects.

Having spent above twenty years of my life with you, and passed through various scenes of peace and war within that time; being personally acquainted with many of you, both in your public and private characters; and having an earnest desire to promote your true interest, I trust you will not think me altogether unqualified to give you a few hints by way of advice. You are certainly a rising State; your numbers are rapidly increasing; and your importance in the political scale will be augmented, in proportion to your improving the natural advantages which your situation affords you, and to your cultivating the intellectual and moral powers of yourselves and your children.

The first article on which I would open my mind to you is that of *education.* Nature has been as bountiful to you as to any other people in giving your children genius and capacity; it is then your duty and your interest to cultivate their capacities and render them serviceable to themselves and the community. It was the saying of a great orator and statesman of antiquity (Pericles of Athens), that 'the loss which the Commonwealth sustains, by a want of education, is like the loss which the year would suffer by the destruction of the spring.' If the bud be blasted the tree will yield no fruit. If the springing corn be cut down, there will be no harvest. So if the youth be ruined through a fault in their education, the community sustains a loss which can not be repaired; 'for it is too late to correct them when they are spoiled. Notwithstanding the care of your Legislators in enacting laws, and enforcing them by severe penalties; notwithstanding the wise and liberal provision which is made

by some towns, and some private gentleman in the State, yet there is still in many places 'a great and criminal neglect of education.' You are indeed, in a very considerable degree, better in this respect than in the time of the late war; but yet much remains to be done. Great care ought to be taken, not only to provide a support for instructors of children and youth, but to be attentive in the choice of instructors; to see that they be men of good understanding, learning, and morals; that they teach by example as well as by their precepts; that they govern themselves, and teach their pupils the art of self-government.

Another source of improvement which I beg leave to recommend, is the establishment of *social libraries*. This is the easiest, the cheapest, and most effectual mode of diffusing knowledge among the people.* For the sum of six or eight dollars at once, and a small annual payment beside, a man may be supplied with the means of literary improvement during his life, and his children may inherit the blessing. A few neighbors joined together in setting up a library, and placing it under the care of some suitable person, with a very few regulations, to prevent carelessness and waste, may render the most essential service to themselves and to the community. Books may be much better preserved in this way, than if they belonged to individuals; and there is an advantage in the social intercourse of persons who have read the same books, by their conversing on the subjects which have occurred in their reading and communicating their observations one to another.

From this mutual intercourse another advantage may arise, for the persons who are thus associated may not only acquire but *originate* knowledge. By studying nature and the sciences, by practicing arts, agriculture, and manufactures, at the same time that they improve their minds in reading, they may be led to discoveries and improvements original and beneficial; and being already formed into society, they may diffuse their knowledge, ripen their plans, correct their mistakes, and promote the cause of science and humanity in a very considerable degree.

The book of nature is always open to our view, and we may study it at our leisure: '*'Tis elder scripture, writ by God's own hand.*' The earth, the air, the sea, the rivers, the mountains, the rocks, the caverns, the animal and vegetable tribes are fraught with instruction. Nature is not half explored; and in what is partly known there are many mysteries, which time, observation, and experience must unfold. Every social library should be furnished with books of natural philosophy, botany, zoölogy, chemistry, husbandry, geography, and astronomy, that inquiring minds may be directed in their inquiries; that they may see what is known and what still remains to be discovered; and that they may employ their leisure and their various opportunities in endeavoring to add to the stock of science, and thus enrich the world with their observations and improvements.

Were I to form a picture of happy society, it would be—a town consisting of a due mixture of hills, valleys, and streams of water: the land well fenced and cultivated; the roads and bridges in good repair; a decent inn for the refreshment of travelers, and for public entertainments. The inhabitants mostly husbandmen; their wives and daughters domestic manufacturers; a suitable proportion of handicraft workmen, and two or three traders; a physician and lawyer, each of whom should have a farm for his support. A clergyman of any denomination, which should be agreeable to the majority, a man of good understanding, of a candid disposition and exemplary morals; not a metaphysical, nor a polemic, but a serious and practical preacher. A schoolmaster who should understand his business and teach his pupils to govern themselves. A social library, annually increasing, and under good regulation. A club of sensible men, seeking mutual improvement. A decent musical society. No intriguing politician, horse jockey, gambler, or sot; but all such characters treated with contempt. Such a situation may be considered as the most favorable to social happiness of any which this world can afford.

* Daniel Webster, in his Autobiographical Sketch, acknowledges his obligation to one of these libraries established in his native town in pursuance of this recommendation.

THOMAS CRANMER, JESUS COLLEGE, 1503–1508.

THOMAS CRANMER, first Archbishop of Canterbury under the new dispensation of Henry VIII., was born at Aslacton in Nottinghamshire in 1489, entered Jesus College in 1503, elected Fellow in 1511, and became lecturer in divinity in 1523. Siding with the King in his divorce suit from Catharine of Aragon put him into favor at Court, and henceforward, till Mary's star was in the ascendant, he was in the enjoyment of office, and rich in the spoils of monasteries in Nottinghamshire.

Cranmer deserves a place in the history of English public schools for his energetic protest against the exclusion of the children of husbandmen and the poor from the privileges of the Grammar school at Canterbury. According to Strype, in his *Memorials of Cranmer*, members on the commission were disposed 'to elect only the sons, or younger brethren of gentlemen. As for others, husbandmen's children, they were more meet for the plow, and to be artificers, than to occupy the place of the learned sort.' Whereunto, the Archbishop said:

'It is not indifferent so to order the matter; for poor men's children are many times endued with more singular gifts of nature, which are also the gifts of God, as with eloquence, memory, apt pronunciation, sobriety, and such like; and also commonly more apt to apply their study, than is the gentleman's son, delicately educated.' Hereunto it was on the other part replied, 'that it was meet for the plowman's son to go to plow, and the artificer's son to apply the trade of his parent's vocation; and the gentlemen's children are meet to have the knowledge of government, and rule in the commonwealth. For we have as much need of plowmen as any other state; and all sorts of men may not go to school.' 'I grant,' replied the Archbishop, 'much of your meaning herein as needful in a commonwealth; but yet utterly to exclude the plowman's son and the poor man's son from the benefits of learning, as though they were unworthy to have the gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them as well as upon others, is as much to say as that Almighty God should not be at liberty to bestow his great gifts of grace upon any person, nor no where else but as we and other men shall appoint them to be employed, according to our fancy, and not according to his most goodly will and pleasure, who giveth his gifts both of learning, and other perfections in all sciences, unto all kinds and states of people indifferently. Even so doth he many times withdraw from them and their posterity again those beneficial gifts, if they be not thankful. If we should shut up into a straight corner the bountiful grace of the Holy Ghost, and thereupon attempt to build our fancies, we should make as perfect a work thereof as those that took upon them to build the tower of Babel; for God would so provide that the offspring of our first-born children should peradventure become most unapt to learn and very dolts, as I myself have seen no small number of them very dull, and without all manner of capacity. And to say the truth, I take it, that none of us all here, being gentlemen born (as I think), but had our beginning that way from a low and base parentage; and through the benefit of learning, and other civil knowledge, for the most part all gentlemen ascend to their estate.' Then it was again answered, that the most part of the nobility came up by feats of arms and martial acts. 'As though,' said the Archbishop, 'that the noble captain was always unfurnished of good learning and knowledge to persuade and dissuade his army rhetorically; who rather that way is brought into authority than else his manly looks. To conclude: the poor man's son by painstaking will for the most part be learned, when the gentleman's son will not take the pains to get it. And we are taught by the Scriptures that Almighty God raiseth up from the dunghill, and setteth him in high authority. And whensoever it pleaseth him, of his Divine Providence, he deposeth princes unto a right humble and poor estate. Wherefore, if the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not apt, let the poor man's child that is apt enter his room.'

CONDITION IN 1497.

John Mayor, a native of Hadingtonshire, Scotland, a member of Christ's College about 1497, and Professor at St. Andrews in Scotland from 1518 to 1530, in his *Historia Majoris Britannia* describes the University of Cambridge as follows:

This university is no way inferior to that of Oxford either in number of students or in literature. Several kings and queens have founded handsome colleges there. Here is King's College, a principal one, which may compare with New College at Oxford; also Queen's College, a very handsome one, a royal foundation, not inferior to the other for revenues and bursars; Christ's College, where I studied three months, *because I found it stood in St. Andrew's parish*. A nunnery has been turned into Jesus College by the advice of the learned and worthy Dr. Chubb. Here are many other colleges, where lectures are read every day. In these universities the students study seven or eight years before they take the degree of Master of Arts. They choose annually a Chancellor (called at Paris a Rector), a grave man of the highest degree. They choose also annually two Proctors, who have the administration of justice, even over all the laity, in the town. And though the laity are equal, if not superior, in number, to the scholars, they dare not rise up again t them; for the scholars would soon overpower them. You would find 4,000 or 5,000 students in each university, all grown up to man's estate, carrying swords and bows, and for the most part noble. Grammar is not taught in the colleges.

The author's heart was filled with pleasant memories of his residence on the Cam, as appears in the opening of Book III. of his grave history where he tells the reader 'how he used to lie awake the greatest part of the night on festivals to hear the melody of the bells at Cambridge, which, as the university stood on a river, was heightened by the reverberation of the sound from the water.' The same sounds were in Milton's heart when, a century later, he indited in *Il Penseroso:*

Oft on a plot of rising ground;
I hear the far off curfew sound,
Over some wide-watered shore,
Swinging slow with sullen roar.

The New and the Old Studies in 1521.

The introduction of the study of Greek into the Universities was a disturbing element then, as much as the physical sciences and modern languages are now.

The poet John Skelton, who proceeded to his degree of Master of Arts *ad eundem* at Cambridge in 1494, in a satire composed about 1521, represents the growth of the new learning as overshadowing and blighting all the studies, in which he had spent the best years of his youth, not only at Cambridge but at Oxford and Louvain.

In *Academia* Parrot dare no probleme kepe;
For *Græce fari* so occupyeth the chayre,
That *Latinum fari* may fall to rest and slepe,
And *syllogisari* was drowned at Sturbrydge fayre[1]:
Trynyals and quadryuyals so sore now they appayre,
That Parrot the popagay hath pytye to beholde
How the rest of good lernyng is roufled up and trold.

Albertus[2] *de modo significandi*,
And Donatus be dryuen out of scole;
Prisian's hed broken now *handy dandy*,
And *inter didascolos* is rekened for a fole;
Alexander, a sander of Menander's pole[3],
With *De Consales*[4], is cast out of the gate,
And *Da Racionales*[5] dare not show his pate[6].

[1] 'Sturbrydge fayre' was an *institution* as far back as the thirteenth century—the time and place for all sorts of traffics, shows, plays, and buffooneries, and to its omnipotent attractions in the month of September, all sober study and business had to give way. [2] Albertus, 'the author of the *Margarita Poetica*, a collection of *Flores* from the classic and other writers, printed at Nuremberg, 1472, fol.' [3] *i. e.* (according to Dyce) 'Meander's pole,' the stream or pool of the famous river. The poet seems to have confounded the Meander with the Cayster. [4] The *Concilia* or Canon Law. [5] Logic. [6] *Speke Parrot*, Skelton-Dyce, ii. 8-9.

ERASMUS—GREEK LITERATURE IN ENGLAND.

ERASMUS paid his first visit to England in 1497 or '98, at the invitation of his pupil, Mountjoy, and repaired immediately to Oxford, carrying with him letters of introduction to Father Richard Charnock, Prior of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine (his own order), and head of St. Mary's College. Here he made the acquaintance of Grocyn, Linacre and William Latimer, all of whom had been pupils of Chalcondyles. With these Greek scholars he continued, if he did not begin, his study of the Greek language; and through these scholars he became acquainted with John Colet and Thomas More—an acquaintance which ripened into the closest friendship. Of More he writes in 1499—'what mind was framed by nature more gentle, more pleasing, more gifted.' In January, 1500, he returned to the Continent.

On his second visit to England (in 1506) he was introduced by Grocyn to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. It was on the presentation of the latter, then Chancellor of the University, that he received from Cambridge the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and on his invitation he took up his residence in Queen's College, and became in time Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity—accepting this position till something better should turn up. About 1509 he read his first lectures on the Greek Grammar—beginning with that of Chrysoloras. He had but few hearers. 'Perhaps,' writes the poor sanguine scholar to Ammonius, 'I shall have a larger gathering when I begin the grammar of Theodorus. It is also possible that I shall undertake a lecture in theology.' The lectureship to which he refers is no other than that recently founded by the Lady Margaret, and in this respect his hopes were realized; for he was not only appointed Lady Margaret Professor, but was re-elected at the expiration of the first two years, and continued to fill the post during the period of his residence. But with respect to his Greek class he was doomed to almost complete disappointment. The elaborate treatise by Theodorus possessed no more attractions for Cambridge students than the more elementary manual of Chrysoloras. In fact, it is evident from Erasmus's own occasional observations, that the few students who were disposed to occupy themselves with Greek learning were not sons of wealthy families, but comparatively poor men, seeking to add to their store of marketable knowledge, and of course totally unable to show their appreciation of his services after the fashion of Lord Mountjoy, Grey, and the young Archbishop of St. Andrew's. 'I see no prospect,' he writes in answer to his friend Colet, 'of making money, for how can I demand it of men with empty pockets, inasmuch as I am not without some sense of shame; and was born, moreover, with Mercury entirely unpropitious."

Writing from Fisher's Palace at Rochester, Aug. 31, 1516, Erasmus thus notices the adversaries of the new learning: 'They fear lest, if the young students are attracted to these studies, their schools will become deserted. It is scarcely thirty years ago when all that was taught in the University of Cambridge was Alexander, the Little Logicals (as they call them), and those old exercises out of Aristotle, and *quaestiones* taken from Duns Scotus. As time went on, polite learning was introduced; to this was added the study of mathematics; a new, or at least a regenerated, Aristotle sprang up; then came an acquaintance with Greek, and with a host of new authors whose very names had before been unknown, even to their profoundest doctors. And now your University can compare with the most flourishing of the age. The Gospels and the Epistles find more numerous and attentive students than ever lost themselves in the dilemmas of *questiones*.'

Richard Croke—Oration on the Study of Greek, 1519.

Among the young students whom Eton had sent up to King's College, early in the century, was one Richard Croke (*b.* 1489, *d.* 1558), a youth of good family and promising talents. He proceeded to his bachelor's degree in the year 1509–10; and then, having conceived a strong desire to gain a knowledge of Greek, repaired to Oxford, where he became the pupil of Grocyn. It would seem that before he left Cambridge, he had already made the acquaintance of Erasmus; for we find the latter subsequently giving proof of a strong interest in his welfare, and on one occasion even endeavoring to obtain for the young scholar pecuniary assistance from Colet. From Oxford Croke went on to Paris; and having completed there his course of study as an "artist," and acquired a considerable reputation, he next proceeded to Germany in the capacity of a teacher. He taught at Cologne, Louvain, Leipsic, and Dresden, with remarkable success. Camerarius, who was one of his class at Leipsic, was wont to tell in after life, how he had suddenly found himself famous simply from having been the pupil of so renowned a teacher. Emser, writing to Erasmus, informs him, that the young Englishman's professorial career, during two years, at Dresden, had won for him the highest regard. It was from Dresden that, after a seven years' absence, Richard Croke returned to his own university; he there proceeded to his master of arts degree, and at about the same time was appointed instructor in Greek to King Henry. In the year 1518 he commenced a course of lectures on the language at Cambridge. These lectures, however, like those of Erasmus and John Bryan, were given without the direct sanction of the authorities; and it was not until the year 1519, that Croke received his formal appointment as Greek reader to the university. It was then that, about the month of July in the same year, he inaugurated his entrance upon the duties of his office, by an oration in Latin, of which a full abstract is given by Millington, and from which these extracts are taken:

He claims the attention of his audience as the delegate of their Chancellor (Fisher, Bishop of Rochester) to whom they owe the endowments of Christ's College and St. John's, and who enjoined on him to explain in detail the advantages of Greek literature.

The broad ground on which, first of all, he rests the claims of such learning, is the pre-eminence of the race whom it represents. The Greeks surpassed all who came after them, in wisdom and in invention, in theoretical sagacity and in practical ability. What city or what republic could compare with Lacedæmon, in the administration of justice, in religion, in morality? what city, with Athens, in genius and learning? what, with either, in dignity and greatness of soul? Cicero, it was true, had ventured to assert that these last-named features first appeared at Rome; and had cited as examples, the Camilli, the Decii, the Scipios, the Catos. But let them compare these heroes with Codrus, Themistocles, Leonidas, Pericles, Aristides, Xenocrates, and will it not rather seem that moral greatness was a legacy from Greece to Rome? Let those who praised the piety, sanctity, and other Spartan virtues of Numa, consider how much more conspicuously the same qualities shone forth in Lycurgus: the former raised to kingly power on account of his character for justice, the latter preferring justice even to a throne—the one ennobled by a crown which he would have fain declined, the other by his voluntary resignation of the sceptre which he already swayed,—the former so distinguished by his virtues that he was deemed worthy of the supreme power, the latter so distinguished by his contempt for power, that he seemed above the sceptre itself! Numa again had but restrained the heroic ardor of his people, Lycurgus had augmented it; for the latter expelled from Lacedæmon not bridles, swords, and spears, but banquetings, costly attire, and the "cursed lust of gold." And herein alone it might be seen how far Greece excelled not only other nations but Rome herself, in that she had driven from her midst not simply vice but its parent cause. Admitting, again, the truth of Livy's assertion,—that in no republic had luxury and profligacy made their way more slowly than at Rome,—it must also be added that nowhere did they take root more deeply. If indeed of Grecian origin,

they so grew in Italy, as to owe far more to their nurse than to their parent. Lycurgus had expelled them from Sparta when that state was already weakened by their prevalence. a feat that at Rome surpassed the power of any ruler even in the stage of their early growth.

He then proceeds to apply the conclusion which these somewhat labored antitheses were designed to establish. These illustrious Greeks had dignified not merely their country and their race, but also their native tongue. It is remarkable that it is on this ground alone,—the superior moral excellence of the Roman people,—that he asserts the claims of Latin over French or Celtic. It is by the superiority of the race, he says, that their language becomes diffused. Persia and India first received the Greek tongue when they experienced the weight of Alexander's arms; and the Latin language was learned by the subjugated nations, only when they had submitted to the sway and received the institutions of Rome Marius had despised the study of Greek, because he looked upon it as disgraceful and ridiculous to bestow toil upon a literature the masters of which were slaves. A lofty impulse urges the mind of man to that which is associated with the supreme Greece had conferred on mankind by far the most precious boons,—the weaver's art, the architect's; to plough, to sow; all, in fine, that has raised man from the savage to a civilized state, he owes to Greece. *In summa quicquid habemus in vita commodi, id totum Græcorum beneficio habemus.* A people thus devoted to the arts and refinements of life were not likely to be neglectful of the study of language. The testimony of antiquity is unanimous with respect to the care with which they elaborated and polished their native tongue. What Cambridge man was there who knew not the Horatian verse—

> Graiis ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo
> Musa loqui?

Had not Cicero, again, affirmed that if Jupiter were to deign to speak in mortal tongue, he would use the Greek which Plato wrote? Let them note too how writers of all nations had preferred Greek to their native language: Phavorinus the Gaul, Porphyry the Phœnician, Jamblichus the Syrian, Philoponus the Egyptian, Ammonius the Phrygian, Simplicius the Thracian, Philo the Jew, and Musonius born at Volsinii near to Rome Trismegistus, Musæus, and Orpheus; the historians,—Josephus the Jew, Ælian the Roman, Arrian, and Albinus,—Albinus whom Cato could never pardon for his assertion that it was evident that the Latin tongue when brought into rivalry with the Greek, must disappear and die out. He then quotes, from the *Noctes Atticæ* of Gellius, a passage wherein the writer points out how inferior, on careful comparison, the Latin comedies are found to be to their Greek originals,—Cæcilius to Menander. How harshly again Latin grates on the ear when compared to Greek! How vastly superior in power of expression is the Attic dialect! What Latin writer could find a single word that served as an equivalent to πολυφιλία, πολυπραγμοσύνη, ἐθοσσύμορος? How imperfectly did any amount of periphrases enable the Romans to express what the Greeks often conveyed in a single word! How absurdly moreover did they blunder, who, ignorant of the large infusion of Greek in the ancient Latin, actually supposed that the vocabulary of a language was a matter at the arbitrary discretion of individuals, and despised the aids afforded by the Greek.

To turn to another aspect of the case. How often had even those who wore the Roman purple clad themselves in the eloquence of this mighty tongue! Julius Cæsar, Augustus Germanicus, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Severus, Theodosius. To come nearer to their own time, how had Leo, the supreme pontiff, and the Emperor Maximilian, shown their regard for those devoted to the new learning, by interposing to rescue the innocence of Reuchlin and Erasmus "from those double-dyed younger brethren of the giants!" He would name too George, Duke of Saxony, but that he felt it was beyond his power to render due praise to one who had recommended him to Henry VIII. and defrayed the expenses of his labors with princely munificence Then again there was the bishop of Mayence, one of the wealthiest ecclesiastics in Germany, whether as regarded his mental endowments or worldly fortune, who had given him no less than sixty nobles for an inscription of Theodorus IV. To say nothing, again, of his grace of Canterbury, "my noble and chief Mæcenas," or my lord Cardinal, "my lord bishop of Rochester is a host in himself."

Look again at the antiquity of the Greek tongue. Allowing that, in this respect, the first place must be conceded to Hebrew, the *lingua Attica* is certainly entitled to a second Other cities boasted of their founders; but Athens had no founder, for her sons were αὐτόχθονες. All the reverence that waits on antiquity is fairly hers.

He passes on to show the utility of the study; and here he is almost wearied by the mere contemplation of the field,—*ipsa susceptæ provincæ cogitatione pene defatiger*. To commence with the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, and first of all with grammar—which many, "inflated with a vain pretence of knowledge," cavil at, as trivial and sterile,—he offers to point out a few facts from which they will perceive that it is of higher excellence than all other branches of knowledge. What does the name of "grammarian" imply? He quotes the passage in Suetonius, to show that the grammarian with the Greeks was the *litteratus* of the Romans,—that is, the man who, either orally or by his pen, professed to treat on any subject with discrimination, critical knowledge, and competent learning. Properly, however, those who expounded the poets were designated as *grammatici*; and what a range of acquirements such a function would involve, might be seen from Lucretius, Varro, and Empedocles. He reminds them how Aurelius Opilius voluntarily abandoned philosophy and rhetoric for grammar, and how Cicero, fresh from the prætorship, was found at the school of Gnipho; how liberally, at Rome, the grammar schools were encouraged and the professors remunerated. Again, the very Latin alphabet was borrowed from the Greek κάππα; the aspirate (*h*) so often found in Latin words, denoted a Greek origin; the reduplication in such words as *poposci*, *totondi*, *momordi*, was nothing else than the παρακείμενον of the Greek verb; many constructions in Cicero are to be explained by a reference to the Greek idiom. If we turn to etymology, the debt of Latin to Greek is found to be yet greater; Priscian, the most learned of the Latins, was chiefly a compiler from Apollonius and Herodian. With respect to rhetoric, it is needless to point out how the use of metaphor, the frequent sententiousness of the proverb, and the exact force of words, receive their best illustration from a knowledge of Greek. As for mathematics, it was notorious that no mathematician could detect the grave error that had found its way into Euclid's definition of a straight line, until the collation of a Greek codex exposed the blunder. Boethius too compiled his Arithmetic from the Greek. Even music is indebted for its nomenclature to Greece; while as for medicine, the names of Hippocrates, Galen, and Dioscorides, are sufficient.

The utility of Greek in connection with the *trivium* and *quadrivium* having been thus vindicated, he passes on to theology. He begs in the first place that they will not consider him to be, like many men of his school (*plerique meæ farinæ homines*),—a foe to theological learning. He loves Mayronius, he admires Erigena, he esteems Aquinas, and the subtlety of Duns Scotus he actually embraces; he only desiderates that culture which imparts brilliancy to all the rest. Let them only add to the study of these authors the cultivation of Greek and Latin literature, and learn to speak in such fashion that their diction may recall the city and the youth of Rome! But, some one might say, the schoolmen spoke Latin. Latin! aye, but who of the orators or poets ever spoke as they did? No doubt those on whom polite learning had never smiled, saw no harm in a man using the phraseology that pleased him best. But what a gross absurdity was this! They laughed at the man who mingled Scotch or French with his native speech, while wishing themselves to be at liberty to import into Latin any barbarism they might think fit. For his own part, he had no wish to see the disputations in the schools abolished, but he did *not* like to see men growing old in them: for subtleties like these were harmful, not to those who studied them only for a time, but to those who were continually engaged in them. When the mind was thus exclusively concentrated on extremely minute distinctions its powers were wasted and impaired, and the student was diverted from more useful learning,—from the Pauline Epistles, from the Evangelists, from the whole Bible; and these had a paramount claim on the theologian, whose true function it was, so to guide the minds of men as to draw them away from the things of earth and fix them on those above. The example of many of the fathers, like that of the great men at Rome, is next held up as a further incitement to classical studies; and a few additional considerations, derived from the importance of Greek to those engaged in historical researches, conclude the argument drawn from the abstract merits of the literature.

An appeal to the spirit of emulation holds a prominent place in his peroration. "The Oxford men, *whom up to the present time ye have outstripped in every department of knowledge*, are betaking themselves to Greek in good earnest. They watch by night, suffer heat and cold, and leave no stone unturned, to make this knowledge all their own. And if that should come to pass, there will be an end of your renown. They will erect a trophy from the spoils they have taken from you, which they will never suffer to be re-

moved. They number among their leaders the cardinals of Canterbury and Winchester, and in fact all the English bishops, Rochester and Ely alone excepted. The austere and holy Grocyn is on their side, the vast learning and critical acumen of Linacre, the eloquence of Tunstal, whose legal knowledge is equalled by his skill in either tongue, the threefold linguistic learning of Stokesley, the pure and polished elegance of More, the erudition and genius of Pace, commended by Erasmus himself, unsurpassed as a judge of learning,—Erasmus! once, would he were still, your own Greek professor! I have succeeded to his place. Good heavens! how inferior to him in learning and in fame! And yet, lest I should be looked upon as of no account whatever, permit me to state that even I, all unworthy though I be, have been recognized by the leading men, doctors in theology, law, and medicine, besides masters of arts beyond counting, as their acknowledged teacher; and what is more, have, in most honorable fashion, been escorted by them from the schools to church, and from church to the schools. Nay, still further, I solemnly assure you, gentlemen of Cambridge, that the Oxonians themselves have solicited me with the offer of a handsome salary besides my maintenance. But feelings of respectful loyalty towards this university—and especially towards that most noble society of scholars, King's College, to which I owe my first acquirements in the art of eloquence,—have enjoined that I should first offer my services to you. Should those services find favor in your eyes, I shall esteem myself amply rewarded; and I shall conclude that such is the case, if I see you applying yourself to the studies which I advise. To imitate what we admire,—such is the rule of life. And, in order that you may clearly perceive how much I have your interests at heart, I shall make it especially my object, so to adapt myself to each individual case, as to run with those who run, and to stretch out a helping hand to those who stumble. I shall adapt myself to the standard of each learner, and proceed only when he is able to keep no company. And if, perchance, there should be some to whom this learning may appear to be beset with toil, let them remember the adage, that the honorable is difficult. It is nature's law, that great undertakings should rarely be speedy in their accomplishment, and that, as Fabius observes, the nobler races in the animal world should be longest in the womb. Let them reflect too that nothing worth having in life is to be had without considerable labor. Wherefore, gentlemen of Cambridge, you must keep your vigils, and breathe the smoke of the lamp,—practices which though painful at first become easier by habit. Nerve yourselves, therefore, to courses such as these, and ere long you will exult in the realization of the words of Aristotle, that the muses love to dwell in minds emulous of toil. But if some, after the manner of smatterers, should shirk the inevitable amount of effort,—or some again (which I hardly look for), of the theological or philosophical faculties, I mean those crotchety fellows, who seek to make themselves pass for authorities by heaping contempt on every one else, should dart back when they have scarcely crossed the threshold,—it does not follow that you are, one and all, to become despondent of this learning. Let each of you reflect that the mind of man has enabled him to traverse the seas, to know the movements and to count the number of the stars, to measure the whole globe. It cannot be, then, that a knowledge of Greek is inaccessible or even difficult to a race so potent to accomplish the ends it has in view. Do you suppose that Cato would have been willing to devote himself to this study when advanced in years, had it presented, in his eyes, much of difficulty? A certain order however is necessary in all things. The wedded vine grasps first of all the lower branches of the tree, and finally towers above the topmast; and you, sir, who now discourse so glibly in the schools, once blubbered over your book, and hesitated over the shapes of the letters. Therefore, gentlemen of Cambridge, bring your whole minds to bear upon this study, here concentrate your efforts. The variety of your studies need prove no impediment; for they who plead that excuse, forget that it is more laborious, by far, to toil over one thing long together, than over a variety of subjects. But the mind, forsooth, cannot safely be employed in many pursuits at once,—why not then advise the husbandman not to cultivate, in the same season, ploughed lands, vineyards, olive-grounds, and orchards? Why not dissuade the minstrel from taxing, at once, his memory, his voice, and his muscles? But, in truth, there is no reason whatever why you should not come to me, when deaf with listening to other teachers, and give at least a share of your attention to Greek. Variety will pleasantly beguile you of your weariness; for who among you can have the audacity to plead the want of leisure? We should lack no time for learning, were we only to give to study the hours we waste in sleep, in sports, in play, in idle talk. Deduct from each of these but the

veriest trifle, and you will have ample opportunity for acquiring Greek. But if there be any who, after listening to my discourse, blush not to confess themselves blockheads and unteachable, let them be off to the desert and there herd with wild beasts! With beasts, did I say? They will be unworthy to associate even with these. For only the other day, there was an elephant exhibited in Germany who could trace, with his trunk and foot, upon the sand not only Greek letters but whole Greek sentences. Whoever then is so dense as to be unable to imbibe a modicum of Greek culture, let him know, that though more a man, he is in no way more human, as regards his educated faculties, than the dullest brute. You see, gentlemen of Cambridge, there's no excuse for you,—the capacity, the leisure, the preceptor, are all at your command. Yield not then to the promptings of indolence, but rather snatch the opportunity for acquirement. Otherwise, believe me, it will seem either that I have pleaded with you in vain to-day, or that you have been unmindful of the saying of Cato, *Fronte capillata post hæc occasio calva.*

Stripped of its Latin garb, the foregoing oration will appear occasionally wanting in the gravity that becomes the academic chair; but those familiar with the license often indulged in on like occasions, up to a much later period, will make due allowance for the fashion of the time. The age of Grote and Mommsen may smile at a serious attempt to compare the merits of Numa and Lycurgus, or at the assemblage of names, mythical and historical, adduced to prove the estimation in which the Greek tongue was held in ancient times. Many of the audience, doubtless, stared and gasped, as the orator planted his standard at the line which, he declared, was the only true boundary of the grammarian's province in the realm of the Muses. Many a learned *sententiarius*, we may be well assured, listened with ill-disguised vexation at the claims set up in behalf of strictly biblical studies. But it was not easy to call in question the general reasonableness of the orator's arguments; and, at a time when the study of Greek is again on its defence, as an element in the ordinary course of study at our universities, it might not be uninteresting to compare the claims put forward three centuries and a half ago for its admission, with those which at the present day are urged on behalf of its retention. Compared with the address entitled *De Studiis Corrigendis*, delivered by young Philip Melancthon before the University of Wittenberg in the preceding year (1518), the oration of Croke commends itself by its copious and apposite illustrations as well as its elegant latinity and dexterous rhetoric; while that of the German professor exhibits more real learning and more strictly logical and philosophic habits of thought. The admirable outline in which Melancthon traces out the historical development of literature from the fall of the Empire to his own day, and the intimate affinity between the new learning and religious thought, and the increased facilities extended to the study of the Scriptures by the newly discovered minds of antiquity, were in a different vein from that of the Oxford professor.

In a second oration delivered by Croke to confirm his scholars in their devotion to Greek in opposition to the efforts that were being made to induce them to forsake the study, he speaks of Oxford as a "Cambridge colony" (*Colonia a Cantabrigia deducta*), and exhorts the University not to be outstripped by those who were once its disciples. That the exertions of the new Professor were acceptable, may be inferred from his appointment in 1512 to the office of Public Orator, founded in that year, to which was decreed precedence of all other Masters of Arts, with a separate place in the procession and exercises at public acts.*

* Melancthon did not succeed as well at Wittenberg. Homer begged for readers, as in his lifetime he begged for bread. Neither Demosthenes or Sophocles could get a hearing. "I see, at last," said 'the Preceptor of Germany,' "that this generation has no ear for such authors. Only a few attend to spare my feelings. I owe them thanks."

SIR JOHN CHEKE, 1514–57.

JOHN CHEKE, knighted by Edward VI., whose preceptor, when prince, he was from 1544 to 1550, was born in 1514 (June 16) at Cambridge. From the grammar school he was admitted to St. John's College, and from his early proficiency was made one of Henry VIII.'s scholars (with Thomas Smith of Queen's), established by Henry VIII. to fit and train promising students for the service of the state by having opportunities of foreign travel and residence. Cheke became Fellow and Tutor in his college, and his biographer attributes to his diligence, fidelity, and scholarly inspiration the better methods and more substantial learning for which St. John's became famous—many of the men of rank in his day being bred in that college and under his tuition. Cecil, Denny, Redman, Pilkington, Ayre, Ascham, Grindal, Bill, are named among his pupils. Stryker add : His influence was not confined to this college. His presence and society inspired the University with a love of learning; and the youth everywhere addicted themselves to the reading and studying of the best authors for pure Roman style, and Grecian eloquence; such as Cicero and Demosthenes: laying aside their old barbarous writers and school-men, with their nice and unprofitable questions But the great stroke in aid of Cheke's endeavors for the restoration of learning here, was that the University chose him their Greek Lecturer; and this he performed without any salary. But the King, about the year 1540, having founded a Greek lecture, with the salary of 40′. a year, for the encouraging that study (not long after he had made him his scholar), constituted him his first Greek Professor, being now Master of Art, and about twenty-six years of age. Together with Cheke, were now constituted other very learned professors in the University; Wiggin read Divinity, Smith Civil Law, Wakefield Hebrew, and Blith (who married Cheke's sister) Physic, being all the King's Professors, with the salary of 40′. a year.

In 1543 Cheke translated and published in Latin two of Chrysostom's Homilies, dedicated to his sovereign prince and patron, the King, who had made him first his scholar, and then his Greek Lecturer. About the same time he was made University Orator, in which position he was followed, in 1544, by Roger Ascham, of the same college.

In 1544 he was made, by Henry VIII., school-master to his son, Prince Edward, in conjunction with Sir Anthony Cook. His departure from Cambridge was felt to be a great loss, both in his teaching and his exemplary conduct and help to learning. Ascham, in his Toxophilus, remarks: "As oft as I remember the departing of that man from the university (which thing I do not seldome), so oft do I well perceive our most help and furtherance to learning to have gone away with him. For by the great commodity that we took in hearing him read privately in his chamber, all Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, and Plato, we feel the great discommodity in not hearing of him Aristotle and Demosthenes, which two authors, with all diligence last of all, he thought to have read unto us. And when I consider how many men he succoured with his help and his aid, to abide here for learning, and how all men were provoked and stirred up by his counsil and daily example, how they should come to learning, surely I perceive that sentence of Plato to be true, which saith, 'That there is nothing better in any commonwealth, then that there should be always one or other excellent passing man, whose life and virtue should pluck forward the wit, diligence, labour, and hope of all others; that following his footsteps, they might come to the same end, whereunto labour, learning, and virtue had conveyed him before.'"

THE GREEK PRONUNCIATION CONTROVERSY.

From his position as reader of the Greek lecture, Cheke was highly instrumental in bringing into more request the study of Greek—a language little known or understood hitherto in this realm. And if any saw a piece of Greek, they used to say, *Græcum est; non potest legi*, *i. e.*, "It is Greek, it cannot be read." And those few that did pretend to some insight into it, read it after a strange, corrupt manner, pronouncing the vowels and diphthongs, and several of the consonants, very much amiss; confounding the sound of the vowels and diphthongs so that there was little or no difference between them. As for example, αι was pronounced as ε, οι and ει as ἰῶτα; η, ι, υ, were expressed in one and the same sound; that is, as ἰῶτα. Also some of the consonants were pronounced differently, according as they were placed in the word; that is to say, when τ was placed after μ, it was pronounced as our *d*. And when π was put after ν, then it was sounded as our *b*. The letter κ was pronounced as we do *ch*, β as we do the *v* consonant. But since different letters must make different sounds, Cheke, with his friend Smith, concluded these to be very false ways of reading Greek, and sounds utterly different from what the ancient Greeks read and spake. But what the true way was, that they both earnestly set themselves to consider and find out, which at length they did, partly by considering the power of the letters themselves, and partly by consulting with Greek authors, Aristophanes and others; in some whereof they found footsteps to direct them how the ancient Greeks pronounced. But there was a party in the University, who, disliking anything that was new, and dreading alterations, and blindly admitting everything that was old, would by no means allow of this pronunciation, but opposed it with all their might, by disputing against it, and at last, by complaining to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the Chancellor of the University, against Cheke and his adherents for this great misdemeanor, who being of the same mind with the complainants, and fearing innovation more than was need, made a solemn decree, dated the calends of June, 1542, confirming the old corrupt sounding of Greek, and enjoining the scholars to make no variation, and that upon these pains, *viz.*, If he were a regent, to be expelled out of the senate; if he stood for a degree, not to be admitted to it; if a scholar, to lose his scholarship; and the younger sort to be chastised. And, in short, the decree ran, "That none should philosophize at all in sounds, but all use the present. And that if anything were to be corrected in them, let it be left to authority" .

Not content with issuing a decree, the Chancellor sent a Latin letter to Cheke, the Greek Lecturer, to forbear any farther mentioning his new way of pronunciation in his lectures: however treating him like a man of learning, and arguing with him in a humane and scholar-like manner, beginning his letter in this obliging style:

Stephen, Bishop of Winton, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, to John Cheke wisheth health. That which the Chancellor according to his right should do, namely, by his authority as a magistrate to abate and restrain unwary rashness, when it waxeth wanton in learning, I thought rather to be attempted by friendship. That I might obtain that by fair means from a mild nature, and improved by human studies, which power would exact of the rude and barbarous. Therefore I purpose to deal with you in this epistle, not as a Chanceller with a scholar, but as a man somewhat versed in learning with a hard student; and to talk at the least with a young man of very great hopes, if the heat of age do not add a hurtful and too daring excess; a thing which I must tell you many dislike in you For your attempt, as I hear, not so much with the derision of all, as with their anger also, to bring in a new sound of letters, as well in the Greek as in the Latin, and to settle it among the youth. And you, who have by the King's munificence

obtained the office of teaching a tongue, do destroy the use of it by a new sound, &c.

To this epistle the Greek lecturer responds, freely discoursing about the hindrance the Chancellor's decree proved to a commendable reformation, and to the check it put on the best scholars; and to the charge of erring in his office, he replies:

Is this, said he, to err from my office, [as it seems the Bishop hath laid to his charge,] and from that place wherein the King hath set me, to teach what is most ancient, what is most profitable, what most distinct? Which, since it was granted me by the King, it afflicts me not a little, that it is by you lessened and abridged. For had the University bestowed this lecture on me, I could not without great trouble of mind have been drawn away from it, while I profitably and honestly performed my duty therein. With what mind then must I bear it, when the King himself hath bestowed it on me? And by reason of the rejection of that right pronunciation, neither have I the fruit of reading, nor they that come the desire of hearing; and almost all have cast off the study of the Greek tongue. For, when I entered upon this royal office of reading the Greek lecture, I found all my auditors well instructed in this way of pronouncing, and earnestly applied themselves to the study of the Greek; and all (one or two only excepted) with all cheerfulness addicted to this way. Since therefore this pronunciation hath been received now a good many years, and is widely scattered among men by a customary use of it, should I alone, for no cause, reject that hath been received by all upon very great cause? Should I envy them so great a benefit, by removing it from them, or take it away by disparaging it? Or rather, should not I pursue this most glorious institution of the King, by the fruitfulest way of reading that I could.

Then he freely told the Bishop:

That since the order therein contained, many had departed from his lecture; and they that came, came with so sad and melancholic minds, as one would think they were mourning for the death of a friend. For, as he went on, with reluctancy of the best learned, and in effect of the whole University, you have again shut them up in this corrupt confusion: which is so gross that we may almost feel it with our hand. Wherefore, if anything hereafter happen otherwise than the King's Majesty expecteth, it is not to be ascribed to me, who have taken the best way, and followed the method used among us; but it will lay on them who move things well placed, &c. Truly, I fear, we must have no more declaiming in Greek, which we daily practised before, since that which was distinct and clear is taken away, and that which is confused and unsound is only left. For that pronunciation, which our ears so liked and approved, is now gone into the utmost parts of the earth; nor, however profitable it be, however true, however noble and magnificent, can longer tarry at Cambridge by reason of the punishments and mulcts threatened.

The controversy did not end with a single epistle, nor was the new learning suppressed by "injunctions, decrees, and penalties." The original letters were published at Basil in 1555, by Cælius Secundus Curio;* and the best scholars of Cambridge, Redman, Smith, Ponet, Pickering, Ascham, Tong, Bill, and others, who read anything publicly in the schools, or privately in the colleges, gave themselves to this correct way. Roger Ascham, who succeeded Cheke as Public Orator at Cambridge, and by his recommendation appointed Secretary to the embassy to Charles V., committed to Sir Richard Morrison in 1550, in his Epistles from the Continent, takes occasion to speak of Cheke's great services to Greek learning, and asks for a copy of his treatise that he might bring out an edition under the auspices of Johannes Sturmius, the learned Professor of Strasburgh. He mentions "that Theodorus Candius, a man of fame, in a reading of Sophocles' *Tyrannus* in the College at Louvain, pronounced according to the late way discovered by him when he read the Greek lecture at Cambridge."

* *De recta Linguae Graecae Pronuntiatione.*

LORD BACON AND THE UNIVERSITY, 1573–1576.

Of Bacon's university life in Trinity College, from April, 1573, to Christmas, 1576—a period too early and too short to be profitable according to our modern notions—we know little from the testimony of others or his own letters. His earliest biographer, Dr. Rawley, who was for many years his chaplain, writes: "At the ordinary years of ripeness for the university, or something earlier [Bacon was born January 22, 1561], he was sent by his father to Trinity College in Cambridge to be educated and bred under the tuition of Dr. John Whitgate, then master of the college, afterward the renowned Archbishop of Canterbury; a prelate of the first magnitude for sanctity, learning, patience, and humility, under whom he was observed to have been more than ordinary proficient in the several arts and sciences. While he was commorant in the university, about sixteen years of age (as his Lordship hath been pleased to impart unto myself), he fell into a dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle, not from the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ever ascribe high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of the way, being a philosophy only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of works for the benefit of the life of man, in which mind he continued to his dying day." Macaulay, in his article on Lord Bacon in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1837, while he doubts the statement often made that Bacon planned the great intellectual revolution with which his name is inseparably connected while at college, it is certain, after a residence of three years at Cambridge, he departed with a fixed conviction that the system of academic education in England was radically vicious, and a just scorn for the trifles on which the followers of Aristotle wasted their powers. Before citing some strictures by this eminent philosopher on the university system of his day, we introduce the dedication of his *Sapientia Veterum* to his Alma Mater:

TO HIS

NURSING MOTHER,

THE FAMOUS UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

Since without philosophy I care not to live, I must needs hold you in great honor, from whom these defences and solaces of life have come to me. To you, on this account, I profess to owe both myself and all that is mine; and, therefore, it is the less strange if I requite you with what is your own; that with a natural motion it may return to the place whence it came. And yet, I know not how it is, but there are few footprints pointing back toward you among the infinite number that have gone forth from you. Nor shall I take too much to myself, I think, if by reason of that little acquaintance with affairs which my kind and plan of life has necessarily carried with it, I indulge a hope that the inventions of the learned may receive some accession by these labors of mine. Certainly I am of opinion that speculative studies, when transplanted into active life, acquire some new grace and vigor, and having more matter to feed them, strike their roots perhaps deeper, or at least grow taller and fuller leaved. Nor do you yourselves (as I think) know how widely your own studies extend, and how many things they concern. Yet it is fit that all should be attributed to you, and be counted to your honor, since all increase is due in great part to the beginning. You will not, however, expect from a man of business anything exquisite; any miracles or prerogatives of leisure; but you will attribute to my great love for you and yours even this, that among the thorns of business these things have not quite perished, but there is preserved for you so much of your own. Your most loving pupil, FRA. BACON.

Both the college and the university are proud of their memorials of their eminent son.

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* According to a statement in the *Times* editorial of May 19th, 1877, "the age at which young men come up to the university is a great deal more advanced than it used to be; and the age at which they take their degree is out of all proportion more advanced still. The common age at college thirty years ago was about eighteen, instead of the fifteen or sixteen which had been not unusual at an earlier date. The eighteen has since become nineteen, and the nineteen seems to be growing to full twenty."

First, therefore, amongst so many great foundations of Colleges in Europe, I find it strange that they are all dedicated to professions, and none left free to arts and sciences at large. For if men judge that learning should be referred to action, they judge well; but in this they fall into the error described in the ancient fable, in which the other parts of the body did suppose the stomach had been idle, because it neither performed the office of motion, as the limbs do, nor of sense, as the head doth; but yet, notwithstanding, it is the stomach that digesteth and distributeth to all the rest: so if any man think philosophy and universality to be idle studies, he doth not consider that all professions are from thence served and supplied. And this I take to be a great cause that hath hindered the progression of learning, because these fundamental knowledges have been studied but in passage. For if you will have a tree bear more fruit than it hath used to do, it is not anything you can do to the boughs, but it is the stirring of the earth, and putting new mould about the roots, that must work it. Neither is it to be forgotten, that this dedicating of foundations and donations to professory learning hath not only had a malign aspect and influence upon the growth of sciences, but hath also been prejudicial to states and governments. For hence it proceedeth that princes find a solitude in regard of able men to serve them in causes of state, because there is no education collegiate which is free; where such as were so disposed might give themselves to histories, modern languages, books of policy and civil discourse, and other the like enablements unto service of estate.

And because founders of colleges do plant, and founders of lectures do water, it followeth well in order to speak of the defect which is in public lectures; namely, in the smallness and meanness of the salary or reward which in most places is assigned to them; whether they be lectures of arts, or professions. For it is necessary to the progression of sciences that readers be of the most able and sufficient men; as those which are ordained for generating and propagating of sciences, and not for transitory use. This cannot be, except their condition and endowment be such as may content the ablest man to appropriate his whole labor, and continue his whole age in that function and attendance; and therefore must have a proportion answerable to that mediocrity or competency of advancement, which may be expected from a profession, or the practice of a profession. So as, if you will have sciences flourish, you must observe David's military law, which was, 'That those which staid with the carriage should have equal part with those which were in the action;' else will the carriages be ill attended. So readers in sciences are indeed the guardians of the stores and provisions of sciences, whence men in active courses are furnished, and therefore ought to have equal entertainment with them: otherwise if the fathers in sciences be of the weakest sort, or be ill maintained,

'Et patrum invalidi referent jejunia nati.'*

Another defect I note, wherein I shall need some alchemist to help me, who call upon men to sell their books, and to build furnaces; quitting and forsaking Minerva and the Muses as barren virgins, and relying upon Vulcan. But certain it is, that unto the deep, fruitful, and operative study of many sciences, especially Natural Philosophy and Physic, books be not the only instrumentals, wherein also the beneficence of men hath not been altogether wanting; for we see spheres, globes, astrolabes, maps, and the like, have been provided as appurtenances to Astronomy and Cosmography, as well as books; we see likewise that some places instituted for Physic [Medicine] have annexed the commodity of gardens for simples of all sorts, and do likewise command the use of dead bodies for Anatomies. But these do respect but a few things. In general, there will hardly be any main proficience in the disclosing of nature, except there be some allowance for expenses about experiments; whether they be experiments appertaining to Vulcanus or Dædalus, furnace or engine, or any other kind; and therefore as secretaries and spials of princes and states bring in bills for intelligence, so you must allow the spials and intelligencers of nature to bring in their bills; or else you shall be ill advertised.

And if Alexander made such a liberal assignation to Aristotle of treasure for the allowance of hunters, fowlers, fishers, and the like, that he might compile an history of nature, much better do they deserve it that travail in arts of nature [in working upon or altering nature by art].

Another defect which I note, is an intermission or neglect in those which

* The poor keeping of the parent will appear in the poor constitution of the offspring.

are governors in universities, of consultation; and in princes or superior persons, of visitation; to enter into account and consideration, whether the readings, exercises, and other customs appertaining unto learning, anciently begun, and since continued, be well instituted or not; and therefore to ground an amendment or reformation in that which shall be found inconvenient. For it was one of your Majesty's own most wise and princely maxims, 'That in all usages and precedents, the times be considered wherein they first began; which if they were weak or ignorant, it derogateth from the authority of the usage, and leaveth it for suspect.' And therefore inasmuch as most of the usages and orders of the Universities were derived from more ob cure times, it is the more requisite they be re-examined In this kind I will give an instance or two, for example's sake, of things that are the most obvious and familiar: the one is a matter, which though it be ancient and general, yet I hold to be an error; which is, that scholars in Universities come too soon and too unripe to Logic and Rhetoric, arts fitter for graduates than children and novices; for these two, rightly taken, are the gravest of sciences, being the arts of arts; the one for judgment, the other for ornament; and they be the rules and directions how to set forth and dispose matter; and therefore for minds empty and unfraught with matter, and which have not gathered that which Cicero calleth 'sylva' and 'supellex,' stuff and variety, to begin with those arts, (as if one should learn to weigh, or to measure, or to paint the wind,) doth work but this effect, that the wisdom of those arts, which is great and universal, is almost made contemptible, and is degenerate into childish sophistry and ridiculous affectation. And further, the untimely learning of them hath drawn on, by consequence, the superficial and unprofitable teaching and writing of them, as fittest indeed to the capacity of children. Another is a lack I find in the exercises used in the Universities, which do make too great a divorce between invention and memory; for their speeches are either premeditate, 'in verbis conceptis,' where nothing is left to invention; or merely extemporal, where little is left to memory; whereas in life and action there is least use of either of these, but rather of intermixtures of premeditation and invention, notes and memory; so as the exercise fitteth not the practice, nor the image the life; and it is ever a true rule in exercises, that they be framed as near as may be to the life of practice: for otherwise they do pervert the motions and faculties of the mind, and not prepare them. The truth whereof is not obscure, when scholars come to the practices of professions, or other actions of civil life; which when they set into, this want is soon found by themselves, and sooner by others. But this part, touching the amendment of the institutions and orders of Universities, I will conclude with the clause of Cæsar's letter to Oppius and Balbus, 'Hoc quemadmodum fieri possit, nonnulla mihi in mentem veniunt, et multa reperiri possunt; de iis rebus rogo vos ut cogitationem suscipiatis.' *

Another defect, which I note, ascendeth a little higher than the preceding, for as the proficience of learning consisteth much in the orders and institutions of Universities in the same states and kingdoms, so it would be yet more advanced, if there were more intelligence mutual between the Universities of Europe than there now is. We see there be many orders and foundations, which though they be divided under several sovereignties and territories, yet they take themselves to have a kind of contract, fraternity, and correspondence one with the other; in so much as they have provincials and generals. And surely as nature createth brotherhood in families, and arts mechanical contract brotherhoods in commonalities, and the anointment of God superinduceth a brotherhood in kings and bishops; so in like manner there cannot but be a fraternity in learning and illumination, relating to that fraternity which is attributed to God, who is called the Father of illuminations or lights.

The last defect which I will note is, that there hath not been, or very rarely been, any public designation of writers or inquirers concerning such parts of knowledge as may appear not to have been already sufficiently labored or undertaken; unto which point it is an inducement to enter into a view and examination what parts of learning have been prosecuted, and what omitted; for the opinion of plenty is amongst the causes of want, and the great quantity of books maketh a show rather of superfluity than lack; which surcharge, nevertheless, is not to be remedied by making no more books; but by making more good books, which, as the serpent of Aaron, might devour the serpents of the enchanters.—*Ad. of Learning*, 1605.

* How this may be done, sometimes occurs to me, and more may be thought of. I would have you take these matters into consideration.

BACON'S direct contributions to the principles and methodology of education are small. He recommends the schools of the Jesuits, 'for better do not exist;' and gives the preference to the genetic method, where the teacher "transplants knowledge into the scholar's mind, as it grew in his own." "Methods should vary according to the subject to be taught, for in knowledge itself there is great diversity." "A judicious blending and interchange between the easier and more difficult branches of learning, adapted to the individual capabilities, and to the future occupation of pupils, will profit both the mental and bodily powers and make instruction acceptable. Go to nature and listen to her many voices, consider her ways and learn her doings; so shall you bend her to your will. For knowledge is Power"—is the substance of Bacon's Pedagogy.*

JOHN MILTON.

JOHN MILTON held and proclaimed views of educational reform more comprehensive and more radical even than those of Lord Bacon. In his *Tractate on Education*, addressed to Samuel Hartlib in 1644, he presented the outline of a system "designed to teach science with language, or rather to make the study of languages subservient to the acquisition of scientific knowledge," supplemented and utilized by the widest survey of practical operations in the field and workshop. The plan is liable to objection from the multiplicity of subjects embraced in its scope, and from the necessity in his day of resorting to textbooks, which very inadequately presented the principles of science and the processes of the arts; but the leading suggestions have been, within the last half-century, realized in the Polytechnic Schools of Germany, and are now partially embraced in the organization of the special schools of France.

Passing beyond the elementary projects of Ratich and Comenius, which he alludes to under the designation of "many modern *Januas* and *Didactics*," he accepts the study of language "as the instrument conveying to us things useful to be known," and especially "the languages of those people who have been most industrious after wisdom," but asserts that by better methods, a truly valuable knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues and literatures can be "easily and delightfully" made in one-seventh of the time usually bestowed on their acquisition—which with most amounts only "to forcing the empty wits of children to compose themes, verses, and orations, which are acts of ripest judgments, in wretched barbarizing against the Latin and Greek idioms." On such knowledge of the Latin and Greek, as he claims can be given, the substance of good things and arts in due order (as of agriculture in *Cato*, *Varro*, and *Columella;* of historical physiology in *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus;* of natural history in *Vitruvius*, *Pliny*, *Celsus;* of ethics in *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, &c.,) can be mastered in orderly perusal in acquiring these languages.

With the reading of Latin and Greek is to go along the daily "conning of sensible things (object teaching)," the study of arithmetic, geometry, geography, and astronomy with the use of the globes and of maps, the elements of natural philosophy and physics, higher mathematics with the instrumental science of trigonometry, fortification, architecture, engineering and navigation, and natural history, including minerals, plants and animals, and the elements of anatomy and hygiene. Here is a course of study closely resembling the best gymnasium and polytechnic courses of Germany; and to make the resemblance more close, the author exclaims: "To set forward all these proceedings in nature and mathematics, what hinders but that they may procure as oft as shall be needful

the helpful experiences of hunters, fowlers, fishermen, shepherds, gardeners, apothecaries; and in other sciences, of architects, engineers, mariners, and anatomists"—"and this will give them such a real tincture of natural knowledge as they shall never forget, but daily augment with delight."

To this range of the mathematical sciences and their applications, Milton adds "constant and sound endoctrinating in the knowledge of virtue and hatred of vice, while their pliant affections are led through all the moral works of the best Latin and Greek authors, and the Evangelist and Apostolic Scriptures." Being perfect in the knowledge of personal duty, they may then begin the study of economics, followed by the beginning, and reasons of political societies (*politics*), and on Sundays and every evening, the highest matters of theology and Church history, ancient and modern. These high and severe studies are to be relieved by choice comedies and tragedies, the laws and specimens of the true epic and lyric poem, and the divine harmonies of music heard and learned; and to be closed with the study and practice of logic and rhetoric, pursued in the ancient as well as modern text-books, and in the composition of original matter, so that when called on hereafter to speak in parliament or council, honor and attention would be waiting on their lips. "These are the studies wherein our noble and our gentle youth ought to bestow their time in a disciplinary way from twelve to one-and-twenty, unless they rely more upon their ancestors dead, than upon themselves living."

Milton does not overlook the importance of physical training, and throughout the *Tractate* associates manual labor, mechanical dexterity, and athletic sports, with the highest culture—the better to fit the youth of England "both for peace or war." "Fencing, the exact use of their weapon, to guard and strike safely with edge or point; wrestling, wherein Englishmen are wont to excel; and regular military motions under sky or court, according to the season, first on foot, then as their age permits, on horseback to all the art of cavalry," are in the regular programme of the Academy which Milton would institute for every city throughout the land. To these home exercises, occupying two hours in the day, he adds occasional excursions, sometimes "to go out and see the riches of nature and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth;" and in the long vacations, "to ride out in companies with prudent and staid guides to all quarters of the land, learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building, and of soil for towns and tillage, harbors and ports of trade; sometimes taking sea as far as to our navy, to learn there also what they can in the practical knowledge of sailing and seafight. These ways would try all their peculiar gifts of nature, and if there were any secret excellence among them, would fetch it out, and give it opportunities to advance itself by, which could not but mightily redound to the good of this nation, and bring into fashion again the old admired virtues." To enlarge experience and make wise observation, foreign travel is recommended for those who through age and culture can profit by the society and friendship of the best and most eminent men in places which they may visit.

Such is a very imperfect outline of this masterly treatise* of John Milton, in which the great poet and profound scholar anticipates many of the most advanced plans and practices of this age.

* The *Tractate* of Milton will be found in Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, vol. ii. 81, and xi. 451, and in *Papers for the Teacher, Fifth Series*, p. 115.

Young Gill, the usher or sur-master, was by no means so steady a man as his father. Born about 1597, he had been educated at St. Paul's School; had gone thence, on one of the Mercers' Exhibitions, to Trinity College, Oxford; and, after completing his course there, and taking orders, had come back to town about 1619, and dropped conveniently into the place of his father's assistant. For a time, either before or after this, he assisted the famous Farnabie in *his* school.

Such were the two men, not uninteresting in themselves, to whose lot it fell to be Milton's schoolmasters. He was under their care, as we calculate, at least four years—from 1620, when he had passed his eleventh year, to the winter or spring of 1624—5, when he had passed his sixteenth. During a portion of this time—most probably till 1622—he had the benefit also of Young's continued assistance at home.

St. Paul's School, it is to be remembered, was strictly a grammar-school—that is, a school for classical instruction only. But since Colet's time, in virtue of the great development which classical studies had received throughout the nation at large, the efficiency of the school within its assigned limits had immensely increased. Instead of peddling over Sedulius, and other such small practitioners of later or middle-age Latinity, recommended as proper class-books by Colet, the scholars of St. Paul's, as of other contemporary schools, were now led through very much the same list of Roman prose-writers and poets that are still honored in our academies. The practice of writing pure classical Latin, or what might pass for such, both in prose and in verse, was also carried to a perfection not known in Colet's time. But the improvement in Latin was as nothing compared with what had taken place in Greek. Although Colet in his testamentary recommendations to the Mercers had mentioned it as desirable that the head-master should know Greek as well as Latin, he had added, "if such a man can be gotten." That, indeed, was the age of incipient Greek in England. Colet had none himself; and that Lilly had mastered Greek, while residing in earlier life in Rhodes, was one of his distinctions. Since that time, however, the passion for Greek had spread; the battle between the Greeks and the Trojans, as the partizans of the new learning and its opponents were respectively called, had been fought out in the days of Ascham and Elizabeth; and, if Greek scholarship still lagged behind Latin, yet, in St. Paul's and other schools, Greek authors were read in fragments, and Greek exercises written, in anticipation of the more profound labors of the Universities. Probably Hebrew was taught optionally to a few of the highest boys.

Whatever support other instances may afford to the popular notion that the studious boys at school do not turn out the most efficient men in after life, the believers in that notion may save themselves the trouble of trying to prove it by means of Milton's boyhood.

Milton's own account of his habits as a schoolboy.—"My father destined me while yet a little boy for the study of humane letters, which I seized with such eagerness that from the twelfth year of my age I scarcely ever went from my lessons to bed before midnight; which, indeed, was the first cause of injury to my eyes, to whose natural weakness there were also added frequent headaches. All which not retarding my impetuosity in learning, he caused me to be daily instructed both at the grammar-school and under other masters at home; and then, when I had acquired various tongues, and also some not insignificant taste for the sweetness of philosophy, he sent me to Cambridge, one of our two national universities."

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

Aubrey's account.—"When he went to school, when he was very young, he studied very hard, and sat up very late, commonly till twelve or one o'clock at night; and his father ordered the maid to sit up for him."

Wood's account.—"There (at Cambridge) as at school for three years before, 'twas usual with him to sit up till midnight at his book, which was the first thing that brought his eyes into danger of blindness. By this his indefatigable study he profited exceedingly."

Phillips' account.—(At Paul's School) "he was entered into the rudiments of learning, and advanced therein with * * admirable success, not more by the discipline of the school and the good instructions of his masters * * than by his own happy genius, prompt wit and apprehension, and insuperable industry; for he generally sat up half the night, as well in voluntary improvements of his own choice, as the exact perfecting of his school-exercises; so that at the age of fifteen he was full ripe for academical training."

The boy's studies were not confined to the classic tongues. "When at your expense," he says in a Latin poem addressed to his father in later years, "I had obtained access to the eloquence of the tongue of Romulus, and to the delights of Latium, and the great words, becoming the mouth of Jove, uttered by the magniloquent Greeks, you then advised me to add the flowers which are the pride of Gaul, and the speech which the new Italian, attesting the barbarian inroads by his diction, pours forth from his degenerate mouth, and the mysteries which are spoken by the prophet of Palestine." The application of these words extends beyond Milton's mere school-days; but it is probable that before they were over he had learnt to read French and Italian, and also something of Hebrew. In the letter to Young at Hamburg, already referred to, written in March, 1625, he acknowledges the gift of a Hebrew Bible which Young had sent him.

It is not to be supposed that the literature of his own country remained a closed field to a youth so fond of study, and who had already begun to have dreams for himself of literary excellence. Accordingly there is evidence that Milton in his boyhood was a diligent reader of English books, and that before the close of his school-time in 1624, he had formed some general acquaintance, at least, with the course of English literature from its beginnings to his own time.

MILTON AT CAMBRIDGE.

Milton was admitted a Pensioner of Christ's College, Cambridge, on the 12th of February, 1624—5.* He was one of the fourteen students whose names appear in the entry-book of the College as having been admitted during the half-year between Michaelmas, 1624, and Lady-day, 1625. In the remaining half of the same academic year—namely, from Lady-day to Michaelmas, 1625—there were thirty fresh entries. Milton, therefore, was one of forty-three students who commenced their academic course at Christ's College, in the year 1624—5.

Eight of these fourteen students who were admitted before Lady-day, enter

*It may be well here to remind the reader of the reason for this double mode of dating. Prior to 1752, the year in England was considered to begin, not on the 1st of January, but on the 25th of March. All those days, therefore, intervening between the 31st of December and the 25th of March, which we should now date as belonging to a particular year, were then dated as belonging to the year preceding that. According to *our* dating, Milton's entry at Christ's College took place on the 12th of February, 1625; but in the *old* reckoning, that day was the 12th of February, 1624.

as "lesser pensioners," four as "sizars," and but one as a "greater pensioner." The distinction is one of rank. All the three grades pay for their board and education; and, in this respect, are distinct from the *scholars*, properly so called, who belong to the foundation. But the "greater pensioners," or "fellow-commoners," pay most; they are usually the sons of wealthy families; and they have the privilege of dining at the upper table in the common hall along with the fellows. The "sizars," on the other hand, are poorer students; they pay least; and, though receiving the same education as the others, have a lower rank, and inferior accommodation. Intermediate between the greater pensioners and the sizars, are the "lesser pensioners;" and it is to this class that the bulk of the students in all the Colleges at Cambridge belong. Milton, as the son of a London scrivener in good circumstances, took his natural place in becoming a "lesser pensioner." His school-fellow at St. Paul's, Robert Porey, who entered the College in the same year and month, and chose the same tutor, entered in the same rank. Milton's father and Porey's father must have made up their minds, in sending their sons to Cambridge, to pay, each about £50 a year, in the money of that day, for the expenses of their maintenance there.*

Christ's College, although not the first in point of numbers, was one of the most comfortable colleges in the University; substantially built; with a spacious inner quadrangle, a handsome dining-hall and chapel, good rooms for the fellows and students, and an extensive garden behind, provided with a bowling-green, a pond, alcoves and shady walks, in true academic taste.

In the year 1624—5, when Milton went to Cambridge, the total population of the town may have been seven or eight thousand. Then, as now, the distinction between "town" and "gown" was one of the fixed ideas of the place. While the town was governed by its mayor and aldermen and common-council, and represented in Parliament by two burgesses, the University was governed by its own statutes as administered by the Academic authorities, and was represented in Parliament by two members returned by itself.

Into the little world of Christ's College—forming a community by itself, when all the members were assembled, of some two hundred and fifty persons, and surrounded again by that larger world of the total University to which it was related as a part—we are to fancy Milton introduced in the month of February, 1624—5, when he was precisely sixteen years and two months old. He was a little older, perhaps, than most youths then were on being sent to the University. Still it was the first time of his leaving home, and all must have seemed strange to him. To put on for the first time the gown and cap, and to move for the first time through unfamiliar streets, observing college after college, each different from the others in style and appearance, with the majestic Kings's conspicuous in the midst; to see for the first time the famous Cam, and to walk by its banks,—these would be powerful sensations to a youth like Milton.

A matter of some importance to the young Freshman at College, after his choice of a tutor, is his choice of chambers. Tradition still points out at Christ's College the rooms which Milton occupied. They are in the older part of the building, on the left side of the court, as you enter through the street-

* In the autobiography of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, he tells us that, when he went as a fellow-commoner to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1618, his father would not make him a larger allowance than £50 a year, which, with the utmost economy, he could barely make sufficient. If this was a stingy sum for a "fellow-commoner," it was probably about the proper sum for a "lesser pensioner."

gate—the first floor rooms on the first stair on that side. The rooms consist at present of a small study with two windows looking into the court, and a very small bed-room adjoining. They do not seem to have been altered at all since Milton's time. When we hear of "Milton's rooms" at College, however, the imagination is apt to go wrong in one point. It was very rare in those days for any member of a College, even a Fellow, to have a chamber wholly to himself. Two or three generally occupied the same chamber; and, in full Colleges, there were all kinds of devices of truckle-beds and the like to multiply accommodation. In the original statutes of Christ's College, there is a chapter specially providing for the manner in which the chambers of the College should be allocated; "in which chambers," says the founder, "our wish is that the Fellows sleep two and two, but the scholars four and four, and that no one have alone a single chamber for his proper use, unless perchance it be some Doctor, to whom, on account of the dignity of his degree, we grant the possession of a separate chamber." In the course of a century, doubtless, custom had become somewhat more dainty. Still, in all the Colleges, the practice was for the students to occupy rooms at least two together; and in all College biographies of the time, we hear of the chum or chamber-fellow of the hero as either assisting or retarding his studies. Milton's chamber-fellow, or one of his chamber-fellows, would naturally be Porey. But, in the course of seven years, there must have been changes.

The Terms of the University, then as now, were those fixed by the statutes of Elizabeth. The academic year began on the 10th of October, and the first, or Michaelmas or October Term, extended from that day to the 16th of December. Then followed the Christmas Vacation. The second, or Lent or January Term, began on the 13th of January, and extended to the second Friday before Easter. There then intervened the Easter vacation of three weeks. Finally, the third, or Easter or Midsummer Term, began on the eleventh day (second Wednesday) after Easter-day, and extended to the Friday after "Commencement Day,"—that is, after the great terminating Assembly of the University, at which candidates for the higher degrees of the year were said to "commence" in those degrees; which "Commencement Day" was always the first Tuesday in July. The University then broke up for the "long vacation" of three months.

The daily routine of college-life in term-time, two hundred and thirty years ago, was as follows:—In the morning, at five o'clock, the students were assembled, by the ringing of the bell, in the College-chapel, to hear the morning service of the Church, followed on some days by short homilies by the Fellows. These services occupied about an hour; after which the students had breakfast. Then followed the regular work of the day. It consisted of two parts—the *College-studies*, or the attendance of the students on the lectures and examinations of the College-tutors or lecturers in Latin, Greek, Logic, Mathematics, Philosophy, etc.; and the *University-exercises*, or the attendance of the students, together with the students of other Colleges, in the "public schools" of the University, either to hear the lectures of the University-professors of Greek, Logic, etc., (which, however, was not incumbent on all students,) or to hear, and take part in the public disputations of those students of all the Colleges who were preparing for their degrees.* After four hours or more so spent, the

* The distinction between *College-studies* and *University-exercises* must be kept in mind. Gradually, as all know, the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, originally mere places of res-

students dined together at twelve o'clock in the halls of their respective Colleges. After dinner, there was generally again an hour or two of attendance on the declamations and disputations of contending graduates, either in college or in the "public schools." During the remainder of the day, with the exception of attendance at the evening-service in chapel, and at supper in the hall at seven o'clock, the students were free to dispose of their own time. It was provided by the statutes of Christ's that no one should be out of college after nine o'clock from Michaelmas to Easter, or after ten o'clock from Easter to Michaelmas.

Originally, the rules governing the daily conduct of the students at Cambridge had been excessively strict. Residence extended over nearly the whole year; and absence was permitted only for very definite reasons. While in residence, the students were confined closely within the walls of their respective colleges, leaving them only to attend in the public schools. At other times they could only go into the town by special permission; on which occasions, no student below the standing of a B. A. in his second year was suffered to go unaccompanied by his tutor or by a Master of Arts. In their conversation with each other, except during the hours of relaxation in their chambers, the students were required to use either Latin, or Greek, or Hebrew. When permitted to walk into the town, they were forbidden to go into taverns, or into the sessions; or to be present at boxing-matches, skittle-playings, dancings, bear-fights, cock-fights, and the like; or to frequent Sturbridge fair; or even to loiter in the market or about the streets. In their rooms they were not to read irreligious books; nor to keep dogs or "fierce birds;" nor to play at cards or dice, except for about twelve days at Christmas, and then openly and in moderation. To these and other rules, obedience was enforced by penalties. There were penalties both by the College and by the University, according as the offense concerned the one or the other. The penalties consisted of fines according to the degree of the offense; of imprisonment for grave and repeated offenses; of rustication, with the loss of one or more terms, for still more flagrant misbehavior; and of expulsion from College and University for heinous criminality. The Tutor could punish for negligence in the studies of his class, or inattention to the lectures; College offenses of a more general character came under the cognizance of the Master or his substitute; and for non-attendance in the public schools, and other such violations of the University statutes, the penalties were exacted by the Vice-Chancellor. All the three—the Tutor and the Master as College authorities, and the Vice-Chancellor as resident head of the University—might in the case of the younger students, resort to corporal punishment. "*Si tamen adultus fuerit*," say the statutes of Christ's, referring to the punishment of fine, etc., which the Tutor might inflict on a pupil; "*alioquin virgâ corrigatur*." The Master might punish in the same way and more publicly. In Trinity College there was a regular service of corporal punishment in the hall every Thursday evening at seven o'clock, in the presence of all the undergraduates, on such junior delinquents as had been reserved for the ceremony during the week. The University statutes also recognize the corporal punish-

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idence for those attending the University, have, in matters of teaching, absorbed or superseded the University. Even in Milton's time, this process was far advanced. The University, however, was still represented in the public disputations in "the schools," attendance on which was obligatory.

ment of non-adult students offending in the public schools. At what age a student was to be considered adult is not positively defined; but the understanding seems to have been that after the age of eighteen corporal punishment should cease, and that even younger students, if above the rank of undergraduates, should be exempt from it.

In spite of old decrees to the contrary, bathing in the Cam was a daily practice. The amusements of the collegians included many of the forbidden games. Smoking was an all but universal habit in the University.* The academic costume was sadly neglected. At many Colleges the undergraduates wore "new-fashioned gowns of any color whatsoever, blue or green, or red or mixt, without any uniformity but in hanging sleeves; and their other garments light and gay, some with boots and spurs, others with stockings of diverse colors reversed one upon another, and round rusty caps." Among graduates and priests also, as well as the younger students, "we have fair roses upon the shoe, long frizzled hair upon the head, broad spread bands upon the shoulders, and long large merchants' ruffs about the neck, with fair feminine cuffs at the wrist." To these irregularities arising from the mere frolic and vanity of congregated youth, add others of a graver nature, arising from different causes. While, on the one hand, all the serious alike complained that "nicknaming and scoffing at religion and the power of godliness," nay, that "debauched and atheistical" principles prevailed to an extent that seemed "strange in a University of the Reformed Church," the more zealous Churchmen about the University found special matter for complaint in the increase of puritanical opinions and practices, more particularly in certain colleges where the heads and seniors were puritanically inclined. It had become the habit of many masters of arts and fellow-commoners in all colleges to absent themselves from public prayers. Upon Fridays and all fasting days the victualling houses prepared flesh, "good store for all scholars that will come or send unto them." In the churches, both on Sundays and at other times, there was little decency of behavior; and the regular forms of prayer were in many cases avoided. "Instead whereof," it was complained, "we have such private fancies and several prayers of every man's own making, (and sometimes suddenly conceiving, too,) vented among us, that, besides the absurdity of the language directed to God himself, our young scholars are thereby taught to prefer the private spirit before the public, and their own invented and unapproved prayers before the Liturgy of the Church." In Trinity College, "they lean or sit or kneel at prayers, every man in a several posture as he pleases; at the name of Jesus few will bow; and when the Creed is repeated, many of the boys, by some men's directions, turn to the west door." In other colleges it was as bad or worse. In Christ's College there was very good order on the whole; but "hard by this House there is a Town Inn (they call it the 'Brazen George') wherein many of their scholars live, lodge, and study, and yet the statutes of the University require that none lodge out of the college."

It yet remains to describe the order of the curriculum, which students at Cambridge in Milton's time went through during the whole period of their Uni-

* When the tobacco-hating King James visited Cambridge for the first time, in 1615, one of the orders issued to graduates and students was that they should not, during his Majesty's stay, visit tobacco-shops, nor smoke in St. Mary's Chapel or Trinity Hall, on pain of expulsion from the University.

versity studies. This period, extending, in the Faculty of Arts, over seven years in all, was divided, as now, into two parts—the period of Undergraduateship extending from the time of admission to the attainment of the B. A. dedegree; and the subsequent period of Bachelorship terminating with the attainment of the M. A. degree.

Originally, according to the statutes, a complete *quadriennium* or four years' course of studies—that is to say, twelve full terms of residence in a College, and of standing as matriculated students in the books of the University*—was required for the degree of B. A. Each year of the *quadriennium* had its appropriate studies; and, during the last year of it, the students rose to the rank of "Sophisters," and were then entitled to partake in the disputations in the public schools. During the last year (and in practice it was generally during the last term) of their *quadriennium*, they were required by the statutes of the University to keep two "Acts" or "Responsions" and two "Opponencies" in the public schools—exercises for which they were presumed to be prepared by similar practice in their respective Colleges. The nature of these "Acts" and "Opponencies" were as follows:—One of the Proctors having at the beginning of the academic year collected the names of all the students of the various Colleges who intended to take the degree of B. A. that year, each of them received an intimation shortly after the beginning of the Lent Term that on a future day (generally about a fortnight after the notice was given) he would have to appear as "Respondent" in the public schools. The student so designated had to give in a list of three propositions which he would maintain in debate. The question actually selected was usually a moral or metaphysical one. The Proctor then named three Sophisters, belonging to other Colleges, who were to appear as "Opponents." When the day arrived, the Respondent and the Opponents met in the schools, some Master of Arts presiding as Moderator, and the other Sophisters and Graduates forming an audience. The Respondent read a Latin thesis on the selected point; and the Opponents, one after another, tried to refute his arguments syllogistically in such Latin as they had provided or could muster. When one of the speakers was at loss, it was the duty of the Moderator to help him out. When all the Opponents had spoken, and the Moderator had dismissed them and the Respondent with such praise as he thought they had severally deserved, the "Act" was over.

When a student had kept two Responsions and two Opponencies, (and in order to get through all the Acts of the two or three hundred Sophisters who every year came forward, it is evident that the "schools" must have been continually busy,) he was further examined in his own College, and, if approved, was sent up as a "quæstionist," or candidate for the B. A. degree. The "quæstionists" from the various Colleges were then submitted to a distinct examination—which usually took place on three days in the week before Ash Wednesday week—in the public schools before the Proctors and others of the University. Those who passed this examination were furnished by their Colleges with a *supplicat* to the Vice-Chancellor and Senate, praying that they might be admitted, as the phrase was, *ad respondendum quæstioni*. Then, on a day before

* The reader must distinguish between *admission* into a College and *matriculation* in the general University Registers. Both were necessary, but the acts were distinct. The College books certified all the particulars of a student's connection with his College and residence there; but, for degrees and the like, a student's standing in the University was certified by the matriculation-book kept by the University Registrar.

Ash Wednesday, all the questionists from each College went up, headed by a Fellow of the College, to the public school, where, some question out of Aristotle's Prior Analytics having been proposed and answered by each of the questionists, (this process being called "entering their Priorums,") they became what was called "determiners." From Ash Wednesday till the Thursday before Palm Sunday, the candidates were said to stand in *quadragesimâ*, and had a further course of exercises to go through; and on this latter day their probation ended, and they were pronounced by the Proctor to be full Bachelor of Arts.

Many students, of course, never advanced so far as the B. A. degree, but, after a year or two at the University, removed to study law at the London Inns of Court, or to begin other business. Oliver Cromwell, for example, had left Sidney Sussex College in 1617, after about a year's residence. Those who did take their B. A. degree, and meant to advance farther, were required by the original statutes to reside three years more, and during that time to go through certain higher courses of study and perform certain fresh Acts in the public schools and their Colleges. These regulations having been complied with, they were, after being examined in their Colleges and provided with *supplicats*, admitted by the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor *ad incipiendum in artibus;* and then, after certain other formalities, they were ceremoniously created Masters of Arts either at the greater *Comitia* or general "Commencement" at the close of the academic year, (the first Tuesday in July,) or on the day immediately preceding. These two days—the *Vesperiæ Comitiorum*, or day before Commencement-day, and the *Comitia*, or Commencement-day itself—were the gala-days of the University. Besides the M. A. degrees, such higher degrees as LL. D., M. D., and D. D. were then conferred.

By the original statutes, the connection of the scholar with the University was not yet over. Every Master of Arts was sworn to continue his "regency" or active University functions for five years; which implied almost continual residence during that time, and a farther course of study in theology and Hebrew, and of Acts, disputations and preachings. Then, after seven full years from the date of commencing M. A., he might, after a fresh set of forms, become a Doctor of either Law or Medicine, or a Bachelor of Divinity; but for the Doctorate of Divinity, five additional years were necessary for the attainment of the rank of D. D.; and fourteen years for the attainment of the Doctorates of Law and Medicine.

Framed for a state of society which had passed away, and too stringent even for that state of society, these rules had fallen into modification or disuse. (1.) As respected the *quadriennium*, or the initiatory course of studies preparatory to the degree of B. A., there had been a slight relaxation, consisting in an abatement of one term of residence out of the twelve required by the Elizabethan statutes. This had been done in 1578, by a formal decree of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads. It was then ordered that every student should enroll his name in the University Register, and take his matriculation oath within a certain number of days after his first joining any College and coming to reside; and that, for the future, all persons who should have so enrolled and matriculated "before, at or upon the day when the ordinary sermon *ad Clerum* is or ought to be made in the beginning of Easter Term," and who should be proved by the Commons-books of their Colleges to have in the meantime resided regu-

larly, should be considered to have "wholly and fully" discharged their *quadriennium* in the fourth Lent following the said sermon. In other words, the Lent Term in which a student went through his exercises for his B. A. degree, was allowed to count as one of the necessary *twelve*. Since that time another of the required terms has been lopped off, so that now, *ten* real terms of residence are sufficient. This practice seems to have been introduced prior to 1681; but in Milton's time the interpretation of 1578 was in force. Even then, however, matriculation *immediately* after joining a College was not rigorously insisted on, and a *student who matriculated any time during the Easter Term might graduate B. A. in the fourth Lent Term following.* (2.) It was impossible, consistently with the demands of the public service for men of education, that all scholars who had taken their B. A. degree should thereafter continue to reside as punctually as before during the three additional years required for their M. A. degree, and should then farther bind themselves to seven years of active academic duty, if they aspired to the Doctorate in Laws or Medicine, and to still longer probation if they aspired to the Doctorate in Theology. Hence, despite of oaths, there had been gradual relaxations. The *triennium* of continued residence between the B. A. degree and the M. A. degree was still for a good while regarded as imperative; but after this second degree had been taken, the connection with the University was slackened. Those only remained in the University beyond this point who had obtained Fellowships, or who filled University offices, or who were assiduously pursuing special branches of study; and the majority were allowed to distribute themselves in the Church and through society—there being devices for keeping up their nominal connection with the University, so as to advance to the higher degrees. (3.) Not even here had the process of relaxation stopped. The obligation of three years of continued residence between the B. A. degree and commencing M. A., had been found to be burdensome; and, after giving way in practice, it had been formally abrogated. The decree authorizing this important modification was passed March 25, 1608, so that the modification was in force in Milton's time, and for seventeen years before it. "Whereas," says this decree, "doubt hath lately risen whether actual Bachelors in Arts, before they can be admitted *ad incipiendum*, (the phrase for "commencing" M. A.,) must of necessity be continually commorant in the University nine whole terms, We, for the clearing of all controversies in that behalf, do declare, that those, who for their learning and manners are according to statute admitted Bachelors in Arts, are not so strictly tied to a local commorancy and study in the University and Town of Cambridge, but that, being at the end of nine terms able by their accustomed exercises and other examinations to approve themselves worthy to be Masters of Arts, they may justly be admitted to that degree." Reasons, both academical and social, are assigned for the relaxation. At the same time, lest it should be abused, if is provided that the statutory Acts and exercises *ad incipiendum* shall still be punctually required, and also that every Bachelor who shall have been long absent, shall, on coming back to take his Master's degree, bring with him certificates of good conduct, signed by "three preaching ministers, Masters of Arts at least, living on their benefices," near the place where he (the Bachelor) has been longest residing.

[Masson thus treats of the famous tradition of Milton's having been the victim of corporal punishment during his second year's residence at Cambridge:]

The tradition of some incident in Milton's University life, of a kind which his enemies, by exaggerating and misrepresenting it, were able afterwards to use to his discredit, is very old. It was probably first presented in the definite shape in which we now have it, by Dr. Johnson in his memoir of the poet: "I am ashamed to relate what I fear is true, that Milton was one of the last students in either University that suffered the public indignity of corporal correction."

Warton, Todd, and others have entered somewhat largely into the question of the possibility of the alleged punishment consistently with the College practice of the time. On this head there is no denying that the thing was possible enough. The "*virgâ a suis corrigatur*" of the old statutes certainly remained in force for young under-graduates both at Oxford and Cambridge. As late as 1649, Henry Stubbe, a writer of so much reputation in his day that Wood gives a longer memoir of him than of Milton, was publicly flogged in the refectory of Christ Church, Oxford, when eighteen years of age, for "insolent and pragmatical" conduct. Other instances might be produced to show that in any case Johnson's phrase, "one of the last at either University who," etc., would be historically wrong. There can be no doubt, however, that the practice was getting out of repute. In the new Oxford Statutes of 1635, corporal punishment was restricted (though Stubbe, it seems, did not benefit by the restriction) to boys under sixteen.

Johnson's authority for the statement, we now know, was Aubrey's MS. life of Milton. The original passage is as follows:—

"And was a very hard student in the University, and performed all his exercises with very good applause. His first tutor there was Mr. Chappell, from whipt him whom receiving some unkindness, he was (though it seemed contrary to the rules of the College) transferred to the tuition of one Mr. Tovell, (miswritten for Tovey,) who died parson of Lutterworth."

This passage occurs in a paragraph of particulars expressly set down by Aubrey in his MS. as having been derived from the poet's brother Christopher. It seems impossible, therefore, to doubt that it is in the main authentic. Of the whole statement, however, precisely that which has the least look of authenticity is the pungent fact of the interlineation. That it *is* an interlineation, and not a part of the text, suggests that Aubrey did not get it from Christopher Milton, but picked it up from gossip afterwards; and it is exactly the kind of fact that gossip likes to invent. But take the passage fully as it stands, the interlineation included, and there are still two respects in which it fails to bear out Johnson's formidable phrase, "one of the last students in either University who," etc., especially in the circumstantial form which subsequent writers have given to the phrase by speaking of the punishment as a public one at the hands of Dr. Bainbrigge, the College Master. (1.) So far as Aubrey hints, the quarrel was originally but a private one between Milton and his tutor, Chappell—at most, a tussle between the tutor and the pupil in the tutor's rooms, with which Bainbrigge, in the first instance, might have had nothing to do. (2.) Let the incident have been as flagrant as might be, it appertains and can appertain only to one particular year, and that an early one, of Milton's undergraduateship. At no time in the history of the University had any except undergraduates been liable by statute to corporal punishment; and even undergraduates, if over the age of eighteen, had usually, if not invariably, been considered exempt.

Now Milton attained the age of eighteen complete on the 9th of December, 1626. Unless, therefore, he was made an exception to all rule, the incident must have taken place, if it took place at all, either in his first term of residence, or in the course of that year, 1625—6, with which we are now concerned.

That the quarrel, whatever was its form, did take place in this very year, is all but established by a reference which Milton has himself made to it. The reference occurs in the first of his Latin Elegies: which is a poetical epistle to his friend Diodati, and the date of the composition of which may be fixed, with something like certainty, in April or May, 1626.

Diodati, it seems, had a fancy for writing his letters occasionally in Greek. After taking his degree in December, 1625, Diodati resided for a while in Cheshire, whence, in April or May, 1626, he directs a short but sprightly epistle in Greek to Milton, who was then in London.

"I have no fault to find," he says, "with my present mode of life, except that I am deprived of any mind fit to converse with. In other respects all passes pleasantly here in the country; for what else is wanting, when the days are long, the scenery around blooming with flowers, and waving and teeming with leaves, on every branch a nightingale or goldfinch or other bird of song delighting with its warblings, most varied walks, a table neither scant nor overburdened, and sleep undisturbed?" Then, wishing that Milton were with him, he adds, "But you, wondrous youth, why do you despise the gifts of nature; why do you persist inexcusably in tying yourself night and day to your books? Live, laugh, enjoy your youth and the present hour. I, in all things else your inferior, both think myself and am superior to you in this, that I know a moderation in my labors."

[To this Greek letter Milton replies in a pastoral epistle, which he has preserved among his Latin Elegies. From this we give in translation a few lines evidently bearing on his college troubles.]

"Me at present that city contains which the Thames washes with its ebbing wave; and me, not unwilling, my father's house now possesses. At present it is not my care to revisit the reedy Cam; nor does the love of my forbidden rooms yet cause me grief (*nec dudum vetiti me laris angit amor.*) Nor do naked fields please me, where soft shades are not to be had. How ill that place suits the votaries of Apollo! Nor am I in the humor still to bear the threats of a harsh master (*duri minas perferre magistri,*) and other things not to be submitted to by my genius (*cæteraque ingenio non subeunda meo.*) If this be exile (*si sit hoc exilium,*) to have gone to my father's house, and, free from cares, to be pursuing agreeable relaxations, then certainly I refuse neither the name nor the lot of a fugitive (*non ego vel profugi nomen sortemque recuso,*) and gladly I enjoy the condition of exile (*lætus et exilii conditione fruor.*) O that that poet, the tearful exile in the Pontic territory, [*i. e.* Ovid,] had never endured worse things!" [The poet then dwells on his theater-going, etc.—upon which his biographer thus comments:]

This epistle so far tells its own story. It shows that some time in the course of the spring of 1626, Milton was in London, amusing himself as during a holiday, and occasionally visiting the theaters in Bankside. The question, however, remains, what was the occasion of this temporary absence from Cambridge, and how long it lasted. Was it merely that Milton, as any other student might have done, spent the Easter vacation of that year with his family in town—

quitting Cambridge on the 31st of March, when the Lent Term ended, and returning by the 19th of April, when the Easter Term began? The language and tone of various parts of the epistle seem to render this explanation insufficient. In short, taking all that seems positive in the statements of the elegy, along with all that seems authentic in the passage from Aubrey, the facts assume this form: Towards the close of the Lent Term of 1625—6, Milton and his tutor, Chappell, had a disagreement; the disagreement was of such a kind that Bainbrigge, as Master of the College, had to interfere; the consequence was that Milton withdrew or was sent from College in circumstances equivalent to "rustication;" his absence extended probably over the whole of the Easter vacation and part of the Easter Term; but at length an arrangement was made which permitted him to return in time to save that term, and to exchange the tutorship of Chappell for that of Tovey.

The system of study at Cambridge in Milton's time was very different from what it is at present. The avatar of Mathematics had not begun. Newton was not born till ten years after Milton had left Cambridge; nor was there then, nor for thirty years afterwards, any public chair of Mathematics in the University. Milton's connection with Cambridge, therefore, belongs to the closing age of an older system of education, the aim of which was to turn out *scholars*, according to the meaning of that term once general over Europe. This system had been founded very much on the mediæval notion of what constituted the *totum scibile*. According to this notion there were "Seven Liberal Arts," apart from and subordinate to Philosophy proper and Theology—to wit, Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric, forming together what was called the *Trivium;* and Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music, forming together what was called the *Quadrivium*. Assuming some rudiments of these arts as having been acquired in school, the Universities undertook the rest; paying most attention, however, to the studies of the *Trivium*, and to Philosophy as their sequel.

By the Elizabethan Statutes of 1561, the following was the seven years' course of study prescribed at Cambridge prior to the degree of Master of Arts:

"1. *The Quadriennium of the Undergraduateship:* First year, *Rhetoric;* second and third, *Logic;* fourth, *Philosophy;*—these studies to be carried on both in College and by attendance on the University lectures (*domi forisque*); and the proficiency of the student to be tested by two disputations in the public schools and two respondents in his own College.

"2. *The Triennium of Bachelorship:* Attendance during the whole time on the public lectures in *Philosophy* as before, and also on those in *Astronomy*, *Perspective*, and *Greek;* together with a continuance of the private or College studies, so as to complete what had been begun;—moreover, a regular attendance at all the disputations of the Masters of Arts for the purpose of general improvement; three personal responsions in the public schools to a Master of Arts opposing, two College exercises of the same kind, and one College declamation."

In Trinity College, the arrangements for the collegiate education of the pupils seem to have been very complete. Under one head lecturer, or general superintendent, there were eight special lecturers or teachers, each of whom taught and examined an hour or an hour and a half daily—the *lector Humanitatis, sive linguæ Latinæ*, who also gave weekly lectures on Rhetoric; the *lector Græcæ grammaticæ;* the *lector linguæ Græcæ;* the *lector mathematicus;* and four *sublectores*, under whom the students advanced gradually from elementary Logic to the higher parts of Logic and to Metaphysics.

In St. John's College, the next in magnitude after Trinity, the instruction—if we may judge from the accounts given by Sir Simonds D'Ewes of his studies there in 1618 and 1619—does not seem to have been so systematic. For this reason it may be taken as the standard of what was usual in other colleges, such as Christ's.

D'Ewes, being a pious youth, was in the habit, of his own accord, and while yet but a freshman, of attending at the Divinity professor's lectures, and also at the Divinity Acts in the schools. He also attended the public lectures of old Downes, in Greek, (Demosthenes' *De Coronâ* being the subject,) and of Herbert, the poet, in Rhetoric. This was voluntary work, however, undertaken all the more readily that the lectures were gratis, and when Downes, who was a fellow St. John's, offered to form a private Greek class for the benefit of D'Ewes and a few others, D'Ewes was alarmed, and sheered off. "My small stipend my father allowed me," he says, "affording me no sufficient remuneration to bestow on him, I excused myself from it, telling him," etc., and keeping out of his way afterward as much as possible. All the education which D'Ewes received in his *College*, during the two years he was there, consisted—first, in attendance on the problems, sophisms, disputations, declamations, catechisings, and other exercises which were regularly held in the College chapel; secondly, in the daily lessons he received in Logic, Latin, and every thing else, from his tutor, Mr. Holdsworth; and, thirdly, in his additional readings in his own room, suggested by his tutor or undertaken by himself. Here, in his own words, under each of these heads, is an exact inventory of his two years' work:

I. *Public Exercises in the Chapel, etc.* "Mine own exercises, performed during my stay here, were very few—replying only twice in two philosophical Acts; the one upon Mr. Richard Salstonall in the public schools, it being his Bachelor's Act, the other upon Mr. Nevill, a fellow-commoner and prime student of St. John's College, in the Chapel. My declamations, also, were very rarely performed—the first in my tutor's chamber, and the other in the College chapel."

II. *Readings with his Tutor.* "Mr. Richard Holdsworth, my tutor, read with me but one year and a half of that time, [*i. e.* of the whole two years;] in which he went over all Seton's Logic,* exactly, and part of Keckermann† and Molinæus.‡ Of Ethics or Moral Philosophy he read to me Gelius and part of Pickolomineus;§ of Physics, part of Magirus;‖ and of History, part of Florus."

III. *Private Readings and Exercises.* "Which [*i. e.* Florus,] I afterward finished, transcribing historical abbreviations out of it in mine own private

* "Dialectica Joannis Setoni, Cantabrigiensis, annotationibus Petri Carteri, ut clarissimis, ita brevissimis explicata. Huic accessit, ob arcium ingenuarum inter se cognationem, Gulielmi Buclæi arithmetica: Londoni, 1611." There were editions of this work, with exactly the same title, as early as 1672, from which time it seems to have been the favorite elementary text-book in logic at Cambridge. The appended "Arithmetic" of Buclæus (Buckley,) is a series of rules in addition, subtraction, etc., in memorial Latin verse—a curiosity in its way.

† Keckermanni, Barthol. Systema Logicæ. 8vo. Hanov., 1600. Keckermann was also author of "Præcognita Logica: Hanov., 1606;" and of other works.

‡ Molinæus is Peter du Moulin, author, among other works, of an "Elementary Logic."

§ Who this *Gelius* was, I do not know; Pickolomineus was, doubtless, Alessandro Piccolomini, Archbishop of Patras, author, among other works, of one entitled "Della Institutione Morale: Venet., 1560," of which there may have been a Latin translation.

‖ Joannes Magirus was author of "Anthropologia, hoc est Comment. in P. Melancthonis Libellum de Animâ: Franc., 1603;" also of "Physiologia Peripatetica: 1611."

study; in which also I perused most of the other authors [i. e. of those mentioned as read with his tutor,] and read over Gellius' Attick Nights and part of Macrobius' Saturnals. * * My frequent Latin letters and more frequent English, being sometimes very elaborate, did much help to amend and perfect my style in either tongue; which letters I sent to several friends, and was often a considerable gainer by their answers—especially by my father's writing to me, whose English style was very sententious and lofty. * * I spent the next month, (April, 1619,) very laboriously, very busied in the perusal of Aristotle's Physics, Ethics and Politics, [in Latin translations we presume;] and I read logic out of several authors. I gathered notes out of Florus' Roman History. At night also for my recreation I read [Henry] Stephens's Apology for Herodotus, and Spenser's Fairie Queen, being both of them in English. I had translated also some odes of Horace into English verse, and was now Englishing his book, "De Arte Poetica." Nay, I began already to consider of employing my talents for the public good, not doubting, if God sent me life, but to leave somewhat to posterity. I penned, therefore, divers imperfect essays; began to gather collections and conjectures in imitation of Aulus Gellius, Fronto, and Cæsellius Vindex, with divers other materials for other writings.

The names of the books mentioned by D'Ewes, bear witness to the fact otherwise known, that this was an age of transition at Cambridge, out of the rigid scholastic discipline of the previous century, into something different. The avatar of modern Mathematics, as superior co-regnant with Philology in the system of study, had not yet come; and that which reigned along with Philology, or held that place of supremacy by the side of Philology which Mathematics has since occupied, was ancient Logic or Dialectics.* *Ancient* Logic, we say; for Aristotle was still in great authority in this hemisphere, or rather two thirds of the sphere, of the academic world. Not only were his logical treatises and those of his commentators and expositors used as text-books, but the main part of the active intellectual discipline of the students consisted in the incessant practice, on all kinds of metaphysical and moral questions, of that art of dialectical disputation, which, under the name of the Aristotelian method, had been set up by the school-men as the means to universal truth. Already, however, there were symptoms of decided rebellion. (1.) Although the blow struck at Aristotle by Luther, and some of the other Reformers of the preceding century, in the express interest of Protestant doctrine, had been but partial in its effects, and Melancthon himself had tried to make peace between the Stagirite and the Reformed Theology, the supremacy of Aristotle had been otherwise shaken. In his own realm of Logic he had been assailed, and assailed furiously, by the Frenchman Ramus, (1515—1572;) and, though the Logic of Ramus, which he offered as a substitute for that of Aristotle, was not less scholastic, nor even essentially different, yet such had been the effect of the attack that Ramism and Aristotelianism now divided Europe. In Protestant countries Ramus had more followers than in Catholic, but in almost every University his "Logic" was known and studied. Introduced into Scotland by Andrew Melville, it became a text-book in the Universities of that country. In Oxford, it made little way;

* Speaking generally, the old system at Cambridge was philology in conjunction with logic, and the latter system has been philology in conjunction with mathematics. Philology, or at least classic philology, has been the permanent element; the others have alternated in power, as if the one must be *out* if the other was *in*.

but there is good evidence that in Cambridge, in the early part of the seventeenth century, Ramus had his adherents.* (2.) A still more momentous influence was at work, however, tending to modify the studies of the place, or at least the respect of the junior men for the studies enforced by the seniors. Bacon, indeed, had died only in 1626; and it can hardly be supposed that the influence of his works in England was yet wide or deep. It was already felt, however, more particularly in Cambridge, where he himself had been educated, with which he had been intimately and officially connected during his life, and in the University library of which he had deposited, shortly before his death, a splendidly-bound copy of his *Instauratio Magna*, with a glorious dedication in his own hand. Descartes, still alive, and not yet forty years of age, can have been but little more than heard of. But the new spirit, of which these men were the exponents, already existed by implication in the tendencies of the time, as exemplified in the prior scientific labors of such men as Cardan and Kepler and Galileo. How fast the new spirit worked, after Bacon and Descartes had given it systematic expression, may be inferred from the fact, that in 1653, there appeared a treatise on the system of English University studies, in which it was proposed to reform them on thoroughly Baconian and even modern utilitarian principles. The author quotes Bacon throughout; he attacks the Universities for their slavishness to antiquity, and their hesitations between Aristotle and Ramus, as if either were of the slightest consequence; he argues for the use of English instead of Latin as the vehicle of instruction; he presses for the introduction of more Mathematics, more Physics, and more of what he calls the "sublime and never-sufficiently-praised science of Pyrotechny or Chymistry," into the course of academic learning. "If we narrowly take a survey," he says, "of the whole body of their scholastic theology, what is there else but a confused chaos of needless, frivolous, fruitless, trivial, vain, curious, impertinent, knotty, ungodly, irreligious, thorny, and hell-hatched disputes, altercations, doubts, questions, and endless janglings, multiplied and spawned forth even to monstrosity and nauseousness?"†

Mutatis Mutandis, the course of Milton's actual education at Cambridge, may be inferred from that of D'Ewes. In passing from D'Ewes to Milton, however, the *mutanda* are, of course, considerable. In the first place, Milton had come to College unusually well prepared by his prior training. Chappell and Tovey, we should fancy, received in him a pupil whose previous acquisitions might be rather troublesome. We doubt not, however, that they did their duty by him. Chappell, to whose charge he was first committed, must have read Latin and Greek with him; and in Logic, Rhetoric, and Philosophy, where Chappell was greatest, Milton must have been more at his mercy. Tovey, also, was very much in the logical and scholastic line, as may be inferred from the fact of his having filled the office of College lecturer in Logic in 1621. Under him, we should fancy, Latin and Greek for Milton would be very much *ad libitum;* and the former lessons in these tongues would be subservient to Logic. Whatever arrangements for collegiate instruction there were in Christ's, as distinct from

* "The Logic of Ramus," says Professor De Morgan, "was adopted by the University of Cambridge, probably in the sixteenth century. George Downame, or Downam, who died Bishop of Derry, in 1634, was prælector of logic at Cambridge, in 1590. His "Commentarii in P. Rami Dialecticam, (Frankfort, 1616,) is an excellent work."

† Academiarum Examen; or the Examination of Academies, etc., by John Webster; London, 1653." It is dedicated to Major-General Lambert,

the instruction of the students under their respective tutors, of these also Milton would avail himself to the utmost. He would be assiduous in his attendance at the "problems, catechisings, disputations, etc.," in the Chapel. There, as well as in casual intercourse, he would come in contact with Meade, Honeywood, Gell, and other fellows, and with Bainbrigge himself; nor, after a little while, would there be an unfriendly distance between Chappell and his former pupil. Adding all this together, we can see that Milton's education *domi*, or within the walls of his own College, must have been very miscellaneous. There still remains to be taken into account the contemporary education *foris*, or in the University schools. Of what this consisted in the statutory attendance at acts, disputations, etc., Milton had, of course, his full share. Seeing, however, that his father did not grudge expense, as D'Ewes's father had done, we may assume that from the very first, and more particularly during the *triennium*, he attended various courses of instruction out of his College. He may have added to his Greek, under Downes' successor, Creighton of Trinity. If there were any public lectures on Rhetoric, they were probably also by Creighton, who had succeeded Herbert as Public Orator in 1627. Bacon's intention at his death, of founding a Natural Philosophy professorship had not taken effect; but there must have been some means about the University of acquiring a little mathematics. A very little served; for, more than twenty years later, Seth Ward, when he betook himself in earnest to mathematics, had to start in that study on his own account, with a mere pocketful of College geometry to begin with. In Hebrew, the University was better off, a Hebrew Professorship having existed for nearly eighty years. It was now held by Metcalfe, of St. John's, whose lectures Milton may have attended. Had not Whelock's Arabic Lecture been founded only just as Milton was leaving Cambridge, he might have been tempted into that other oriental tongue. Davenant, the Margaret professor of Divinity, had been a Bishop since 1621; but excellent lectures were to be heard, if Milton chose, from Davenant's successor, Dr. Samuel Ward, as well as from the Regius professor of Divinity, Dr. Collins, Provost of King's. Lastly, to make a leap to the other extreme, we know it for a fact that Milton could fence, and in his own opinion, fence well.

Of the *results* of all these opportunities of instruction, we have already had means of judging. There was not in the whole University, I believe, a more expert, a more cultured, or a nobler Latinist than Milton, whether in prose or in verse. His knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues can not at present be so directly tested; but there is evidence of his acquaintance with Greek authors, and of his having more than ventured on Hebrew. That in Logic and Philosophy he had fulfilled all that was to be expected of an assiduous student, might be taken for granted, even were certain proofs wanting, which we shall presently adduce. It seems not improbable that the notes from which, in after-life, he compiled his summary of the Logic of Ramus, were prepared by him while he was a student at Cambridge. Lastly, in the matter of miscellaneous private reading, there is proof that we can hardly exaggerate what Milton accomplished during his seven academic years. Aulus Gellius, Macrobius, Stephens' Apology for Herodotus, and Spenser's Faerie Queene, are the chief authors on D'Ewes' list; but what a list of authors—English, Latin, French, and Italian—we should have before us if there survived an exact register of Milton's voluntary readings in his chamber during his seven years at Christ's!

SIR ISAAC NEWTON—TRINITY COLLEGE.

SIR ISAAC NEWTON, whose name is cherished with just pride at Cambridge, where he was admitted as subsizar of Trinity College at the age of eighteen (*b.* Dec. 25, 1642), in June, 1660, and matriculated as Sizar in July of the same year, was made Scholar in 1664, Bachelor of Arts in 1665, Junior Fellow in 1667, and Master of Arts and Senior Fellow in 1668. In the year following, 1669, he he succeeded Dr. Barrow a Lucasian Professor of Mathematics, and with a salary sufficient to meet his expenses, he devoted himself exclusively to study and teaching.

Newton entered on his University studies at least three years in advance of the average age of college students at that period, with both body and mind invigorated by wholesome labor on the farm, and by the ingenious use of tools to gratify his taste for mechanics and carpentering. The dials which he made on the walls of his family house at Woolsthorpe were cut out by Mr. Turner (the proprietor, in 1830), and presented, framed in glass for preservation, to the Royal Society, of which this son of a small farmer died the honored president. He carried his taste and habits into his studies in natural philosophy, and his practical duties as Warden and Master of the Mint. The telescope, by which he demonstrated some of his theories of light, was manufactured with his own hands in 1671.

For twenty-six years Newton made his residence in Trinity College, and was seldom out of town more than two or three weeks at a time—although during this period he was member of Parliament for the University. He lectured on Optics in the year following his appointment, as well as on Elementary Mathematics. The *Arithmetica Universalis* was taken from the lectures delivered by him on Algebra and its application to Geometry.

The great discovery of the unequal refrangibility of the rays of light was made in 1666, the year in which he was driven from Cambridge by the plague. In 1668 he resumed his inquiries, and, judging that the decomposition of light which he had discovered would render it impossible to construct refracting telescopes free from color or *achromatic*, he applied himself to the improvement of the reflecting telescope.

The researches on the colors of thin plates, and the explanation known by the name of the Theory of *Fits of Reflection and Transmission*, was communicated to the Royal Society in 1765–6. Those on the *inflection* of light, though probably made long before 1704, first appeared in that year, in his treatise on Optics.

Newton first turned his attention to the subject of matter acting upon matter as an attractive force in 1666, at Woolsthorpe; sitting alone in a garden, his thoughts turned towards that power of gravity which extends to the tops of the highest mountains, and the question whether the power which retains the moon in her orbit might not be the same force as that which gives its curvature to the flight of a stone on the earth. To deduct from what Kepler had exhibited of the laws of the planetary motions, that the force must vary inversely as the square of the distance, came within his power; but on trying the value of that force, as deduced from the moon's actual motion, with what it should be as deduced from the force of gravitation at the earth, so great a difference was found as to make him throw the subject aside. The reason of his failure was the inaccurate measure which he used of the size of the earth. In 1679 he repeated the trial with Picard's measure of the earth; and it is said that when he saw that the

* A sizar at Cambridge, in the original meaning of the word, was a student who lived by the work of his hands in some personal service to the College or its officers, while he pursued his studies. This service is no longer required, and the sizar differs from other class students only that he pay no college dues.

desired agreement was likely to appear, he became so nervous that he could not continue the calculation, but was obliged to intrust it to a friend. From that moment the great discovery must be dated; the connection of his speculations on motion with the actual phenomena of the universe was established.

At the end of 1683 Halley had been considering the question, and had been stopped by its difficulties; but, being in August, 1684, on a visit to Newton, the latter informed him of what he had done, but was not able to find his papers. After Halley's departure, he wrote them again, and sent them; upon which Halley paid another visit to Cambridge, to urge upon Newton the continuance of his researches; and (December, 1684) informed the Royal Society of them, and of Newton's promise to communicate them. In February, 1684, a communication was sent to the Society, amounting to those parts of the first Book of the Principia which relate to central forces. Newton went on with the work, and (April 21, 1686) Halley announced to the Society that 'Mr. Newton had an incomparable treatise on Motion, almost ready for the press.' On the 28th, Dr. Vincent (the husband, it is supposed, of Miss Storey) presented the manuscript of the first book to the Society, who ordered it to be printed, and Halley undertook to pay the expenses. It appeared under the title of *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, abont Midsummer, 1687, containing the mathematical discussion of the laws of solid and fluid motion, with their application to the heavenly motions, the tides, the precession of the equinoxes, &c., &c. No work on any branch of human knowledge was ever destined to effect so great a change, or to originate such important consequences.

About 1664, Newton turned his attention to the writings of Des Cartes and Wallis, and, in the path which the latter had gone over, found the celebrated Binomial Theorem: Wallis having in fact solved what would now be called a harder problem. This, far from lessening the merit of the discovery, increases it materially. In 1665 Newton arrived at his discoveries in series, and substantially at his method of fluctions. In a letter to Collins, in 1672, he states a mode of using one case of this method, confined to equations of what are called *rational terms* (it being admitted on all sides that the great pinch of the question then lay in equations of *irrational terms*). Leibnitz, who had been in England in 1673, and had heard something indefinite of what Newton had done, desired to know more; and Newton, June 13th, 1676, wrote a letter to Oldenburg, of the Royal Society, which he desired might be communicated to Leibnitz. This letter dwells on the binomial theorem, and various consequences of it; but has nothing upon fluctions. Leibnitz still desiring further information, Newton again wrote to Oldenburg, October 24th, 1676, explaining how he arrived at the binomial theorem, giving various other results, but nothing about fluctions except in what is called a cipher. In the meantime Leibnitz pursued the subject, and in June, 1677, wrote to Oldenburg a full and clear statement of everything he had arrived at; making an epoch as important in the pure mathematics as was the discovery of the moon's gravitation in the physical sciences. In the Principia, Newton acknowledges this in the following *Scholium:* 'In letters which went between me and that most excellent geometer G. G. Leibnitz, ten years ago, when I signified that I was in the knowledge of a method of determining maxima and minima, of drawing tangents and the like, and when I concealed it in transferred letters involving this sentence (*Data æquationes*, &c., as above), that most distinguished man wrote back that he had also fallen upon a method of the same kind, and communicated his method, which hardly differed from mine except in the forms of words and symbols.'

In 1694 Lord Halifax (Newton's old friend Charles Montague) became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it was one of his plans to restore the adulterated coinage. He served both his friend and his plan by making Newton warden of

the Mint, a place of five or six hundred a year (March 19, 1695). In 1699, Newton was made Master of the Mint, on which occasion he resigned to Whiston, as his deputy, the duties and emoluments of the Lucasian Professorship, and resigned to him the professorship itself in 1703. In 1701 he was again elected member for the University; but he was turned out by two sons of lords in 1705. In 1703 he was chosen President of the Royal Society, and was annually re-elected during the rest of his life. In 1706, he was knighted at Cambridge by Queen Anne. In 1709, he entrusted to Roger Cotes the preparation of the second edition of the Principia, which appeared in 1713. All the correspondence relating to the alterations made in this edition is in the library of Trinity College. In 1714, at the accession of George I., he became an intimate acquaintance of the Princess of Wales (wife of George II.), who was also a correspondent of Leibnitz. Some observations made by the latter on the philosophy of Locke and of Newton brought on the celebrated correspondence between Leibnitz and Clarke. And at the same time, an abstract of Newton's ideas on chronology, drawn up for the Princess, and at her request communicated to Conti, got abroad and was printed at Paris; on which, in his own defense, he prepared his large work on the subject. In 1726, Dr. Pemberton completed, at his request, the third edition of the Principia. With this he seems to have had little to do, for his health had been declining since 1722. He was relieved by gout in 1725. February 28, 1726–7, he presided for the last time at the Royal Society. He died of the stone (so far as so old a man can be said to die of one complaint) on the 20th of March.

His biographer, Prof. A. De Morgan, in the *Cabinet Portrait Gallery of British Worthies*, from whose article the above memoir has been drawn, does not think it right to ignore the inherited weaknesses of this remarkable man—his morbid dread of opposition, his fearful, cautious and suspicious temper, and his unwillingness to decline or give up a lucrative position as Warden of the Mint, for the glorious career as a thinker in which he had outstripped all men, and the researches which were for him alone. Thousands of his countrymen could have done all that he did for the restoration of the coinage, but hardly one of the thousand would have kept himself as unspotted, or even unsuspected of pecuniary or moral taint, in such licentious and corrupted surroundings.

The mind of Newton, as a philosopher, is to this day, and to the most dispassionate readers of his works, the object of the same sort of wonder with which it was regarded by his contemporaries. We can compare it with nothing which the popular reader can understand, except the idea of a person who is superior to others in every kind of athletic exercise; who can outrun his competitors with a greater weight than any one of them can lift standing. There is a union, in excessive quantity, of different kinds of force: a combination of the greatest mathematician with the greatest thinker upon experimental truths; of the most sagacious observer with the deepest reflector. Not infallible, but committing, after the greatest deliberation, a mistake in a single point of mathematics, such as might have happened to any one: yet so happy in his conjectures, as to seem to know more than he could possibly have had any means of proving. Carrying his methods to such a point that his immediate successors could not clear one step in advance of him until they had given the weapons with which himself and Leibnitz had furnished them a complete new edge, yet apparently solicitous to hide his use of the most efficient of these weapons, and to give his researches the appearance of having been produced by something as much as possible resembling older methods. We append a letter addressed by this great philosopher to a friend about to visit the Continent, to show the practical side of his mind. We shall also give a brief memoir of his friend Halley.

LETTER OF SIR ISAAC NEWTON TO FRANCIS ASTON.*

Trinity College, Cambridge,
May, 18, 1669.

SIR,

Since in your letter you give mee so much liberty of spending my judgement about what may be to your advantage in travelling, I shall do it more freely than perhaps otherwise would have been decent. First, then, I will lay down some general rules, most of which, I believe, you have considered already; but if any of them be new to you, they may excuse the rest; if none at all, yet is my punishment more in writing than yours in reading.

When you come into any fresh company, 1. Observe their humours. 2. Suit your own carriage thereto, by which insinuation you will make their converse more free and open. 3. Let your discours be more in querys and doubtings than peremptory assertions or disputings, it being the designe of travellers to learne, not to teach. Besides, it will persuade your acquaintance that you have the greater esteem of them, and soe make them more ready to communicate what they know to you; whereas nothing sooner occasions disrepect and quarrels than peremtorinesse. You will find little or no advantage in seeming wiser or much more ignorant than your company. 4. Seldom discommend any thing though never so bad, or doe it but moderately, lest you be unexpectedly forced to an unhansom retraction. It is safer to commend any thing more than it deserves, than to discommend a thing soe much as it deserves; for condemnations meet not soe often with oppositions, or, at least, are not usually soe ill resented by men that think otherwise, as discommendations; and you will insinuate into men's favour by nothing sooner than seeming to approve and commend what they like; but beware of doing it by a comparison. 5. If you bee affronted, it is better, in a forraine country, to pass it by in silence, and with a jest, though with some dishonour, than to endeavour revenge; for, in the first case, your credit's ne'er the worse when you return into England, or come into other company that have not heard of the quarrell. But, in the second case, you may bear the marks of the quarrell while you live, if you outlive it at all. But, if you find yourself unavoidably engaged, 'tis best, I think, if you can command your passion and language, to keep them pretty evenly at some certain moderate pitch, not much hightning them to exasperate your adver-

* Mr. Aston, to whom Newton, then a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, (aged 26), addressed a letter, on the eve of his departure for a tour of observation on the Continent, was a member of the same College, and in 1678 became Fellow of the Royal Society, in which he held the office of Secretary from 1681 to 1683.

tain vitrioll came from thence (called Roman vitrioll), but of a nobler virtue than that which is now called by that name; which vitrioll is not now to be gotten, because, perhaps, they make a greater gain by some such trick as turning iron into copper with it than by selling it. 2. Whether, in Hungary, Sclavonia, Bohemia, near the town Eila, or at the mountains of Bohemia near Silesia, there be rivers whose waters are impregnated with gold; perhaps, the gold being dissolved by some corrosive waters like *aqua regis*, and the solution carried along with the streame, that runs through the mines. And whether the practice of laying mercury in the rivers till it be tinged with gold, and then straining the mercury through leather, that the gold may stay behind, be a secret yet, or openly practised. 3. There is newly contrived, in Holland, a mill to grind glasses plane withall, and I think polishing them too; perhaps it will be worth the while to see it. 4. There is in Holland one —— Borry, who some years since was imprisoned by the Pope, to have extorted from him secrets (as I am told) of great worth, both as to medicine and profit, but he escaped into Holland, where they have granted him a guard. I think he usually goes clothed in green. Pray inquire what you can of him, and whether his ingenuity be any profit to the Dutch. You may inform yourself whether the Dutch have any tricks to keep their ships from being all worm-eaten in their vogages to the Indies. Whether pendulum clocks do any service in finding out the longitude, &c.

I am very weary, and shall not stay to part with a long compliment, only I wish you a good journey, and God be with you.

Is. Newton.

Pray let us hear from you in your travells. I have given your two books to Dr. Arrowsmith.

In a letter to Dr. Bentley (Dec. 10, 1692,) Sir Isaac (then Mr.) Newton remarks, that in composing the Third Book of the Principia, 'he had an eye upon such principles as might work, with considering men, for the belief of a Deity, and he expresses his happiness that it has been found useful for that purpose.'

The modesty of this great philosopher is a remarkable feature in his character. 'I do not know what I may appear to the world; but to myself I seem to have been only like a boy playing on the sea-shore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell then ordinary, while the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me.'

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EDMUND HALLEY—QUEEN'S COLLEGE.

EDMUND HALLEY, the friend of Newton, to whose persistent urgency the world is indebted for the completion and publication of the *Principia*, was born near London, October 29, 1656—the son of a wealthy soap-boiler. He was educated at St. Paul's School, and in 1673, before he was quite seventeen, entered Queen's College, Oxford. He was strong in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and stronger in mathematics and astronomy; he had discovered for himself the alteration of the variation of the needle, before he found in books that it was already known. In 1676 he commenced his career by publishing in the Philosophical Transactions a direct geometrical method of finding the aphelia and eccentricities of the planets.

His biographer, Prof. De Morgan, in the *Cabinet Portrait Gallery*, after noticing his voyage to St. Helena to help make a catalogue of the stars in the southern hemisphere, on an allowance from his father of £300 a year; his creation of Master of Arts by royal mandate in 1678; his election as Fellow of the Royal Society in the same year, of which he became Secretary in 1713; Superintendent of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich in 1720; and his death, at the age of 86, January 14, 1741-42, adds:

We need do no more than name, as prominent instances of his success, among labors which are less generally understood, his discovery of the long inequality of Jupiter and Saturn—his southern catalogue of stars—his magnetic charts—his editions of the Greek Geometer Apollonius—his important discovery, from the Chaldean eclipses, of the acceleration of the moon's mean motion—his famous prediction of the return of the comet which now bears his name—his explanation of the appearance of Venus by day—his recommendation of the transit of that planet for the determination of the sun's distance—his application of the barometer to the measurement of heights—his theory of the trade-winds—his estimation of the vapor raised from the sea—his algebraical researches on equations—his learned and decisive inquiry into the circumstances of the landing of Julius Cæsar in Britain—his tables of mortality, the first constructed, made from the registers at Breslau—his researches in the application of Algebra to the theory of leases, which turned Lagrange, at the age of seventeen, from a follower of the ancient geometry to one of the modern analysis—his improvements in logarithms—his improvements in the diving-bell. The celebrated prediction on the comet was published in 1705, and was the result of a calculation of the orbits of a large number of recorded comets.

There is no one of the multifarious branches of knowledge which Halley cultivated in which he did not prove himself capable of surpassing all his contemporaries, except only Newton in mathematics and physics. He realizes the idea of the admirable Crichton. Such varied knowledge, so deep in all its parts, such universal energy, so equally distributed through a long life—have hardly a parallel. If any one were to ask which he thought most likely, another Halley or another Newton, that is, as extraordinary a man as the former or as the latter, we should reply—without denying the vast superiority of Newton in those points in which he was superior—that we should think the second more reasonably to be expected than the first. Wherever Halley laid his hand, to do work out out by himself, he left the mark of the most vigorous intellect, the soundest judgment, the most indomitable courage against difficulties.

Halley was a mathematician of the first order, called off by a love of application from the enlargement of the bonds of the exact sciences; but carrying away with him a power in those sciences which never, that we know of, failed him in his need, except in the great question, the solution of which was reserved for Newton.

RICHARD BENTLEY—TRINITY COLLEGE.

Richard Bentley was born at Oulton, near Leeds, in Yorkshire, January 27, 1662—his father being a 'yeoman,' and his mother the daughter of a stonemason. The son received his early classical training from Jeremiah Boulton, in the Wakefield Grammar School. He was admitted sizar of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1676, became a scholar on the Dowman foundation in 1679, and on taking his first degree ranked on the present scheme as third wrangler. He became head master of the grammar school at Spalding in 1680, and accepted the office of domestic tutor to the son of Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, Dean at St. Paul, and subsequently Bishop of Winchester, in 1682. In 1689 he removed to Oxford with his pupil, and was incorporated Master of Arts in 1689. In 1691 he received deacon's orders, and in 1692 delivered the first series of the *Boyle Lectures* on Natural and Revealed Religion. He had in the meantime achieved a European reputation by the publication of his *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris*, and through the influence of Dr. Stillingfleet he became librarian of the King's library at St. James'. By his influence the Cambridge University Press was equipped with new type and put on a reputable foundation. In 1695 he was made rector of Hartlebury, and chaplain in ordinary to the King, and in 1696 he was created Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge. In 1697 he produced another *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris*, which involved him in a literary controversy with the best scholars and brightest wits of England, in which he was and is still regarded victor.

MASTERSHIP OF TRINITY COLLEGE *

The foundation of Trinity College, Cambridge, is said to have been "the first fruit of the Reformation." Henry VIII., about a month before his death, appropriated to the establishment of that college a part of the revenues of the spoliated monasteries. "The price of a dog, and the hire of a harlot," say the Rabbins, "shall not be put to any holy purpose," and even the Jewish priest, who murdered the Lord of life, refused to put the price of blood into their treasury. But the price of much blood, the hire of much spiritual prostitution, constituted the original treasury of that corporation, whose *name* now being utterly disconnected with all religious associations, and giving rise to innumerable irreverent puns, might very fitly be changed. Its first days were dark and turbid, no wonder, yet it received a body of statutes from Edward VI., that blossom of royalty, whose beautiful youth, and timely death, preserved the house of Tudor from utter execration, who, happily for himself, if not for England, was called away before his mother's milk was well out of his veins, and before any of his father's venom was ripened. Queen Elizabeth, who united the best and worst of both sexes, her grandfather's craft and frugality, her father's courage and cruelty, and her poor mother's vanity, gave another set of statutes, and from the apparent discrepancy of these codes, much of the long enigma of Bentley's litigations was compounded. The college flourished mightily. At one time, the two archbishops and seven bishops were its *alumni*. It could boast of Coke, and Bacon; of Barrow, and Newton. Nor ever, till this time, has it lacked pupils who glory in its name, and in whose names it well may glory.

Contrary to the constitution of most colleges, Trinity is obliged to accept a master at the appointment of the crown. William III., during the life of his queen, devolved all literary and religious patronage upon her, who was regarded, even by the conforming clergy, as the true sovereign, while her consort was considered as little more than commander-in-chief. Even the royal library was called the Queen's library. After Mary's death, William, displaying herein the rare knowledge of his own ignorance, committed to six

* The following account of Bentley's Mastership of Trinity College is abridged from *Lives of Northern Worthies*. By Hartley Coleridge, 3 vols., *Richard Bentley* in Vol. I.

prelates the responsible task of recommending fit persons for all vacant bishoprics, deaneries, and other ecclesiastical preferments, as well as headships and professorships in the royal patronage. It was a wise act, and had it been followed in spirit by his successors, the Church had never been, as now, a loose card in the hands of state gamblers. The original members of this commission were Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury; Sharp, of York; Lloyd, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; Burnet, of Sarum; Stillingfleet, of Worcester, and Patrick, of Ely. On the death of Stillingfleet, in 1699, Moore, Bishop of Norwich, was advanced to his place; and Dr. Montague being promoted to the deanery of Durham, Bentley was recommended by them to the vacant headship of Trinity College, Cambridge.

On the first of February, 1700, Bentley was installed Master of Trinity College,—looked upon by Europe as her first scholar, and by England as the tutor of her future sovereign. But the hand of Providence was heavy on the house of Stuart. William, Duke of Gloucester, died July 29, 1700, and so prevented Bentley from sharing the honors of Fénélon, as the preceptor of a possible good king, or the disgrace of Seneca, as the instructor of an actual Nero.

His first step on entering into the office was of a very inauspicious description. A dividend from the surplus money had been fixed in December, 1699, to be paid, agreeably to the custom of the college, to the masters and fellows for the year ending at Michaelmas. The master's share, amounting to 170*l.*, was clearly due to Dr. Montague, whose resignation took place in November, but by some accident it had not been disbursed to him. Bentley, immediately upon his admission, claimed this sum, as being profits accruing during the vacancy, and therefore payable to the new master, and by terrifying the treasurer, who declined paying it, with a threat of bringing him before the Archbishop of Canterbury, he actually obtained the money.

It so happened, that, at Bentley's accession, the Master's lodge at Trinity was very much in want of repair. He, who was a member of the same club with Sir Christopher Wren, and whose spirit was a sojourner in Athens, must needs have had magnificent ideas of architecture; and if he had very inadequate calculations of the expense attending the realization of such ideas, the errors of his arithmetic ought not to impugn the integrity of his principles. Yet the expensiveness of these improvements,—the long bills he ran up with masons, carpenters, *glaziers*, &c., and the violent means whereby he enforced payment at the college expense, were the chief ostensible pretexts of the quarrel between Bentley and his college! Its real causes, however, we believe to have lain much deeper.

In the first year of his mastership, Bentley became Vice-Chancellor, being chosen agreeably to the custom of the University, as a senior in degree among the Heads of houses, who had not already served in that office. Owing, probably, to his inexperience in University business, very few matters of importance were transacted during the year of Bentley's vice-chancellorship. One of its duties seems to consist in giving of dinners, which, owing perhaps to the unfinished state of his lodge, he did not fulfil to general satisfaction. Yet, considering that he was then engaged in the important business of winning and marrying a wife, he might fairly have been exempted from the charge of inhospitality. He had long cherished an attachment to Mrs. Joanna Bernard, a lady who had been a visitor in Bishop Stillingfleet's family. She was daughter of Sir John Bernard, in Huntingdonshire. Being now raised to a station of dignity and competence, he succeeded in obtaining the object of his affections, and was united to her at Windsor, having previously obtained a royal dispensation, under the Great Seal, for deviating from Queen Elizabeth's statutes, which enjoined celibacy to the master as well as

to the fellows of Trinity College. This marriage appears to have been eminently happy. The lady, who continued the partaker of his joys and sorrows for nearly forty years, is described as possessing the most amiable and valuable qualities.

In the course of Bentley's year of office, he had an opportunity of displaying his spirit and decision, in upholding the rights of the University against the mayor and corporation of Cambridge, who had given permission and encouragement to players to perform at Sturbridge fair without the sanction of the Vice-Chancellor, and in defiance of his authority. His vindication of these privileges, granted by charters and acts of parliament, was essential to the discipline of the place, and we may judge from the practice of subsequent times, that the prompt interference of Dr. Bentley on this occasion was productive of good and permanent effects.

At the general election, in November, 1701, Cambridge returned to parliament Mr. Isaac Newton. Never can she hope again to be so represented. Yet the philosopher must have felt rather out of his element among the squires and courtiers in St. Stephen's. It is needless to say that Bentley voted for his illustrious friend.

During the first five years of his mastership, the Doctor made several innovations in college discipline, some of which, though reluctantly received at first, are still maintained with advantage. He improved the system of examinations for fellowships and scholarships, and abolished the truly electioneering custom which obliged the candidates to keep open hospitality at a tavern during the four days. He extended the penalty of three-halfpence for absence from chapel, which had been exacted from undergraduates only, to the lower half of the sixty fellows. He altered the hour of the Saturday evening Latin declamations, much to the scandal of some of the seniors, and decreed that the head lecturer, and four sub-lecturers, should be fined eightpence and fourpence respectively, according to the statute, if they neglected to lecture and examine daily in the hall. Another, and very unpopular exertion of his authority, certainly, seemed to reflect on the fellows in a very tender concern. A pecuniary mulct was appointed by statute on any person leaving table before grace. Now the fellows, not relishing the surveillance of a number of impatient youths upon the protraction of their repast, were in the habit of permitting the younger students to leave hall at pleasure, and laying a fine of twopence weekly on all, whether present or absent. This imposition, the master, by his sole prerogative, annulled, and gave free permission to depart before grace, without punishment; alleging, as his ground, "the unreasonable delays at meals, at some of the fellows' tables." After a feast comes a fast. There had been no supper allowed in hall on Friday. Bentley, overruling the scruples of the superstitious, ordered that there should be a flesh-supper in hall on that day, in order to prevent the youths from satisfying their appetites in more exceptionable places. He also obliged the noblemen and fellow-commoners to attend chapel, and perform college exercises, as well as the other students. In all this, there was nothing objectionable; but Bentley carried all with a high hand, scarcely deigning to consult the eight seniors, his statutable advisers.

He also took upon himself to expel a member of the college, who had been twice detected by the proctor at a house of ill-fame, and sundry times at a dissenting meeting-house. In dismissing a profligate hypocrite, the master would surely have met with the support of his fellows; but there was an informality in the manner of doing it, which hereafter furnished matter of complaint.

Meanwhile, a question was discussing, which, though of little public

interest, concerned the college deeply. It was disputed, whether absolute seniority could take place of seniority of degree;—whether, for instance, a Master of Arts, ranking fifty in the list of fellows, should have preoption of chambers or livings over a Doctor of Divinity ranking only forty-nine. Bentley generally contended for priority of degree; alleging, that the disuse of divinity degrees had caused a neglect of study in the college. And most true it is, that when a man is once fellow, though he has all the opportunities in the world for acquiring learning, he has no further incentive As far as the University is concerned, he has attained his *ultimatum*; no subsequent examination displays his maturer acquirements—elicits how much he may have acquired, or exposes how much he may have forgotten In Bentley's reign, the preparatory exercises for a Doctor's degree were not absolutely formal. They showed at least that the candidate could still speak Latin. As to the matter of the thesis and disputations, as orthodoxy only allowed one conclusion, and one decision, it never could be much varied. The battle was sold, and who cares how scientific the sparring might be? But Bentley wished that the fellows of Trinity should graduate in the higher faculties, *i. e*, law, physic, and divinity; and certainly, the words of the statute do, in our disinterested opinion, clearly define the highest graduate, not the senior member, as having the right of preoption. It is a pity that college statutes are not written in English or Latin, or some other intelligible language. At present, they are in a *lingo* that never was spoken on earth, and which can only be justified on the principles of those enthusiasts, who think a language clearly divine, because it was never human.

So passed the first five years of Bentley's mastership. Meanwhile, King William, whose merits as a deliverer were soon forgotton when it was found that a parliamentary king was rather more expensive than a *jure divino* monarch, had died, and Queen Anne, deservedly the favorite of the clergy and of the Universities, succeeded to the undivided allegiance of a then loyal people. She had already gladdened Oxford with her presence, and in 1705, she conceded to Cambridge the costly honor of a royal visitation. A royal visit to a University is, or might be called, *dunce's holiday*, for then degrees are conferred on all whom royalty appoints, without the statutable qualifications and exercises. Upon this occasion Newton knelt down, plain mister, and arose Sir Isaac. It is the glory of knighthood that such a man deigned to accept it, but it must have been a whimsical spectacle to see a woman holding a sword in an assembly of parsons, to bestow upon a man of peace an order essentially military.

About this time Parliament purchased the library of Sir Robert Cotton, a useful collector, whose name is connected with some of the rarest treasures of literature. Bentley, as royal librarian, was entrusted with this welcome charge. Apartments were fitted up for him in Cotton House. He spent a considerable part of every year in town, where his talents obtained admission to the highest circles, and his advancement to the bench was regarded as certain; and certain it might have been, had he possessed the requisite pliancy of temper, for in no age was mere talent, of whatever kind, at so high a premium.

During the year 1707, Edward Viscount Hinchinbrooke, Lord Kingston and his brother, and Sir Charles Kenys, were his private pupils, and inmates of the lodge. For the head of a college to take pupils is a thing now scarcely known, and perhaps never usual. Probably the fellows felt quite as much aggrieved at the injury done to themselves, as at the degradation of the Master's dignity. The tutorship of a noble youth is generally the first step in the ladder of preferment; a good thing in hand, (for such as posses s

the necessary assiduity and suppleness) and a bill upon the future, which seldom fails to be honored. It is not wonderful, therefore, that the fellows of Trinity murmured at the expense incurred on account of the Master's pupils. What they had to pay was probably a trifle, but what they lost in expectation (and every college tutor would set down to his own creditor account the whole possible gain of each titled or honorable pupil, even to the contingent of a mitre, as sure and personal loss) was as large as their hopes or their wishes. At all events, this measure of Bentley's excited much clamor. It would shock a mother of the present water-drinking day, to be informed that the residence of those young gentlemen in the lodge occasioned an alarming increase in the consumption of college ale.

From these and other causes, complaints against Bentley became louder and louder and he was openly taxed with greediness and meanness, in saddling the college with the support of his own boarders, with whom he received not less than 200*l.* a year. He attempted to silence all murmurs by extolling the honor done to the society by these young patricians (which honor, by the way, he pretty well monopolized himself), and by referring to three sash windows which he had put into their apartments at his own expense!

However, regardless of the feelings and purses of the then population of Trinity, Bentley was indefatigable in promoting the glory and welfare of the college as a state. In one year (1706) he laid the foundation of an observatory and of a chemical laboratory. The first was destined to assist the observations of Roger Cotes, first Plumian Professor of Astronomy, of whom, after his early decease, Newton says, "If Cotes had lived, we should have had something." The laboratory was devoted to the researches of the Veronese Vigani, an ingenious foreigner, who cultivated a science but just beginning to deliver itself from the avaricious quackery of the alchemists. Vigani may be called the first Cambridge Lecturer on Chemistry; and no successor was appointed for some years after his death. It was Bentley's design to make his college the focus of all the science and information in the kingdom, and to make it an edifice worthy of the learning he wished it to contain. But even the most obvious improvements were regarded with an eye of suspicion; and his taste for architecture, which he gratified unscrupulously at the college expense, incurred great, and not altogether unfounded, odium. His own lodge he had repaired, or rather re-edified, at a cost originally calculated at 200*l.*, but which amounted to somewhere about 1,000*l.*, exclusive of a new staircase, which he erected in defiance of the direct refusal of the Bursar (the academic chancellor of the exchequer), and unsanctioned by the Seniors. For this staircase the fellows absolutely denied payment. But Bentley had, as he expressed it, "a rusty sword, wherewith he subdued all opposition." This was an obsolete statute, compelling the whole body of fellows to almost perpetual residence. Were all corporations invested with a power to accommodate their institutes to ever-changing circumstances, and did they make a wise and provident use of that power, law would not so often be the power of iniquity. By the terrors of the "rusty sword," and other threats of a like nature, the autocrat of Trinity at length enforced the discharge of a debt of 850*l.*, incurred against the consent of those who had to pay it. Nor were the stretches of his authority confined to matters of finance. In the distribution of honors, offices, and preferments; in the infliction of penalties, even to confiscation and exile (so far as he could inflict them), he was equally arbitrary. Whoever opposed him was certain to be excluded from every reward of merit, and to receive something more than justice for the first alleged offence. That his severer measures were absolutely and substantially unjust is by no means clear; but he pro-

ceeded to extremities without either consulting his legal assessors, or even waiting for legally convicting evidence. Of two fellows, whom he expelled in 1708, the guilt admits of little doubt, for one of them, John Wyvil, confessed to the act of purloining and melting down the college plate; the other, John Durant Brevel, hereafter designed to figure along with Bentley himself in the Dunciad, was more than suspected of what (Christian) men call adultery, and (heathen) gods, a platonic friendship for a married lady. But they were both punished unconstitutionally by the Master's sole prerogative, and their offences were forgotten in the danger of liberty.

The fellows of Trinity only waited for a tangible pretext, and a bold leader, to throw off that allegiance which they conceived to be forfeited by lawless tyranny. The pretext occurred in Bentley's project for a new division of the college funds. The leader appeared in the person of Miller, a lay fellow, and a rising barrister, who was accustomed to visit his University friends at the Christmas vacation, and chanced to come just when this revolutionary proposal of the Master's had struck "a panic of property."

In order to comprehend the nature and extent of the change contemplated, it is necessary to state that the original endowment allotted to each fellow, free chambers and commons, with stipends varying according to their degrees, viz.:—for a Doctor of Divinity, 5*l.*; a Bachelor of Divinity, 4*l.*; a Master of Arts, 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* These, with a small sum for dress, were the whole emoluments for fellowship. As these sums became insufficient, through the depreciation of money, and as the college funds increased, several alterations had taken place in the distribution, not necessary to be here recounted; in particular, the advance in the value of a fellowship was made to depend upon standing solely, without any regard to superiority of degree, which removed one great incentive to graduate in the higher faculties. Now it was Bentley's plan to restore the original ratio, by multiplying the sum mentioned in the statutes by ten, so as to give 50*l.* to a Doctor, 40*l.* to a Bachelor of Divinity, and 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d* to a Master of Arts:—but of course the Master's own stipend was to be settled according to the same proportion. Now the original foundation allotted the Master 100*l.* for stipend and commons together, without specifying how much should be reckoned for stipend alone. Bentley chose to state it as 85*l.*; but as a demand for 850*l.* "at one fell swoop" was rather too alarming, he offered to content himself with 800*l.* This being resisted, he lowered his claims to 400*l.*, and then to 200*l.*, which, of itself, was not unreasonable; and had it covered the whole of his estimates, it is probable that the measure might have been carried, and peace restored to the society. But the worst was behind. By regular custom, the master was supplied with certain articles, as bread, beer, coals, candles, oil, linen, etc., from the public stock, and no definite limit had been set to his consumption. Bentley's enormous demands in these particulars, which really seem incredible, had given rise to much clamor, and must have been intended to reconcile the college to any mode he might suggest of getting rid of a burden at once exorbitant and uncertain. He offered, therefore, to accept 700*l.* a year in lieu of all allowances. The mere amount of the demand was not the only objection. It tended to make him altogether independent of the seniority. The *budget*, therefore, when first introduced, in 1708, had a very cold reception. He had recourse to various methods to procure its adoption; altered several details, but always came to the same conclusion as to the sum total The fellows continued to demur. He endeavored to promote a petition in favor of his budget among the junior fellows—a measure not likely to conciliate the seniority. At length he had recourse to the violent expedient of stopping the supplies, and was just proceeding to

extremities when Miller arrived, at the conclusion of 1709, to raise the standard of open revolt. He declared the Master's demands to be altogether unreasonable, and suggested the possibility of obtaining redress by appealing to a higher authority. Bentley was not the man to yield to menace. Conference followed conference. Ill blood and ill language ensued. The Master denounced lawyers as the most ignominious people in the universe—told one senior fellow that he would die in his shoes, and called another "the college dog;" and finally pronounced his fatal malediction—"From henceforward, farewell peace to Trinity College." So saying, he set off for London.

No sooner was he gone than Miller, conceiving that the Master intended to petition the queen in council, advised his comrades to have the first word, and lay their complaints before a competent authority. He drew up a statement of grievances, which was subscribed by the sixteen senior fellows present in college, and by eight of the juniors, notwithstanding some objection from Dr. Colbatch, Professor of Casuistry, who, as he was the slowest to enter into the quarrel, was the most perseverant in prosecuting it. No sooner was Bentley informed of this unexpected step, than he hastened back from town "with the speed of a general who hears of a mutiny among his troops during his absence, and resolves to arrest its progress by making a summary example of the ringleaders" On the 13th of January he caused Miller's name to be struck off the college boards. On the 19th it was restored by the Vice-Master and eight seniors; and on the 24th it was again struck off by Bentley. Compromise became hopeless, and both parties flew to arms.

For all important disputes which can arise in the different colleges, about forty-five in number, which compose the English universities, the final appeal lies to the visitor. In the present case a difficulty arose as to who was visitor. The statutes of Edward VI. appoint the Bishop of Ely to that function. Those of Elizabeth are silent as to the general right of visitation, which might therefore be presumed to abide in the crown as representative of the founder; but by the fortieth article the Bishop of Ely is appointed visitor in case of misconduct on the part of the master. To this prelate, then Bishop Moore, an early friend of Bentley, and munificent patron of literature, a petition was addressed, containing a summary in fifty-four articles, in the form of interrogatory, of Bentley's real and supposed misdemeanors, signed by the Vice-Master and twenty-nine fellows. Many of the counts may be fairly pronounced frivolous and vexatious. . . . The articles were published under the form of a pamphlet, and Bentley replied in a printed address to the Bishop, whose jurisdiction he nevertheless denied, a composition of more acerbity than elegance, containing more recrimination than explanation, and throwing the onus of the quarrel on the sottish habits and Jacobite politics of his oppugners.

The Doctor had not scrupled to assert that the poverty which the fellows of Trinity ascribed to his exactions was wholly owing to the additional tax on claret; and his lady did not fail to take the advantage which a female reign always affords to scandal in the guise of morality. But the main manager in the matter was Harley, the Lord Treasurer, a circuitous fine gentleman, to whom Bentley addressed a *projet* of a royal letter, in which every point was decided in his own favor, and the Master enjoined "to chastise all license among the fellows." But such downright dealing did not accord with the views of the wily politician. It is uncertain whether this bold stroke came to the ears of the enemy, but certain it is that, on the twenty-first of November, Bentley received a peremptory summons to answer the articles against him by the eighteenth of December.

Bentley, being thus at bay, at first thought of appealing to Convocation; but, finding that he was likely to be anticipated in that quarter, and perhaps expecting little favor from his brethren of the clergy, he resolved on a petition to the Queen, setting forth that her Majesty, as representative of the royal founder, was the rightful visitor, and that the assumption of the visitatorial functions by a subject was an invasion of her prerogative; finally throwing himself and his cause on her Majesty's protection. This petition met with immediate attention. Mr. Secretary St John directed the Attorney and Solicitor-General to examine the allegations on both sides, and make a report thereon with all convenient speed. At the same time the Attorney-General was to signify to the Bishop of Ely her Majesty's pleasure that all proceedings be staid till the question should be decided in whom the right of visitation lay. Bishop Moore, in his reply, expressed a cheerful acquiescence and confidence that her Majesty would never deprive him of any right belonging to his See. The 2d January, 1710–11, was appointed for hearing the cause. Sir Peter King, afterwards Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Miller, appeared as counsel for the fellows. No less than five months elapsed before the law officers could make their report to government. This document delivers a cautious opinion that the master is subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Ely, whereupon Bentley memorialized the Prime Minister, Harley (who had just been created Earl of Oxford and Lord High Treasurer), asking for a direct interposition of the crown in his own favor. The result of this memorial was an order from the Minister, that the report of the Attorney and Solicitor-General be laid before the Lord Keeper, Sir Simon Harcourt, and all the crown lawyers; and a letter from Secretary St. John to Bishop Moore, signifying her Majesty's desire that all proceedings should be staid. Thus the leaning of government was sufficiently obvious, and Bentley secured sufficient respite to set the last hand to his Horace. We hear no more of the college quarrels during the remainder of 1711; nor did the prosecution advance much more rapidly in the course of 1712. The crown lawyers, after more than seven months' deliberation, decided, January 9, that the crown was Visitor-General of the College, but that the Bishop of Ely possessed, under the 40th statute, the power of hearing and deciding upon the charges against the Master; adding, that it was in the power of the crown, with consent of the college, to alter the visitatorial authority.

The crown did not interfere, the interdict continued, and the fellows looked for relief in the reports which were circulated that Bentley was to be appointed to the Deanery of Lichfield. But in the meantime the Master was not idle. He determined to starve his opponents to a surrender, and to show the fellows that, if they were not content to receive what he chose, in such proportion as he chose, and allow him to appropriate as much as he chose, they should have nothing at all. Having manœuvred poor old Stubbe, the senior of his opponents, out of the Vice-Mastership, and put a more manageable person in his place, he proceeded, at the Winter audit, 1712–13, to interdict a dividend, unless his plan of distribution was accepted. Thus writes the aged ex-Vice-Master to the Earl of Oxford:—"Dr. Bentley, I hear, at the auditing of our college accounts, refused to vote a dividend of the remaining money, in order to starve the poor members into an acquiescence under his base and unworthy measures. Our college, my lord, though it be dutiful and silent, is in a very wretched condition; and if your lordship please to look upon it with compassion, you will be a second founder to us. My lord, I cannot ask pardon for this without remembering my former offences of this nature; but I cannot doubt either of your lordship's pardon, or of the success of my petition, when I consider that I speak for a nursery

of learning to my Lord of Oxford." Whether Harley, who prided himself in the reputation of a Mecænas, was touched with compassion, or cajoled by flattery, to interest himself for the starving fellows, or whether he only prescribed patience, a cruel prescription to the hungry, we know not. Certainly Bentley's expectations of submission from his opponents, and of protracted interposition from the minister, were disappointed. Miller would be put off no longer, and resolved to bring the matter before the Court of Queen's Bench. Stubbe apprised the Treasurer that all endeavors to prevent the cause coming to a hearing would probably be vain, as the court would not allow the validity of the royal, or, in good sooth, ministerial prohibition, while the discussion of a point of prerogative could do little good to a tottering administration; which argument, whether urged by the ex-Vice-Master or not, determined the ministry to take off the embargo, and Secretary St. John, now Lord Bolingbroke, wrote to Bishop Moore, "giving him the Queen's permission to proceed as far as by law he was empowered." Before the end of the Easter Term, 1713, the affair of Trinity College was first brought into court by Mr. Page* obtaining a rule for the Bishop to show cause why a mandamus should not issue to compel him to discharge his judicial functions. After a full year's delay, arising partly from forms of law, of which delay appears to be the only assignable object, and partly from the avocations of the Judges, and the disturbed state of the nation, in the month of May, 1714, the trial of Bentley actually commenced. The large hall of Ely House was converted into a court of justice, where written evidence was produced in support and refutation of the fifty-four articles against the Master of Trinity College, which being put into an interrogatory form, they read sometimes rather ludicrously. As *e. g.* conceive the following questions put by a learned Judge, or Reverend Bishop, to a Doctor of Divinity, a public guardian of the morals, manners, and orthodoxy of ingenuous youth: 32. "Why did you use scurrilous words and language to several of the fellows, particularly by calling Mr. Eden an ass, and Mr. Rashleigh the college dog: by telling Mr. Cock he *would die in his shoes*, and calling many others *fools* and *sots*, and other scurrilous names?" Or, 33, "Why did you profanely and blasphemously use and apply several expressions in the Scripture? As 'he that honors me, him will I honor.' 'I set life or death before you, choose you whether,' or to that effect." Or, 12, "When by false and base practices, as by threatening to bring letters from court, visitations, and the like, and at other times by boasting of your great interest and acquaintance, and that you were the genius of the age, . . . why, &c.?" Or, 10, "Why have you, for many years past, wasted the college bread, ale, beer, coals, wood, turf, sedge, charcoal, linen, pewter, corn, flour, brawn, and bran, viz., 40,000 penny loaves, 60,000 half-penny loaves, 14,000 gallons of ale, 20,000 gallons of beer, 600 chaldron of coals, 60,000 billets of wood, 1,000 hundreds of turf, 100 loads of sedge, 500 bushels of charcoal, 100 ells of Holland, 400 ells of diaper and other linen, 5,000 ounces of pewter, 100 bushels of corn, 400 bushels of flour, 300 bushels of bran, and other goods to the value of 3,000*l.* or other great sum, in expending the same, not only on yourself, but upon your wife, children, and boarders, and that in a very extravagant manner, by causing your servants to make whole meals upon the

* This Page was afterwards a Judge of "hanging" notoriety, whom Pope has "damn'd to everlasting fame."

"Poison, or slander dread, from Delia's rage,
Hard words, or hanging, if your Judge be Page."
IMITATIONS OF HORACE.

"And dies, if Dullness gives her Page the word."
DUNCIAD.

said college bread and beer only (you not allowing them either flesh, cheese, or butter with the same), and by many other ways?" We presume that these counts were not read aloud in Ely House in the presence of the accused, as the whole business was conducted by written affidavits, whereof no less than twenty-seven were sworn against the Master, nor does it appear that any one of the complainants declined to support his signature upon oath.

The first and second articles refer to the Master's appropriation of certain sums, which of right belonged to his predecessor, and to the misapplication of the said sums. The third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, to the expenditure in rebuilding and fitting up the Lodge, which is roundly stated at 1,500*l.*, and to the unwarrantable means taken to enforce payment of the same. The seventh goes so far as to charge Bentley with obtaining money under pretence of paying workmen, and diverting it to other purposes.

The ninth, absurdly enough, asks Dr. Bentley why he married; and why, having married, he brought his wife into college. It is wonderful that some of his prosecutors should hazard a question which might have been retorted with such bitter effect upon themselves; and somewhat remarkable how unwillingly Queen Elizabeth permitted the marriage of the clergy.

The tenth, thirtieth, thirty-first and forty-fourth, relate to waste of the college goods, and exorbitant demands upon its funds. The twelfth and thirteenth, to the staircase business (a discreditable job altogether). The fourteenth, to the allotment of college chambers (*seems* frivolous at this distance of time, but might be very serious at the commencement of the last century). The fifteenth, to unlawful interference with the appointment of officers, in which the Master appears to have been culpable and inconsistent. The seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-first, twenty-sixth, and twenty-seventh, to punishments inflicted without due conviction, or the consent of the seniority. The twenty-second regards the expulsion of Miller. The twenty-third, fortieth, and fifty-second, allege certain irregularities and omissions in the chapel service (which, for any spiritual benefit derived from it, might as well be omitted altogether). As for the "founder's prayers," Bentley was quite right in letting them alone; for they are a mere apology for masses, and where the belief of purgatory does not obtain, have no meaning whatever. The forty-third and forty-fourth articles relate to the new scheme of dividends. The thirty-seventh and forty-seventh, to the bowling-green, and another plot of ground, which Bentley had used according to his pleasure, asserting himself "to be Lord of the soil." The fifty-third complains of the observatory; one or two others, of the expense incurred in renovating the chapel and purchasing an organ; and the rest relate either to mere repetitions of former offences, or to matters of college regulation, such as the Friday's supper, the declamations in chapel, the permission to quit table before grace, and the like.

On a dispassionate review of these articles, it appears that they amount to a sort of accumulative treason against the state and liberties of Trinity College. By far the greater part of them are trifling, yet, altogether, they prove, beyond contradiction, that Bentley's views extended to absolute sovereignty, that he deemed himself irresponsible, treated the college estate as if no individual but himself had a freehold therein, and did not condescend to observe those formalities which, by a true college man, are regarded as essential to academic existence.

[After a full hearing, the Bishop, as Visitor, was about to pronounce an opinion convicting the Master of violating the statutes and wasting the goods of the college, when the entire proceedings were arrested by his death, July 31, 1714.]

Bentley's Literary Labors—1702–1704.

Before resuming our narrative of this inter-collegiate controversy, we will glance at Bentley's literary labors during the turmoil of his Mastership.* Strife and trouble seem to have been congenial to his faculties; controversy was a stimulus without which he would have slumbered. He was naturally a bird of tempest. This feature in his career was happily hit off by Arbuthnot in a squib, written in professed imitation of Swift's manner, entitled 'An Account of the State of Learning in the Empire of Lilliput, together with the History and Character of Bullum, the Emperor's Library Keeper:' "Bullum is a tall, raw-boned man, I believe near six inches and a half high. From his infancy he applied himself with great industry to the old Blefuscudian language, in which he made such a progress that he almost forgot his native Lilliputian; and at this time he can neither write nor speak two sentences without a mixture of old Blefuscudian. These qualifications, joined to an undaunted forward spirit, and a few good friends, prevailed with the Emperor's grandfather to make him keeper of his library, and a Mulro in the Gomflastru, though most men thought him fitter to be one of the Royal Guards. These places soon helped him to riches, and upon the strength of them he soon began to despise everybody, and to be despised by everybody. This engaged him in many quarrels, which he managed in a very odd manner; whenever he thought himself affronted, he immediately *flung a great book at his adversary*, and, if he could, felled him to the earth; but if his adversary stood his ground, and flung another book at him, which was sometimes done with great violence, then he complained to the Grand Justiciary, that these affronts were designed to the Emperor, and that he was singled out only as being the Emperor's servant. By this trick he got that great officer to his side, which made his enemies cautious, and him insolent. Bullum attended the court some years, but could not get into a higher post; for though he constantly wore the heels of his shoes high or low, as the fashion was, yet having a long back and a stiff neck, he never could, with any dexterity, creep under the stick which the Emperor or the chief minister held. As to his dancing on a rope, I shall speak of it presently; but the greater skill in that art will not procure a man a place at court without some agility at the stick."

In this interval Bentley contributed some highly esteemed emendations to Davies' *Tusculan Questions*, supported by able notes, and a body of conjectural alterations to Needham's edition of Hierocles on the golden verses of Pythagoras. In 1709 he procured a reprint of Newton's Principia at the

* Perhaps there was no situation in the world for which he was so unfitted as the headship of a college. Even his learning was not of that quality which is required in a preceptor or guide of juvenile studies; for his mind was too rapid to wait upon the slow development of ordinary comprehensions. He had an exquisite tact, an intuitive perception of the possibilities of language, but he had little feeling for the beauties of thought and imagery, and still less sympathy for the minds of others. He had probably quite forgotten what it was to be a learner, and could not sympathetically discover the cause of a difficulty arising from the intellectual constitution of an individual, though, as in the case of Hemsterhuis, he would infallibly indicate a deficiency of positive knowledge on any given topic. In a word, he could point out what was to be learned, but he could not teach.

How different a being was Aldritch, the very ideal of a college head, who made those who would not have loved learning for its own sake, love it for his, who was better pleased to elicit the talents of others than to display his own—who made even logic amiable, by proving that it was no foe to good fellowship—who regulated conviviality by making himself its moving principle—planned the Peck-water, loved his pipe, and composed "the bonny Christ Church bells."

University pre s. In 1710 he became involved in a controversy with John Le Clerc and Gronovius, by his Emendations of Menander and Philemon. In December of the same year he issued his edition of Horace, with a dedication to Lord Oxford, which was originally intended for Lord Halifax, but the ministry changing, it was given to Harley. Its appearance was the signal for a fresh list of critics and animadverters. One of them, Dr. King, (who had taken part in the former controversy on Phalaris—being reproached for his want of reading, claimed that he had read more than any man in England besides Bentley, inasmuch as he had read his book all through)—describes Horace as visiting England according to his own prophecy, and taking up his abode in Trinity College, where he puts all to confusion, consumes immoderate quantities of college bread and ale, and grows immensely fat. *Epicuri de grege porcus.* John Ker and Johnson of Nottingham, two schoolmasters of wide reputation, and Alexander Cunningham, a learned Scotchman, attacked the temerity of Bentley's Emendations. The intru ion of the conjectural readings into the text has been cen ured as altogether unwarrantable. Many of them go to crop the most delicate flowers of Horatian fancy, and sheer away the love-locks which the world has doted on. The value of the work consists in the extraordinary display of learning and ingenuity which the defence of these innovations called forth, in the skilful allegation of parallel passages, in the wonderful adroitness with which every line and every letter that supports the proposed change is hunted out from the obscurest corners of Roman literature, and made to bear on the case in point, and in the logical dexterity with which apparent objections are turned into confirmations.

Soon after the publication of the Horace, Bentley exposed the affectation of reading and scholarship in Anthony Collins's 'Discourse of Freethinking,' in his 'Reply,' which did Christianity a real service by showing that the alleged variations in the Scriptures did not affect the sense at all. But it was not till he was again involved in his college squab' le that he entered on a book which he did not live to complete—the restoration of the text of the Greek Testament exactly as it was at the time of the Council of Nice.

Revival of Trinity College Quarrel.

As all proceedings were by the decease of the Visitor rendered null and void, the parties now stood *in statu quo ante bellum;* and a fair opportunity offered to conclude a lasting peace on the basis of mutual conces-ion. No less than six of the original prosecutors had died during the progress of the suit, and of those that remained, few possessed vigor, talent, funds, or influence, to contend against the Master. Middleton, the ablest subscriber of the original petition, had ceased to be a fellow, and was yet unknown beyond the circle of his acquaintance, who, perhaps, little expected that "Fiddling Conyers," as Bentley contemptuously called him, would achieve a high name in English literature. A temporary pacification was concluded. The scheme of dividends and compensation was allowed to drop, but for all besides, Bentley was as despotic as ever. All offices were bestowed at his discretion; to oppose him was to forswear promotion. After the death of Dr. Smith, Modd, a convenient nonentity, who had not taken the statutable degrees, was made Vice-Master; Pathurst, who was almost blind, Bursar; and Hanbury, whom the Doctor himself had charged with drunkenness, was appointed to superintend the morals of the students, in the quality of senior Dean. In thus advancing notoriously incompetent persons to posts of responsibility, he not only excluded such as he could less easily manage, but in effect got the whole college administration into his own hands. Modd had nothing to

do but respond Amen to *his* master's propositions, and as Bathurst *could* not see the accounts, and nobody else was allowed to look at them, it followed that the whole power of the purse, without check or limit, was in the Doctor's hands.

As, however, he could not think his reign secure while Miller remained a member of the college, he sought a fresh pretext to oust the lawyer. On a former occasion he had cut his name out of the buttery-boards, because, not being a physician, he held a medical fellowship. Now he urged, with more show of justice, that Miller, possessing a pretty estate, fell under the statute which excludes all persons holding any ecclesiastical preferment whatever, college preacherships excepted, or any property to the amount of 10*l.* a year, from the benefit of the college. But unluckily it happened that Bentley, not long before, had refused to accept the resignation of a gentleman of 10,000*l.* a year, saying that people of property were very useful members of the society. Miller met this attempt with a petition, and a new set of articles, differing little from the former; but the new Bishop of Ely, Fleetwood, refused to take cognizance of the case, unless his right to be General Visitor was ascertained. He would not visit the Master unless he might visit the fellows also, and so for a time the matter rested. A little while before this, Bentley had delivered a visitation charge, in his capacity of Archdeacon of Ely, in which he did not quite satisfy the passionate admirers of the new dynasty; for though he called King George Antoninus, he admitted that it was impossible for a foreign prince, newly imported, not to commit *some* errors. Miller, who was an intolerant Whig, represented this as sedition, and a sufficient ground of expulsion; but there was no getting Bishop Fleetwood to stir. The expression, however, did the Archdeacon no good at court, where his enemies made the most of his dedication to Harley, now in the Tower on a charge of high treason. But Bentley managed his political relations with great skill, and availed himself of every feasible opportunity to express his loyalty to the Government *de facto*, whether it were Whig or Tory.

Oxford, retaining a traditionary affection for the grandson of Charles I., almost approved the conduct of her Chancellor, the Duke of Ormond, who had joined the *Pretender*, by electing his brother, the Earl of Arran, in his room. Cambridge, less devoted to the exiles, was yet coldly affected towards the Whig domination, and reinstated her Tory representatives at the general election of 1715. Riots took place on the *Pretender's* birthday, and again on that of King George, and some young gownsmen broke windows, and cried "No Hanover." This the Vice-Chancellor prudently considered merely as a breach of discipline; but it was judged expedient that the Senatus Academicus should express their attachment to constitutional monarchy, in the Protestant line, by a formal act. An address was got up, declaring that they had ever acknowledged King George as their rightful sovereign, reminding him of his promises, and engaging in turn to train up the youth in the way they should go, "that they might show in their conduct an example of that loyalty and obedience which this University, *pursuing the doctrines of our Church*, has ever maintained." This testimonial seems to have been well timed, for it gained from the king a present of Bishop Moore's magnificent library, consisting of 30,000 volumes, which, at Lord Townsend's suggestion, had been purchased by the crown for 6,000*l.*, while the sister University was insulted by being placed under military surveillance. On this occasion appeared the well known epigram by an unknown hand:

> King George, observing with judicious eyes
> The state of both his Universities,

To Oxford sent a troop of horse, and why?—
That learned body wanted loyalty:
To Cambridge books he sent, as well discerning
How much that loyal body wanted learning.

Retaliated by Sir W. Browne, founder of the prizes for odes and epigrams:

The King to Oxford sent a troop of horse,
For Tories own no argument but force;
With equal skill to Cambridge books he sent,
For Whigs admit no force but argument.

We left Trinity College in the year 1714 still divided against itself; but the determined refusal of Bishop Fleetwood to act as Visitor cut off the discontented party from all hope of redress, and Bentley's main endeavors were directed to the exclusion of Miller, whom he regarded as the ringleader of the mal-contents, who would do everything in his power to keep alive the spirit of resistance. But absolute as he was, he could not forcibly expel the obnoxious serjeant, though he withheld all the emoluments of his fellowship.

Three men of very different tempers, talents, and principles, seem to have been ordained to oppose this supremacy of Bentley. These were Miller, Middleton, and Colbatch. Of these the first was a lawyer and a politician, with a political conscience, who espoused the cause of his college with an eye to the advantage which an important suit always affords to a rising counsel, and to the *éclat* which an ambitious man derives from opposition to an unpopular authority. Middleton, who, ceasing to be a fellow in the very earliest stage of the process, had no personal interest in the quarrel, was probably incited to make it his own by some private pique at the Master, who used to call him "Fiddling Conyers," and probably evinced little respect for his talents, great as they afterwards proved. Of all Bentley's literary opponents he was the most formidable, and the least scrupulous; he was a man of the world. Dr. John Colbatch was a dry, grave, honest man, with a *strong*, rather than a *fine*, sense of rectitude; an inflexible stickler for right, a strict and literal expounder of the moral law, a zealous advocate for the *letter* as well as the *spirit*; somewhat of a Martinet in matters of discipline, whose resolution, once taken, became part and parcel of his conscience, and who never forgave an offence against himself if he deemed it an offence against justice. His naturally saturnine temperament had been darkened by successive disappointments; for after holding the honorable station of chaplain to the British factory at Lisbon, and gaining the approbation of Queen Mary by a work on the religion and literature of Portugal, he became, by especial request, a private tutor, first to the son of Bishop Burnet, and afterwards in the family of the "proud Duke" of Somerset; yet at forty was obliged to return to his college with no other subsistence than his fellowship, and a prebend of Salisbury of 20'. value. If, however, as Middleton asserts, his virtue was deemed "too severe," and had "something disagreeable about it," it was no wonder if he failed to profit by the acquaintance of the great. To make available the patronage of courtly bishops and *proud* dukes, other qualifications are necessary, besides severely disagreeable virtue. He considered himself an injured man, for speaking of the neglect he had experienced, he said, "that the hardships he suffered were aggravated by some circumstances which must lie infinitely heavier, and sink deeper into an ingenuous mind, than any temporal loss or inconvenience whatever." Perhaps he sometimes mistook a personal resentment for righteous indignation. The University made him some amends by appointing him, in 1707, Professor of Casuistry; and had he not come in collision with Bentley, he would probably have grown gray in the study of civil law and ecclesiastical

antiquity; his favorite researches produced profound and unreadable treatises, and he died a senior fellow.

It was Bentley's determination to be himself the fountain of honor and profit to all his subjects. He did not even allow a gradation of patronage, but interfered as decidedly in the appointment of college servants as in the elections to scholarships and fellowships. He made his own coachman porter, and afterwards bestowed the same office (the importance and pickings of which no one who has not had the benefit of a University education can calculate) on that coachman's son, a lad of fifteen.

Attached to the foundation of Trinity College, are twenty *pauperes*, or beadsmen, endowed with a yearly salary of 6*l.*, and a suit of livery, which was once a respectable competence, and would still be a valuable assistance to a decayed housekeeper of respectable character. Bentley bestowed one of these pensions on an ale-house keeper, who could scarcely be supposed to want it, and another on one Joseph Lindsay, a notorious blackguard, and leader of the Tory mob in the riots on the Pretender's birthday. It is difficult, at this distance of time, to assign the motive to such a flagrant abuse of a commendable charity.

The statutes direct that no lease shall be sealed, nor the presentation to any preferment made out, but in presence of the sixteen senior fellows or their representatives. Two small livings falling vacant about the same time, Bentley disposed of them, not only without observing the above mentioned form, but contrary to routine, and, it was asserted, for private considerations.

A heavier cause of complaint was, his never submitting the college accounts to the inspection of those whose right and duty it was to overlook and check them; asserting, either that it was too early, or that the time was past—averring statute against custom, or custom against statute, or expediency and his own prerogative against both, as suited his purpose. There was an ancient ordinance, that, if the eight seniors (the legal council of the Master, without whose consent none of his acts were esteemed of more validity than those of the King apart from his council, in the English constitution) were divided among themselves, (*in plures partes divisi sunt*,) the question should be decided according to the vote of the Master. This could only have been intended to give the Master a casting vote in case of an equal division; but the lax clumsiness of its expression gave Bentley a pretext for asserting that, unless the eight were unanimous against him, his proposal, if singly seconded, must prevail. By this means it became almost morally impossible to oppose him; draught after draught on the college treasury was paid, and yet there was no end of his demands; and as he was not less liberal or able to reward those who aided his purpose, than he was sure and powerful to crush whatever intercepted his path, the small band of recusants met with few recruits among their immediate juniors, and the new fellows introduced by Bentley had little sympathy with the aggrieved elders. They were for the most part, either his own connections and dependents, or young men of high classical attainments, whom a community of studies naturally inclined to his interests. Thus the old fellows were somewhat in the situation of an aboriginal people driven from their ancestral possessions by an intruding colony. In vain did Colbatch protest and remonstrate, and call out for a visitation. The *vis inertiæ* of Bishop Fleetwood was not to be overcome.

In this juncture Archbishop Wake, informed of the lamentable discord and consequent relaxation of discipline in the largest academical institution of Britain, advised a petition to the King to ascertain where the visitatorial right was. A petition was at once signed by nineteen fellows, and committed

to Miller. The petition was read in Council, when Bishop Fleetwood offered to resign the visitatorial power to the Crown, the consideration of which offer occupied three years, and in the meantime the petition was in the Attorney-General's pocket.

To get rid of the obnoxious Miller, who at the regular election in September attempted to exercise his right as fellow, Bentley called a couple of constables, forced him out of the Lodge, and detained him in custody till the election was over. He succeeded in filling the vacancies with 'three scholars and two nephews,' all of his way of thinking. At this point Bentley soon discovered that his enemy (Miller) had done just what he wished—written a book on the state of the University, and in it 'uttered a false, scandalous, and malicious libel' against the University, in consequence of which Miller was deprived of his Deputy-high-stewardship, and which a few years later (1720) inclined him to a compromise—by which he was paid one half his dues as a fellow, together with his room rent, and 400*l.* for his law expenses—he resigning his fellowship and withdrawing his own petition and that of Colbatch. These sums were paid out of the College treasury, together with Bentley's own cost, and 400*l.* for the charges of his defence.

In 1717, by a ruse worthy the most unscrupulous politician, Bentley became Regius Professor of Divinity. In this capacity the 'Divine Professor' committed new outrages on the college statutes, turning the old dove-cote into a granary so as to raise out of his Somersham tithe-corn, and other livings, the 40*l.* stipend to 600*l.* But in exacting from his old enemy, Conyers Middleton, (on his being created one of the Royal Doctors on the occasion of King George's visit,) a four guinea fee, Dr. Bentley involved himself in a controversy which lasted three years, and in its progress he found himself the ruler of the first college without a vote in the Senate, and the highest teacher of theology forbidden to enter the University pulpit. He put himself in contempt to the University authorities, in consequence of which the Master of Trinity College and Regius Professor of Divinity was degraded from all his degrees, and reduced to a mere *Harry Soph.* And out of this complication grew another crop of pamphlets—the Vice-Chancellor and Bentley appeared before the King in Council—Middleton was tried before the King's Bench and found guilty of libel; Colbatch got involved in another law-suit, was fined for contempt of court; and after ten years Dr. Middleton got back his four guineas with interest; and in 1734 Bentley was solemnly declared guilty of dilapidating the goods of the college and of violating its statutes—having in the meantime obtained a complete reversal of all the University proceedings against him, and a peremptory mandamus issued to the Chancellor to restore him to all his degrees, and to every other right and privilege of which he had been deprived. But the sentence of the Visitor was never executed. Although all sorts of writs were issued, Bentley held on, working at his edition of Homer, and showing himself devoid of all genuine poetic feeling, as well as of all critical knowledge of his own language, by his emendations of the text of Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

In January, 1742, Dr. Bentley completed his eightieth year; in June he presided as Master of Trinity at the examination for University scholarships, and on the 14th of July, 1742, he expired.

[We have devoted this comparatively large space to the Mastership of Trinity College, mainly because of the light it throws on the wretched system of University organization, and the deplorable waste of academic endowments on Heads, Professors, and Fellows, who have little or nothing to do with academical duties, and contribute nothing to the progress of literature and science, as things were managed at least, in the last century.]

THOMAS GRAY.—ST. PETER'S COLLEGE, 1733–1736.

THOMAS GRAY, whose membership adds luster to two colleges at Cambridge—Peterhouse, in which he resided as an undergraduate for three years, and out of which while a Fellow he was driven by the impertinences of a few young men of fortune who resided in the same staircase; and Pembroke, in which he continued his studies from 1756 to 1771—hoarding the sweets of knowledge, but rendering to the University or to the world little service by his pen or voice, even after he became Professor of Modern Languages and History. University life was no more congenial to him than to Wordsworth a half century later, although both could appreciate the poetic aspects of the place. In a letter to his Eton friend West, who had found Oxford 'with its ale and owls' no less repulsive, he writes in 1736, when on the point of leaving without his degree:

You must know that I do not take degrees, and, after this term, shall have nothing more of college impertinencies to undergo, which I trust will be some pleasure to you, as it is a great one to me. I have endured lectures daily and hourly since I came last, supported by the hope of being shortly at full liberty to give myself up to my friends and classical companions, who, poor souls! though I see them fallen into great contempt with most people here, yet I can not help sticking to them, and out of a spirit of obstinacy (I think) love them the better for it; and, indeed, what can I do else? Must I plunge into metaphysics? Alas! I can not see in the dark; nature has not furnished me with the optics of a cat. Must I pore upon mathematics? Alas! I can not see in too much light; I am no eagle. It is very possible that two and two make four, but I would not give four farthings to demonstrate this ever so clearly; and if these be the profits of life, give me the amusements of it. The people I behold all around me, it seems, know all this and more, and yet I do not know one of them who inspires me with any ambition of being like him. Surely it was of this place, now Cambridge, but formerly known by the name of Babylon, that the prophet spoke when he said, 'the wild beasts of the desert shall dwell there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall build there, and satyrs shall dance there; their forts and towers shall be a den for ever, a joy of wild asses; there shall the great owl make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and gather under her shadow; it shall be a court of dragons; the screech owl also shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest.' You see here is a pretty collection of desolate animals, which is verified in this town to a tittle, and perhaps it may also allude to your habitation, for you know all types may be taken by abundance of handles; however, I defy your owls to match mine.

And yet the same pen a few years later could write:

'Ye brown o'er-arching Groves,
That Contemplation loves,
Where willowy Camus lingers with delight!
  Oft at the blush of dawn
  I trod your level lawn,
Oft woo'd the gleam of Cynthia silver-bright
In cloisters dim, far from the haunts of Folly,
With Freedom by my side and soft-eyed Melancholy.'

From yonder realms of empyrean day
Bursts on my ear th' indignant lay:
There sit the sainted Sage, the Bard divine,
The Few, whom Genius gave to shine
Through every unborn age, and undiscover'd clime.
Rapt in celestial transport they,
Yet hither oft a glance from high
They send of tender sympathy
To bless the place, where on their opening soul
First the genuine ardor stole.
'Twas Milton struck the deep-toned shell,
And, as the choral warblings round him swell,
Meek Newton's self bends from his state sublime,
And nods his hoary head, and listens to the rhyme.

Alexander Pope, not a University man, in the Fourth Book of the Dunciad, has handled the Colleges and Schools of this period with merciless severity.

CODE OF REGULATIONS—1750.

The following is a summary of the *New Code*, as it was called, which followed the installation of the Duke of Newcastle as Chancellor in 1748:

'1. Every person *in statu pupillari* shall wear clothes of a grave color in the judgment of the officers of the University, without lace fringe or embroidery, without cuffs or capes of a different color from their coats.'

Fellow-Commoner graduates to wear the proper habit of their degree.

B. A. to wear gowns 'of prunello or of princes stuff.'

2. Fellow-Commoner to wear their 'proper gown, cap, and band.'

3. 4. No one *in statu pupillari* to keep a servant or horse, without the consent of parents or guardians and the head of his college.

5. No person *in statu pupillari* to go to a coffee-house, tennis-court, cricket-ground, &c., between 9 and 12 A. M.

6. A fine of sixpence for not attending the University Sermon. A distribution of seats in the galleries of St. Mary's. Sizars to mark the absentees.

7. 8. Tavern keepers and coffee-house keepers not to allow bills above 20*s*. Nor to serve wine, punch, or any other strong liquor, after 11 P. M.

9. 10. No one to ride or drive out of Cambridge without leave of his tutor or master of the College. Nor to be out of his College after 11 P. M.

11. Respect to be shown to superiors. Any M. A. may demand a man's name and College.

12. Dining in a coffee-house forbidden except as under Statute XLVII.

13. Guns and sporting dogs forbidden.

14. Noblemen and Fellow-Commoners to be amenable to discipline upon a Declaration.

15. 16. Keeping evil company, 'breaking windows, making and fomenting riots and disturbances,' are to be punished.

17. Dice forbidden; also cards, except for small sums, and at statutable times.

The existence of these regulations presupposes a state of manners and morals not very creditable to the University authorities, and the attempt to enforce them led to disturbances which found their way into the courts and the public journals, and lasted for several years.

LIFE OF A SENIOR FELLOW AT CAMBRIDGE—1758.

The following entries in the Daily Journal of a Senior Fellow at Cambridge, appeared in No. 23, December 2, 1758, of the *Idler* edited by Dr. Johnson, and is warranted to have been transcribed from the Common Place Book of the Journalist:

'MONDAY, 9 o'clock.—Turned off my bed-maker for waking me at eight. Weather rainy. Consulted my weather-glass. No hopes of a ride before dinner.'

'10 o'clock.—After breakfast, transcribed half a sermon from Dr. Hickman. N.B.—Never to transcribe any more fram Calamy: Mrs. Pilcocks, at my curacy, having one volume of the author lying in her parlor window.'

'11 o'clock.—Went down into my cellar. Mem. My Mountain will be fit to drink in a month's time. N.B.—To remove the five-year-old Port into the new bin on the left hand.'

'12 o'clock.—Mended a pen. Looked at my weather-glass again. Quicksilver very low. Shaved. Barber's hand shakes.'

'1 o'clock.—Dined alone in my room on a soal. N.B.—The shrimp sauce not so good as Mr. H. of Peterhouse and I used to eat in London last winter at the Mitre in Fleet street. Sat down to a pint of Madeira. Mr. H. surprised me over it. We finished two bottles of Port together, and were very cheerful. Mem.—To dine with Mr. H. at Peterhouse next Wednesday. One of the dishes a leg of pork and pease, by my desire.'

'6 o'clock.—Newspaper in the common room.'

'7 o'clock.—Returned to my room made a tiff of warm punch, and to bed before 9; did not fall asleep before 10, a young fellow-commoner being very noisy over my head.'

'TUESDAY, 9 o'clock.—Rose squeamish. A fine morning. Weather-glass very high.'

'10 o'clock.—Ordered my horse, and rode to the five-mile stone on the New Market road. Appetite gets better. A pack of hounds, in full cry, crossed the road, and startled my horse.'

'12 o'clock.—Dressed. Found a letter on my table to be in London the 19th inst. Bespoke a new wig.'

'1 o'clock.—At dinner in the hall. Too much water in the soup. Dr. Dry always orders the beef to be salted too much for me.'

'2 o'clock.—In the common room. Dr. Dry gave us an instance of a gentleman who kept the gout out of his stomach by drinking old Medeira. Conversation chiefly on the expeditions. Company broke up at four. Dr. Dry and myself played at backgammon for a brace of snipes. Won.'

'5 o'clock.—At the coffee room. Met Mr. H. there. Could not get a sight of the Monitor.'

'7 o'clock.—Returned home, and stirred my fire. Went to the common room, and supped on the snipes with Dr. Dry.'

'8 o'clock.—Began the evening in the common room. Dr. Dry told several stories. Were very merry. Our new fellow, that studies physics, very talkative towards 12. Pretends he will bring the youngest Miss —— to drink tea with me soon. Impertinent blockhead!'

'WEDNESDAY, 9 o'clock.—Alarmed with pain in my ancle. Q. The gout? Fear I can't dine at Peterhouse; but I hope a ride will set all to rights. Weather-glass below fair.'

'10 o'clock.—Mounted my horse, though the weather suspicious. Pain in my ancle entirely gone. Catched in a shower coming back. Convinced that my weather-glass is the best in Cambridge.'

'12 o'clock.—Dressed. Sauntered up to the Fishmonger's hill. Met Mr. H. and went with him to Peterhouse. Cook made us wait thirty-six minutes beyond the time. The company, some of my Emanuel friends. For dinner, a pair of soals, a leg of pork and pease, among other things. Mem.—Pease pudding not boiled enough. Cook reprimanded and sconced in my presence.'

'12 o'clock.—After dinner. Pain in my ancle returns. Dull all the afternoon. Rallied for being no company. Mr. H.'s account of the accommodations on the road in his Bath journey.'

'6 o'clock.—Got into spirits. Never was more chatty. We sat late at whist. Mr. H. and self agreed at parting to take a gentle ride, and dine at the old house on the London road to-morrow.'

'THURSDAY, 9 o'clock.—My seamstress. She has lost the measure of my wrist. Forced to be measured again. The baggage has got a trick of smiling.

'10 to 11 o'clock.—Made some rappee-snuff. Read the Magazines. Received a present of pickles from Miss Pilcocks. Mem.—To send in return some collared eel, which I know both the old Lady and Miss are fond of.'

'11 o'clock.—Glass very high. Mounted at the gate with Mr. H. Horse skittish and wants exercise. Arrive at the old house. All the provisions bespoke by some rakish fellow-commoner in the next room, who has been on a scheme to New Market. Could get nothing but mutton-chops off the worst end. Port very new. Agreed to try some other house to-morrow——'

Here the Journal breaks off; for the next morning, as my friend informs me, our genial academic was waked with a severe fit of the gout; and, at present, enjoys all the dignity of that disease. But I believe we have lost nothing by this interruption: since a continuation of the remainder of the Journal through the remainder of the week would most probably have exhibited nothing more than a repeated relation of the same circumstances of Idling and luxury.

Wordsworth's Residence in St. John's. 1787–1791.

No author of eminence of St. John's College has left so full a a record of his impressions while a resident in the University as the poet Wordsworth. In '*The Prelude, or Growth of his own Mind*,' began in 1799 [in the poet's 27th year,] and prosecuted, from time to time, until his final corrections in the year 1832, but not published, till after his death, in the summer of 1850, Book Third is devoted to his residence in Cambridge, which began in October, 1787, and closed in January, 1791, when he took his Bachelor of Arts degree. The record is not very complimentary to the college—for its occupations, its studies, or the spirit inspired in its members. His biographer and nephew, Canon Wordsworth, in treating of this portion of the poet's life, remarks: 'In some respects he was not very well prepared to profit by the influences of the University. His previous scholastic training had not been of a kind to qualify him for pursuing the studies of Cambridge with the same prospect of success as was within reach of students tutored in the great public schools. Hence, intellectually, he and the University were not in full sympathy with each other. Besides, he had never been subject to restraint; his school days were days of freedom; and latterly, since the death of his parents, he was almost entirely his own master. He was not prepared by habit or disposition to submit with genial affection and reverent humility to the discipline of a college; especially when that discipline was administered by some who did not appear to comprehend its true meaning, and did not embody its spirit in their lives.

'But, on the other hand, William Wordsworth brought with him to Cambridge an imagination elevated, an intellect enlarged, and affections solemnized, by intercourse with the powers of nature in their most majestic form. And he had a clear sense of what was noble, just, and true. If, therefore, the tone of the University had then been higher than it was—if the lives of the members of the University, and especially of its rulers, had been holier—if a spirit of dignified self-respect and severe self-denial had breathed in their deportment—and if an adequate appreciation of what was due to the memory and injunctions of their founders and benefactors, and a religious reverence for the inheritance of piety, wisdom, and learning, bequeathed to them by antiquity, had manifested itself in their practice; then, it can hardly be doubted, the authentic influence of the academic system would have made itself felt by him. Cambridge would have stamped its image upon the mind of Wordsworth; he would have paid it dutiful homage, filial obedience, and affectionate veneration.

'But, at that period of academic history, the case was otherwise. Hence he felt himself to stand at a higher elevation of moral dignity than some of his teachers. The youthful undergraduate looked down upon some of his instructors. He saw sacred services provided day after day, morning and evening, by his college, and he found that he and his fellow-students were statutably required to attend them. But he looked in

vain for the presence of many of those who ate the bread of the founders, and were supposed to administer the statutes, and had bound themselves by solemn engagements to observe the laws of the college, and to be examples to the younger members of the society, and especially to maintain that collegiate unity which can not subsist without religious communion.

'He felt that there was something like hollow mockery and profane hypocrisy in this. He resented it as an affront to himself and to his fellow-students, as members of the academic body. And, as is often the case with ardent and enthusiastic minds, he charged the institution with the sins of those who professed to administer its laws, but in practice violated them. He would have visited the offenses of the governors on the system which they abused. He would have suspended the daily service in the college chapels, because some of the fellows betrayed their trust, and neglected those services, and led self-indulgent or irreligious lives.'

First Impressions of Cambridge.

It was a dreary morning when the wheels
Rolled over a wide plain o'erhung with clouds,
And nothing cheered our way till first we saw
The long-roofed chapel of King's College lift
Turrets and pinnacles in answering files,
Extended high above a dusky grove.

Advancing, we espied upon the road
A student clothed in gown and tasseled cap,
Striding along as if o'ertasked by Time,
Or covetous of exercise and air;
He passed—nor was I master of my eyes
Till he was left an arrow's flight behind.
As near and nearer to the spot we drew,
It seemed to suck us in with an eddy's force.

In the midst of acquaintances whom he had known at school or at home, pure simple school-boys, now hung round with honor and importance'—

in a world
Of welcome faces up and down I roved;
Questions, directions, warnings, and advice,
Flowed in upon me, from all sides; fresh day
Of pride and pleasure! to myself I seemed
A man of business and expense, and went
From shop to shop about my own affairs.

I was the Dreamer, they the Dream; I roamed
Delighted through the motley spectacle;
Gowns grave, or gaudy, doctors, students, streets,
Courts, cloisters, flocks of churches, gateways, towers:
Migration strange for a stripling of the hills,
A northern villager.

Rooms in St. John's College.

The Evangelist St. John my patron was:
Three Gothic courts are his, and in the first
Was my abiding place, a nook obscure;
Right underneath, the College kitchens made
A humming sound, less tunable than bees,
But hardly less industrious; with shrill notes
Of sharp command and scolding intermixed.
Near me hung Trinity's loquacious clock,
Who never let the quarters, night or day,
Slip by him unproclaimed, and told the hours
Twice over with a male and female voice.
Her pealing organ was my neighbor too;
And from my pillow, looking forth by light
Of moon or favoring stars, I could behold
The antechapel where the statue stood
Of Newton with his prism and silent face,
The marble index of a mind for ever
Voyaging through strange seas of Thought, alone.

Opinion of College Labors—Love of Nature.

Of College labors, of the Lecturer's room
All studded round, as thick as chairs could stand,
With loyal students faithful to their books,
Half-and-half idlers, hardy recusants,
And honest dunces—of important days,
Examinations, when the man was weighed
As in a balance! of excessive hopes,
Tremblings withal and commendable fears,
Small jealousies, and triumphs good or bad,
Let others that know more speak as they know.
Such glory was but little sought by me,
And little won.

Oft when the dazzling show no longer new
Had ceased to dazzle, oftimes did I quit
My comrades, leave the crowd, buildings and groves
And as I paced alone the level fields
Far from those lovely sights and sounds sublime
With which I had been conversant, the mind
Drooped not; but there into herself returning,
With prompt rebound seemed fresh as heretofore.
At least I more distinctly recognized
Her native instincts: let me dare to speak
A higher language, say that now I felt
What independent solaces were mine,
To mitigate the injurious sway of place
Or circumstance, how far soever changed
In youth, or *to* be changed in manhood's prime.

And yet
This was a gladsome time. Could I behold—
Who, less insensible than sodden clay
In a sea-river's bed at ebb of tide,
Could have beheld,—with undelighted heart,
So many happy youths, so wide and fair
A congregation in its budding time
Of health, and hope, and beauty, all at once
So many divers samples from the growth
Of life's sweet season—could have seen unmoved
That miscellaneous garland of wild flowers
Decking the matron temples of a place
So famous through the world? To me, at least,
It was a goodly prospect: for, in sooth,
Though I had learnt betimes to stand unpropped,
And independent musings pleased me so
That spells seemed on me when I was alone,
Yet could I only cleave to solitude
In lonely places; if a throng was near
That way I leaned by nature; for my heart
Was social, and loved idleness and joy.

Companionships,
Friendships, acquaintances, were welcome all
We sauntered, played, or rioted; we talked
Unprofitable talk at morning hours
Drifted about along the streets and walks,
Read lazily in trivial books, went forth
To gallop through the country in blind zeal
Of senseless horsemanship, or on the breast
Of Cam sailed boisterously, and let the stars
Come forth, perhaps without one quiet thought.

Imagination slept,
And yet not utterly. I could not print
Ground where the grass had yielded to the steps
Of generations of illustrious men,
Unmoved. I could not always lightly pass
Through the same gateways, sleep where they had slept,
Wake where they had waked, range that inclosure old,
That garden of great intellects, undisturbed.
Place also by the side of this dark sense
Of noble feeling, that those spiritual men,
Even the great Newton's own ethereal self,
Seemed humbled in these precincts thence to be
The more endeared. Their several memories here
(Even like their persons in their portraits clothed
With the accustomed garb of daily life)
Put on a lowly and a touching grace
Of more distinct humanity, that left
All genuine admiration unimpaired.

Wordsworth in college kept up his studies in English literature—particularly with

Chaucer—Spenser—Milton.

Beside the pleasant Mill at Trompington
I laughed with Chaucer in the hawthorn shade;
Heard him, while birds were warbling, tell his tales
Of amorous passion. And that gentle Bard,
Chosen by the Muses for their Page of State—
Sweet Spenser, moving through his clouded heaven
With the moon's beauty and the moon's soft pace,
I called him Brother, Englishman, and Friend!
Yea, our blind Poet, who, in his later day,
Stood almost single; uttering odious truth—
Darkness before, and danger's voice behind,
Soul awful—if the earth has ever lodged
An awful soul—I seemed to see him here
Familiarly, and in his scholar's dress
Bounding before me, yet a stripling youth—
A boy, no better, with his rosy cheeks
Angelical, keen eye, courageous look,
And conscious step of purity and pride.
Among the band of my compeers was one
Whom chance had stationed in the very room
Honored by Milton's name. O temperate Bard!
Be it confest that, for the first time, seated
Within thy innocent lodge and oratory
One of a festive circle, I poured out
Libations, to thy memory drank, till pride
And gratitude grew dizzy in a brain
Never excited by the fumes of wine
Before that hour, or since.

The academic life of an undergraduate, not in sympathy with the hour and place, dissatisfied and ill at ease, is apt to prove disastrous to all lofty aspirations, and lead only to aimless projects and indecisive judgments, unless recalled by some timely voice, or more potent example—and this voice and example he had not.

In this mixed sort
The months passed on, remissly, not given up
To willful alienation from the right,
Or walks of open scandal, but in vague
And loose indifference, easy likings, aims
Of a low pitch—duty and zeal dismissed,
Yet nature, or a happy course of things
Not doing in their stead the needful work.
The memory languidly revolved, the heart
Reposed in noontide rest, the inner pulse
Of contemplation almost failed to beat.
Such life might not inaptly be compared

To a floating island, an amphibious spot
Unsound, of spongy texture, yet withal
Not wanting a fair face of water weeds
And pleasant flowers. The thirst of living praise,
Fit reverence for the glorious Dead, the sight
Of those long vistas, sacred catacombs,
Where mighty *minds* lie visibly entombed,
Have often stirred the heart of youth, and bred
A fervent love of rigorous discipline.—
Alas! such high emotion touched not me.
Look was there none within these walls to shame
My easy spirits, and discountenance
Their light composure, far less to instill
A calm resolve of mind, firmly addressed
To puissant efforts.

Nature and Art should Work together.

Oh, what joy
To see a sanctuary for our country's youth
Informed with such a spirit as might be
Its own protection; a primeval grove,
Where, though the shades with cheerfulness were filled,
Nor indigent of songs warbled from crowds
In under-coverts, yet the countenance
Of the whole place should bear a stamp of awe;
A habitation sober and demure
For ruminating creatures; a domain
For quiet things to wander in; a haunt
In which the heron should delight to feed
By the shy rivers, and the pelican
Upon the cypress spire in lonely thought
Might sit and sun himself.—Alas! Alas!
In vain for such solemnity I looked;
Mine eyes were crossed by butterflies, ears vexed
By chattering popinjays; the inner heart
Seemed trivial, and the impresses without
Of a too gaudy region.

Scholars in the Olden Time.

Different sight
Those venerable Doctors saw of old,
When all who dwelt within these famous walls
Led in abstemiousness a studious life;
When, in forlorn and naked chambers cooped
And crowded, o'er the ponderous books they hung
Like caterpillars eating out their way
In silence, or with keen devouring noise
Not to be tracked or fathered. Princes then
At matins froze, and couched at curfew-time,
Trained up through piety and zeal to prize

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

Spare diet, patient labor, and plain weeds.
O sea of Arts! renowned throughout the world!
Far different service in those homely days
The Muses' modest nurslings underwent
From their first childhood: in that glorious time
When Learning, like a stranger come from far,
Sounding through Christian lands her trumpet, roused
Peasant and king; when boys and youths, the growth
Of ragged villages and crazy huts,
Forsook their homes, and, errant in the quest
Of Patron, famous school or friendly nook,
Where, pensioned, they in shelter might sit down,
From town to town and through wide-scattered realms
Journeyed with ponderous folios in their hands;
And often, starting from some covert place,
Saluted the chance comer on the road,
Crying, 'An obolus, a penny give
To a poor scholar!'—when illustrious men
Lovers of truth, by penury constrained,
Bucer, Erasmus, or Melancthon, read
Before the doors or windows of their cells
By moonshine through mere lack of taper light.

College Groves in Winter.

All winter long, whenever free to choose,
Did I by night frequent the college groves
And tributary walks; the last, and oft
The only one, who had been lingering there
Through hours of silence, till the porter's bell,
A punctual follower on the stroke of nine,
Rang, with its blunt, unceremonious voice,
Inexorable summons! Lofty elms,
Inviting shades of opportune recess,
Bestowed composure on a neighborhood
Unpeaceful in itself. A single tree,
With sinuous trunk, boughs exquisitely wreathed,
Grew there; an ash which winter for himself
Decked as in pride, and with outlandish grace:
Up from the ground, and almost to the top,
The trunk and every master branch were green
With clustering ivy, and the lightsome twigs
And outer spray profusely tipped with seeds
That hung in yellow tassels, while the air
Stirred them, not voiceless. Often have I stood
Foot-bound, uplooking at this lovely tree
Beneath a frosty moon. The hemisphere
Of magic fiction verse of mine perchance
May never tread; but scarcely Spenser's self
Could have more tranquil visions in his youth,
Or could more bright appearance create

Of human forms with superhuman powers,
Than I beheld, loitering on calm, clear nights,
Alone, beneath this fairy work of earth.

Hatefulness of Competition.

I did not love,
Judging not ill perhaps, the timid course
Of our scholastic studies; could have wished
To see the river flow with an ampler range
And freer pace; but more, far more, I grieved
To see displayed among an eager few,
Who in the field of contest persevered,
Passions unworthy of youth's generous heart
And mounting spirit, pitiably repaid,
When so disturbed, whatever palms are won.
From these I turned to travel with the shoal
Of more unthinking natures, easy minds
And pillowy; yet not wanting love that makes
The day pass lightly on, when foresight sleeps,
And wisdom and pledges interchanged
With our own inner being are forgot.

Private Reading—Poetic Aspirations.

The bonds of indolent society
Relaxing in their hold, henceforth I lived
More to myself. Two winters may be passed
Without a separate notice: many books
Were skimmed, devoured, or studiously perused,
But with no settled plan.
The Poet's soul was with me at that time;
Sweet meditations, the still overflow
Of present happiness, while future years
Lacked not anticipations, tender dreams,
No few of which have since been realized;
And some remain, hopes for my future life.
Four years and thirty, told this very week,
Have I been now a sojourner on earth,
By sorrow not unsmitten; yet for me
Life's morning radiance hath not left the hills,
Her dew is on the flowers. Those were the days
Which also first emboldened me to trust
With firmness, hitherto but lightly touched
By such a daring thought, that I might leave
Some monument behind me which pure hearts
Should reverence. The instinctive humbleness,
Maintained even by the very name and thought
Of printed books and authorship, began
To melt away; and further, the dread awe
Of mighty names was softened down and seemed
Approachable, admitting fellowship
Of modest sympathy.

Wordsworth in 1820 (May 30), in his Ode to Oxford refers to Cambridge in no unfilial strain:

Ye sacred nurseries of blooming youth!
In whose collegiate shelter England's flowers
Expand, enjoying through their vernal hours
The air of liberty, the light of truth;
Much have ye suffered from Time's gnawing tooth,
Yet, O ye spires of Oxford! domes and towers!
Gardens and groves! your presence overpowers
The soberness of reason: till, in sooth,
Transformed, and rushing on a bold exchange,
I slight my own beloved Cam, to range
Where silver Isis leads my stripling feet;
Pace the long avenue, or glide adown
The stream like windings of that glorious street,—
An eager novice robed in fluttering gown!

SONNET—KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.

Tax not the royal saint with vain expense,
With ill-matched aims the architect who planned—
Albeit laboring for a scanty band
Of white robed scholars only—this immense
And glorious work of fine intelligence!
Give all thou canst: high Heaven rejects the lore
Of nicely calculated less or more;
So deemed the man who fashioned for the sense
These lofty pillars, spread that branching roof
Self-poised, and scooped into ten thousand cells,
Where light and shade repose, where music dwells
Lingering and wandering on as loth to die;
Like thoughts whose very sweetness yieldeth proof
That they were born for immortality.

KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL.

They dreamt not of a perishable home
Who thus could build. Be mine, in hours of fear
Or groveling thought, to seek a refuge here;
Or through the aisles of Westminster to roam;
Where bubble's burst, and folly's dancing foam
Melts, if it cross the threshhold; where the wreath
Of awe-struck wisdom droops: or let my path
Lead to that younger pile, whose sky-like dome
Hath typified by reach of daring art
Infinity's embrace; whose guardian crest,
The silent cross, among the stars shall spread
As now, when she hath also seen her breast
Filled with mementos, satiate with its part
Of grateful England's overflowing dead.

William Wordsworth.

OXFORD.

Ye fretted pinnacles, ye fanes sublime,
Ye towers that wear the mossy vest of time;
Ye massy piles of old munificence,
At once the pride of learning and defense;
Ye cloisters pale, that, lengthening to the sight,
To contemplation, step by step, invite;
Ye high-arched walks, where oft the whispers clear
Of harps unseen have swept the poet's ear;
Ye temples dim, where pious duty pays
Her holy hymns of ever-echoing praise,—
Lo! your loved Isis, from the bordering vale,
With all a mother's fondness, bids you hail,—
Hail, Oxford, hail! of all that's good and great
Of all that's fair, the guardian and the seat;
Nurse of each brave pursuit, each generous aim,
By truth exalted to the throne of fame!
Like Greece in science and in liberty,
As Athens learned, as Lacedemon free!
  Even now, confessed to my adoring eyes,
In awful ranks thy gifted sons arise.
Tuning to knightly tale his British reeds,
Thy genuine bards immortal Chaucer leads:
His hoary head o'erlooks the gazing choir,
And beams on all around celestial fire.
With graceful step see Addison advance,
The sweetest child of Attic elegance:
See Chillingworth the depths of doubt explore,
And Selden ope the rolls of ancient lore:
To all but his beloved embrace denied,
See Locke lead Reason, his majestic bride:
See Hammond pierce Religion's golden mine,
And spread the treasured stores of truth divine.—*T. Wharton.*

ON REVISITING TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

I have a debt of my heart's own to thee,
School of my soul! old lime and cloister shade!
Which I, strange suitor, should lament to see
Fully acquitted and exactly paid.
The first ripe taste of manhood's best delights,
Knowledge imbibed, while mind and heart agree,
In sweet belated talk on winter nights,
With friends whom growing time keeps dear to me;—
Such things I owe thee, and not only these:
I owe thee the far-beaconing memories
Of the young dead, who, having crossed the tide
Of Life where it was narrow, deep, and clear,
Now cast their brightness from the farther side
On the dark-flowing hours I breast in fear.
Richard Monkton Milne—Lord Houghton.

ON REVISITING OXFORD.

I never hear the sound of thy glad bells,
Oxford! and chime harmonious, but I say
(Sighing to think how time has worn away),
'Some spirit speaks in the sweet tone that swells,
Heard after years of absence, from the vale
Where Cherwell winds.' Most true it speaks the tale
Of days departed, and its voice recalls
Hours of delight and hope in the gay tide
Of life, and many friends now scattered wide
By many fates. Peace be within thy walls!
William Lisle Bowles.

LINES ON REVISITING TRINITY COLLEGE.

I past beside the reverend walls,
  In which of old I wore the gown;
  I roved at random through the town
And saw the tumult of the halls;

And heard once more in college fanes
  The storm their high built organs make,
  And thunder-music, rolling shake
The prophets, blazoned on the panes;

And caught once more the distant shout,
  The measured pulse of racing oars
  Among the willows; paced the shores
And many a bridge, and all about

The same gray flats again, and felt
  The same, but not the same; and last
  Up that long walk of limes I past,
To see the rooms in which he dwelt.

Another name was on the door:
  I lingered; all within was noise
  Of songs, and clapping hands, and boys
That crashed the glass and beat the floor;

Where once we held debate, a band
  Of youthful friends, on mind and art
  And labor, and the changing mart,
And all the frame-work of the land;

When one would aim an arrow fair,
  But send it slackly from the string;
  And one would pierce an outer ring,
And one an inner, here and there;

And last the master-bowman, he
  Would cleave the mark. A willing ear
  We lent him. Who, but hung to hear
The rapt oration flowing free

From point to point with power and grace,
  And music in the bounds of law,
  To those conclusions when we saw
The God within him light his face,

And seem to lift the form, and glow
  In azure orbits heavenly-wise;
  And over those ethereal eyes
The bar of Michael Angelo.

TENNYSON. *In Memoriam.*

CHARLES ASTOR BRISTED—FIVE YEARS IN TRINITY, 1840–44.

First Impressions of the Town and Gown.

Imagine the most irregular town that *can* be imagined, streets of the very crookedest kind, twisting about like those in a nightmare, and not unfrequently bringing you back to the same point you started from. Some of these tortuous lanes are without *trottoirs*, like the streets of old Continental towns; but it is more common to find a passage or short street all *sidewalk*—as we call what the English call *causeway*—without any carriage road. The houses are low and antique; sometimes their upper stories project out into and over the narrow pathway, making it still narrower; and their lower stories are usually occupied as shops—tailors and booksellers being the predominant varieties. Every now and then your road passes over a muddy little river, not larger than a tolerable canal, which rambles through and about the town in all sorts of ways, so that in *whatever* direction you walk from *any* point, you are pretty sure to come to a bridge before long. Such is the town of Cambridge—the *bridge* over the *Cam*.

Among these narrow, ugly, and dirty streets, are tumbled in, as it were at random (for the whole place looks as if it had been dancing to Amphion's music, and he had left off in the middle of a very complicated figure) some of the most beautiful academical buildings in the world. However their style of architecture may vary, according to the period at which they were built or rebuilt, they agree in one essential feature: all the colleges are constructed in quadrangles or *courts;*

> And round the cool green courts there runs a row
> Of cloisters, branched like mighty woods,
> Echoing all night to the sonorous flow
> Of spouted fountain floods.

And, as in course of years the population of every college, except one (Downing), has outgrown the original quadrangle, new courts have been added, so that the larger foundations have three, and one (St. John's) has four courts. Sometimes the 'old court,' or primitive part of the building, presents a handsome front to the largest street near it; but frequently as if to show its independence of, and contempt for, the town, it retires from the street altogether, showing the passer-by only its ugliest wall, and smallest, shabbiest gate.

You enter, then, by a portal neither particularly large nor very striking in its appearance, but rather the reverse, into a spacious and elegant square. There are neat grass-plots and walks, a fountain in the center; on one side stands a well-proportioned chapel, in one corner you catch a glimpse through a tantalizing grating of a beautiful garden, appropriated to the delectation of the authorities. In a second court you find sounding and venerable cloisters, perhaps a veritable structure of monkish times, if not, a satisfactory imitation of that period. And as you look on the walls, here rich with sculptured ornament, there covered with trailing and festooning ivy, the theory and idea of the college edifice begin to strike you—its front is inside for its own benefits; its turns its back upon the vulgar outside. But you have not yet fathomed and sounded its spirit of seclusion. The entries are narrow and low; the staircases narrow and tortuous; the iron-bound doors, closed by some mysterious spring, or open only to show another door within, look like the portals of a feudal dungeon. But up those break-neck staircases, and inside those formidable doors (sometime with the additional preliminary of a small, dark passage), are luxurious suites of rooms, not exactly like those of a Parisian hotel or a 'double house' in the Fifth Avenue, but quite as beautiful and much more comfortable. The apartments and the entrance seem made in inverse proportion to each other; a mere hole in the wall sometimes leads you to half a house of rooms; and most cosy rooms they are, with their prodigiously thick walls that keep out the cold in winter and heat (when there is any) in summer, their impregnable *sporting-doors* that defy alike the hostile dun and the too friendly 'fast man,' and all their quaint appurtenances, such as book-cases of the true scholastic sort, sunk into and forming part of the

wall, so that it would not be easy to appropriate them or the space they occupy to any other purpose: queer little nooks of studies, just large enough to hold a man in an arm-chair and a big dictionary; unexpected garrets, which the very occupant of the rooms never goes into without an air of enterprise and mystery.

The Cantabs' garb generally consists of a not too new black coat (frock or cutaway), trousers of some substantial stuff, gray or plaid, and a stout waistcoat, frequently of the same pattern as the trousers. Straps are unknown to him, and instead of boots, he wears easy low-heeled shoes, for greater convenience in fence and ditch jumping, and other feats of extempore gymnastics which diversify his 'constitutionals.' The only showy part of his attire is the cravat, which is apt to be blue or some other decided color, and fastened in front with a large gold-headed pin. During the middle of the day this outfit is completed by a hat of the average ugliness of English hats, but before 12 A.M., and after 4 P.M., you must superadd the academical costume. This consists of a gown, varying in color and ornament according to the wearer's college and rank, but generally black, not unlike an ordinary clerical gown, and a square-topped cap, which fits close to the head like a truncated helmet, while the covered board which forms the crown measures about a foot diagonally across. It is not by any means a *sine qua non* that the cap and gown should be in good order and condition; the latter is often sadly torn and faded, while the former retains but few traces of its original form after the rough usage it has undergone.

Nor must it be supposed that the gownsmen are thin, study-worn, consumptive looking individuals. The stranger's first impression was, that he had never seen so fine a body of young men together. Almost every man looked able and ready to row eight miles, walk twelve, or ride twenty 'across country,' at the shortest notice, and to eat half a leg of mutton and drink a quart of ale after it. One would hardly suspect them to be students at all, did not the number of glasses hint that those who carried them had impaired their sight by late reading.

The first academical authority the new comer makes acquaintance with in the regular order of things is the College Tutor. This gentleman has usually taken high honors either in Classics or Mathematics, and one of his duties is naturally to lecture—only you may be sure that if he has a turn for Classics he is not set to lecture on Mathematics, or *vice versa*, as used to be the case at Yale. But this by no means constitutes the whole or forms the most important part of his functions. He is the medium of all the students' pecuniary relations with the college. He sends in their accounts every term, and receives the money through his banker; nay more, he takes in the bills of their tradesmen, and settles them also. Further, he has the disposal of the college rooms, and assigns them to their respective occupants. When I speak of the College *Tutor*, it must not be supposed that one man is equal to all this work in a large college—Trinity, for instance, which usually numbers four hundred undergraduates in residence. A large college has usually two Tutors—Trinity has three—and the students are equally divided among them—*on their side* the phrase is—without distinction of year, or, as we should call it, of *class*. The jurisdiction of the rooms is divided in like manner. The Tutor is supposed to stand *in loco parentis*—but having sometimes more than a hundred young men under him, he can not discharge his duties in this respect very thoroughly, nor is it generally expected that he should.

Before you are fairly in your college, you must pass an examination. At many of the colleges, this is little more than nominal, any Master of Arts being qualified to admit a candidate; but at Trinity there is a regular test, though it must be owned the standard is not very high. The candidates for admission are examined in the First Book of the Iliad, the First Book of the Æneid, some easy Greek and Latin Prose, Arithmetic, the elements of Algebra, two Books of Euclid, and Paley's Natural Theology. Any one fitted for the Sophomore Class at Yale could pass here without trouble. The candidates are generally well pre-

pared, and the examiners lenient; out of one hundred and thirty or more who offer themselves, there are seldom more than four or five rejected. The principle seems to be, 'Let in every one, and if they can't keep on, that is their look-out.' In this way, various initiation fees are secured which would otherwise be lost. On a rough estimate, out of one hundred and twenty who enter every year at Trinity, more than twenty drop off by the beginning of the second year. This is the only entrance examination, and however much you may know, there is no such thing as entering in advance of the Freshman year, save only for men migrating from Oxford, who are allowed their Oxford terms, and can take rank at once. The regular examiners are the Dean and the Head Lecturer.

The Fellow-Commoners [the class of students in which Mr. Bristed enrolled himself] are 'young men of fortune,' as the *Cambridge Calendar* and *Cambridge Guide* have it, who, in consideration of their paying twice as much for every thing as any body else, are allowed the privilege of sitting at the Fellows' table in Hall and in their seats at Chapel; of wearing a gown with gold or silver lace, and a velvet cap with a metallic tassel; of having the first choice of rooms; and as is generally believed, and believed not without reason, of getting off with a less number of chapels per week. Among them are included the Honorables *not* eldest sons—only these wear a hat instead of the velvet cap, and are thence popularly known as *Hat* Fellow-Commoners. The noblemen proper, or eldest sons (of whom there are never many in Cambridge, Oxford presenting more attractions for them), wear the plain black silk gown and hat of an M.A., except on feast days and state occasions, when they come out in gowns still more gorgeous than those of the Fellow-Commoners. A Fellow-Commoner of economical habits (and it is not easy for one of them to be of such habits) requires £500 a year, and for the generality of them, £800 is not too much. I made the experiment with £400, partly from ignorance, partly from the dashing way an American has of going at any thing and trusting to Providence to get through.* The not surprising result was that at the end of seven months I found myself in debt.

Pensioner is the name given to the main body of the students. *Sizars* answer to the beneficiaries of American colleges. They receive pecuniary assistance from the college, and dine gratis after the Fellows on the remains of their table. In former times they waited on the Fellows at dinner, but this practice has long been abolished. A similar one still prevails in some of our institutions.

The Freshman, when once safe through his examination, is first inducted into his rooms by a gyp, usually recommended to him by his tutor. The *gyp* (from γὺψ, *vulture*, evidently a nickname at first, but now the only name applied to this class of persons) is a college servant, who attends upon a number of students, sometimes as many as twenty, calls them in the morning, brushes their clothes, carries for them parcels and the queerly twisted notes they are continually writing to one another, waits at their parties, and so on. Cleaning their boots is not in his branch of the profession; there is a regular brigade of college shoe-blacks. The new comer generally finds his apartment ready prepared for him, it being the custom for him to take the former tenant's furniture at a valuation by the college upholsterer, and make such subsequent additions to, or alterations in it, as his convenience requires or his fancy suggests. Thus the movables and fittings of a room are not generally renewed all at once, but piecemeal, from time to time. The appearance of a student's apartment, though by no means splendid, is decidedly comfortable; it is well cushioned and sofaed, with a proper proportion of arm-chairs, and a general air of respectability—much better on the whole than our students' rooms ever are. Fifty pounds would not be a high estimate for the usual value of the furniture. But the new occupant finds one deficiency. All the glass, china, and crockery of the man going out become, by

* I was recommended to enter as Fellow-Commoner, because it would open to me the society of the Fellows and older men, which indeed is the only real advantage of the position.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

immemorial usage, the bedmaker's property; accordingly our Freshman's first business is to provide himself, usually under the gyp's guidance, with a tea-set, and other like necessaries, among which decanters and wine-glasses figure conspicuously.

The *bedmakers* are the women who take care of the rooms; there is about one to each staircase, that is to say, to every eight rooms. Morning chapel goes in at seven, and as the English student does not pretend to the railroad speed of the American in making his toilet, the gyp is directed to call him at half-past six, or a little earlier. The bell tolls slowly for five minutes and strikes rapidly for five more before seven.

However much the chapels of the various colleges may differ in size and architectural beauty, they agree in their arrangement. On entering that of Trinity, you find yourself in the ante-chapel, surrounded by monuments of distinguished scholars and divines, eminent among which stands out a fine statue of Newton. Passing through an oaken screen, you walk down the long marble floor, between rows of movable benches, upon which the Pensioners sit, without distinction of year or person. The Scholars, Bachelor or Undergraduate, sit on seats behind and above the Pensioners, and above them again, along the walls, are the seats of Noblemen, Fellow-Commoners, and Fellows, and the desks of the Dean and college officers. The students, as they enter, are marked with pins on long alphabetical lists, by two college servants, who are so experienced and clever at their business, that they never ask the name of a new comer more than once.

The college authorities (in University slang phrase the *Dons*) are designated in the most general terms as *the Master and Fellows*. The Master of the College, or 'Head of the House,' is a D.D., who has been a Fellow. He is the supreme ruler within the college walls, and moves about like an undergraduate's deity, keeping at an awful distance from the students, and not letting himself be seen too frequently even at chapel. Besides his fat salary and house (technically known as the *Lodge*), he enjoys many perquisites and privileges, not the least of which is that of committing matrimony.

The *Fellows*, who form the general body from which the other college officers are chosen, consist of those four or five Bachelor Scholars in each year who pass the best examination in Classics, Mathematics, and Metaphysics. This examination being a severe one, and only the last of many trials which they have gone through, the inference is allowable that they are the most learned of the college graduates. They have a handsome income, whether resident or not; but if resident, enjoy the additional advantages of a well spread table for nothing, and good rooms at a very low price. The only conditions of retaining their Fellowships are that they take orders after a certain time and remain unmarried. Of those who do not fill college offices, some occupy themselves with private pupils; others, who have property of their own, prefer to live a life of literary leisure, like some of their predecessors, the monks of old. The eight oldest Fellows at any time in residence, together with the Master, have the government of the college vested in them.

The *Dean* is the presiding officer in chapel, and the only one whose presence there is indispensable. He oversees the markers' lists, pulls up the absentees, and receives their excuses. This office is no sinecure in a large college; at Trinity they have been forced to divide the work, and appoint a Junior Dean. It is rather surprising that there should be so much shirking of chapel, when the very moderate amount of attendance required is considered. The undergraduate is expected to go to chapel eight times, or in academic parlance, to *keep eight chapels* a week, two on Sunday, and one on every week day, attending morning or evening chapel on week-days at his option. Nor is even this indulgent standard rigidly enforced. If a Pensioner keeps six chapels, or a Fellow-Commoner four, *and is quite regular in all other respects*, he will never be troubled by the Dean.

Other officers are, the *Vice Master*, the *Bursar*, i.e., the College *Purse-bearer* or *Treasurer*, and his assistant; Lecturers, assistant Lecturers, and assistant Tutors to the number of nearly twenty (some of these, however, are non-residents, and only appear at examinations); four *Chaplains*, and the *Librarian*. These last five are the only officers not Fellows. They are usually selected from the Bachelor Scholars who have just missed Fellowships.

A Trinity Reading Man's Day.

The Chapel service occupies, as nearly as may be, half an hour. After this, it is the custom to take a fifteen minutes' walk in the college grounds, for the purpose of affording the bedmaker time to get the rooms in good order, and of giving the student an appetite for his breakfast. By eight, he is seated before his comfortably blazing coal fire (how different from our scorching, smouldering anthracite!), with his kettle boiling merrily, and the materials for his morning meal on a diminutive table near him. These are of the simplest description—rolls, butter, and tea: an excellent preparation for a morning's reading. The mention of breakfast conveys to a Cantab no ideas of ham and beefsteaks; and if reminiscences of cold game pie and hot cutlets are ever called up by it, it is on account of those occasional breakfast parties, which from their late hour (eleven) bear more resemblance to a luncheon.

At nine, Lectures begin, and continue till twelve. There are some ten or eleven going on at once. The established length of each lecture is one hour. For the Freshmen there are two, a classical and a mathematical, both which they are required to attend; the second and third year men have their choice of one lecture among three or four. The lecturer stands, and the lectured sit, even when construing, as the Freshmen are sometimes asked to do; the other years are only called on to listen. The practice of taking notes is very general; there is plenty of stationery ready provided on the desks, but the students usually bring their own note-books and pens.

Having mentioned *Second and Third year men*, it may be well for me to state at once that there are no such beings as *Sophomores* at an English University. The undergraduate course is three years and a third, and the students who have completed their first year are called successively *Junior Sophs* (abbreviated for *Sophisters*), *Senior Sophs*, and *Questionists*; or, more popularly, *Second-year men*, *Third-year men*, and *Men who are just going out*.

Some time before one, the student resorts to his private tutor, he reads a portion of some author, or undergoes an examination (by pen, ink, and paper), on something he has not prepared for the purpose.

From two to four is the traditional time of exercise, two hours' *hard* exercise a day being considered (as it is) little enough for a man who wishes to keep his body in proper vigor. . . . The most usual mode of exercise is walking—*constitutionalizing* is the Cantab for it. The country for miles around is very flat, and the roads are very good, two circumstances highly encouraging to pedestrianism. After walking comes rowing, which may indeed be called the distinguishing amusement of English University students. Cricketing, and all games of ball, are much practiced in their respective seasons.

During the quarter of an hour preceding 4 P.M., the students come flocking into their colleges and rooms to prepare for dinner. The academic cap and gown are resumed, and the hall crowded with hungry undergraduates, who are not, however, admitted within the screen until the Fellows and Fellow-Commoners have assembled. Then a Latin grace is read by two of the Dons, and forthwith the demolition of eatables proceeds. The tables of the undergraduates, arranged according to their respective years, are supplied with abundance of plain joints, and vegetables, and beer and ale *ad libitum*, besides which, soup, pastry, and cheese can be 'sized for,' that is, brought in portions to individuals at an extra charge; so that on the whole a very comfortable meal might be effected but for

the crowd and confusion, in which respect the hall dinner much resembles our steamboat meals. The attendance also is very deficient, and of the roughest sort. But some of the company are better off. At a raised dais at one end of the hall, the Fellows, Noblemen, and Fellow-Commoners are banqueting on a dinner of three courses, with port and sherry, in addition to the malt liquor, and abunddance of orderly and well dressed waiters. Along the wall you see two tables, which, though less carefully provided than the Fellows', are still served with tolerable decency, and go through a regular second course instead of the 'sizings.' The occupants of the upper or inner table are men apparently from twenty-two to twenty-six years of age, and wear black gowns with two strings hanging loose in front. If this table has less state than the adjoining one of the Fellows, it has more mirth and brilliancy; many a good joke seems to be going the rounds. These are the Bachelors, most of them Scholars reading for Fellowships, and nearly all of them private tutors. Although Bachélors in Arts, they are considered, both as respects the College and the University, to be *in statu pupillari* until they become M.A.'s. They pay a small sum in fees nominally for tuition, and are liable to the authority of that mighty man, the Proctor. The table nearer the door is filled by students in the ordinary undergraduate blue gown; but from the better service of their table, and perhaps some little consequential air of their own, it is plain that they have something peculiar to boast of. They are the Foundation Scholars, from whom the future Fellows are to be chosen, in the proportion of about one out of three. Their Scholarships are gained by examination in the second or third year, and entitle them to a pecuniary allowance from the college, and also to their commons gratis (these latter subject to certain attendance at and service in chapel), a first choice of rooms, and some other little privileges, of which they are somewhat proud, and occasionally they look as if conscious that some Don may be saying to a chance visitor at the high table 'those over yonder are the Scholars, the best men of their year.' Hall lasts about three quarters of an hour. Two Scholars conclude the performances by reading a long Latin grace.

After hall is emphatically lounging time, it being the wise practice of Englishmen to attempt no hard exercise, physical or mental, immediately after a hearty meal. Some stroll in the grounds if the weather is fine, many betake themselves to the Union Society Reading-room to glance over the newspapers and periodicals, and many assemble at wine parties to chat over a frugal dessert of oranges, biscuits, and cake, and sip a few glasses of not remarkably good wine. These *wine parties* are the most common entertainments, being rather the cheapest and very much the most convenient, for the preparations required for them are so slight as not to disturb the studies of the hardest reading man, and they take place at a time when no one pretends to do any work.

At six P.M., the chapel bell rings again. The attendance is more numerous now than it was in the morning. On Saturday evenings, Sundays, and Saints' days, the students wear surplices instead of their gowns, and very innocent and exemplary they look in them.

After chapel the evening reading begins in earnest. Most of the Cantabs are late readers, so that supposing one of them to begin at seven, he will not leave off before half-past eleven, thus clearing more than four hours consecutive work, his only intermission being to take a cup or two of tea, sometimes, but not often, accompanied by a slice of bread and butter. One solid meal a day is the rule; even when they go out to sup, as a reading man does perhaps once a term, and a rowing man twice a week, they eat very moderately, though their potations are sometimes of the deepest. Some students go to their private tutors in the evening; not unfrequently two or three meet in one another's rooms, alternately, to read some classical author or talk problems together—a very sociable way of acquiring learning.

A DAY WITH A PENSIONER OF TRINITY.

Mr. Everett, in his Lectures on the University of Cambridge, to show some of the points of resemblance, as well as of difference in the English and American systems, devotes a chapter (lecture) to the daily life of a Pensioner of Trinity College, of which he was a resident member for three years. In addition to the copious extracts already given, with the author's permission, we introduce a portion of this chapter:

Our new acquaintance, then, is a pensioner of Trinity College, Cambridge, in his second year. Pensioner is the name given to the great mass of students who pay for their board and lodging, and are in no way on the foundation of the College. I have chosen Trinity as the typical college for several reasons. In the first place, it is the largest, having more than twice as many residents as the next largest. In the second place, it contains undergraduates of all tastes; science and literature are almost equally pursued there, and, in almost all cases, it stands at the head of all the athletic and sporting interests. Furthermore, it was my college. The first thing every Englishman, and particularly every Cambridge man, does after you are introduced to him is to ask you to dinner.

Dinner at Trinity Hall.

We will, therefore, take a plain dinner with our friend in the hall of Trinity at four o'clock, P. M. The hall is an immense structure, of the age of James I., a hundred feet long, forty wide, and fifty high. Its high-peaked roof shows exposed the quaintly-ornamented rafters of massive oak, and the open lantern at the top allows the pigeons to fly in and out at all hours. The floor is of solid stone, though raised many feet above the ground. The walls are wainscoted up to their full height, and covered with portraits of the great men and benefactors of Trinity. The lofty Tudor windows, especially where, at the upper end, a species of transept opens right and left into two gorgeous oriels, are decorated with coats-of-arms of the peers and bishops that Trinity has nurtured Conspicuous at the upper end are blazoned, in gilded wood, the arms of England, France, and Ireland, and beneath the motto of the Virgin Queen, the triumphant "Semper Eadem." Right beneath this protecting ensign is raised a double dais, whereon athwart the hall are spread the tables for the high and mighty. Below, five ranges of tables extend the whole length of the hall, of oak, solid as the stone floor itself, with benches to correspond, while in the centre is the quaint apparatus for warming, an ancient open pan or brazier, piled up from November to May with live coals, and expelling the colder air from the whole vast apartment. Our friend is seated with his compeers at one of the benches in the centre of the hall. You observe that they have all placed their square caps beneath their seats—not a very good place, it must be confessed, for an article easily bent and broken, and, indeed, the academic dress is seldom in good preservation. They all retain their gown, which here is made of serge, and of a deep blue color, by which Trinity is distinguished, each college adopting its own form of the general type. At Oxford is no such distinction. The gown is a graceful and light affair. A Bachelor of Arts in every college has a black one of a little fuller pattern, with two black ribbons in front. A Master of Arts has a gown more ample still, while a Doctor of Divinity or Law rustles in full-blown splendor.

Our friend remains standing for a few moments while two of the authorities read alternately a Latin grace, and then the work of destruction begins. The dinner this day is rather better than usual, for it happens to be dedicated to one of the great saints in the English calendar, and on the saints' days poultry and ducks are immemorially added to the ordinary masses of beef and mutton. The carving, or rather the hacking, is very rough. Everybody is in a tremendous heat and steam, particularly the waiters, who are on the lookout that too much shall not be eaten. For observe here one of the exquisite abuses and vested rights by which the English Universities are eaten up: the ample dinner in hall is not provided by the college authorities. The army of servants, gyps, bedmakers, etc., contract to supply so much meat to the college cook: he sends it up to table, and all that is left, which, properly husbanded by an intelligent *artiste*, would furnish half the next day's meal, goes back as perquisites to the original proprietors. So day after day you see on the table nothing but vast joints of beef, mutton and pork, except when a blessed saint's day brings poultry. A few luxuries like soup can be had by paying extra.

The college is so immense, five hundred and twenty-five undergraduates,

that even this monstrous hall will not contain them all. There is, therefore, two thirds of the year, a second dinner for the Freshmen, equally hot and good, but at the less convenient hour of five. But even with this, the pushing, fighting, hacking over joints, in a scene where the attendance is of the roughest, the eating of the plainest, no regular seats are assigned, and such little niceties as napkins are unknown, make the college hall of Trinity pretty dismal, except for a very hungry man. If eight or ten friends, however, agree to be punctual and always get the same places, they can do very well. On one side of the room is a table where the fare is a good deal neater, if not better, and the attendance more abundant and quiet. It is that of the foundation scholars, the best students of their year, who receive this dinner gratis on condition of extra regularity at chapel. Still farther up on the same side is the table for the Bachelors of Arts. Here the fare and attendance are very decidedly improved; wine is provided, and certain rules are adopted to secure order and quiet. And above, on the dais, at those tables athwart the hall—contemplate with me if you please the magnificence of that dinner. It is the Fellows' table that you see; the table where those who are no longer undergraduates, no longer bachelors, but are resting in the unequalled glory of Masters of Arts and fellows of the college, in the plenitude of their full-sleeved gowns, are enjoying one of the very best dinners ever put on a table. On the festival of a saint, when it is known that the fare will be something quite surpassing, each fellow generally asks one or two guests, and happy are those who get such invitation. In sober earnest—since the fellows are a good deal shut out from the world and female society, and are living a regular monastic life, they are determined to have the very best dinner they can for their money. Notice those five or six young men in blue cloth gowns, ornamented with a profusion of silver lace, who are sitting with the fellows. They are undergraduates called fellow-commoners, who have the privilege of sitting in hall and chapel with the fellows on condition of wearing this very conspicuous gown, of paying nominally twice, and really three times as much for all college expenses, and of renouncing all claim to scholarships and fellowships. At the other colleges, the position of fellow-commoner is chiefly reserved for elderly men, who study for the church late in life, and would not enjoy mixing with undergraduates, very often married men. At Trinity, however, the fellow-commoners are generally young men of rank and fortune, who want to get the most for their money. You will notice also a couple of young men near the head of the table, evidently undergraduates, but still in the full master's gown. They are noblemen, or the eldest sons of noblemen, and have literally to pay four times as much for all regular college expenses, and are fleeced in a hundred other ways.

But your attention is attracted to the lower part of the hall—what is that large silver vessel going from hand to hand? It is an immense drinking cup, filled with a peculiar brand of strong ale, brewed by the college, and known as Audit, because every year a new tap is broached on the day when the accounts are audited. It is only produced on these few special days in the hall, and is greatly sought after. A slight scrimmage you will observe arises between our friend and his neighbor, founded on an accusation that our acquaintance had both the last draught of the exhausted cup and its first when replenished. The joints of meat and poultry are now cleared away, except where a few stragglers who have come in very late are endeavoring to extract some comfort out of a sadly torn and plundered leg of mutton. They are succeeded by a tolerable stock of plain puddings and pies—the scholars having the glorious privilege of selecting their own second course. All this time two college servants have been walking up and down the hall, pricking off on two long written—not printed—lists the names of all present. Observe the gesture of the marker at this moment. There is an undergraduate at the open door of the hall, raising his cap to attract attention. The marker nods and marks him, as being there, though not wishing to stay and dine. Above where this youth has just appeared our friend's notice is drawn right in the middle of his ale, by sarcastic remarks to the effect that he is under scrutiny. Sure enough, in the gallery opening into the hall above the door are a large party of ladies and gentlemen, making a visit to Trinity College, and stopping to look down and see the animals fed. There, through at last. Our friend is off like a shot. He does not wait for the final grace. This is not read by the fellows themselves—they are too much overcome by their exertions to be thankful, so two of the scholars are obliged to wait long after they have got through, in order to return thanks for the fellows' dinner.

As our friend leaves the hall, he stops in the passage just outside the door to read the notices posted upon the oak screen that cuts off this passage. He

sees that W. H. Stone has won the college prize for Alcaics; the Professor of Moral Philosophy begins his lectures next Wednesday; Professor Harold Browne of Emmanuel will preach next Sunday in Great St. Mary's, the University Church; and the Trinity Cricket Club will meet for choice of officers. His next step is down a low archway into the great college kitchen. Here the old institution of a smoke-jack is in perfection, roasting scores of joints and whole coops of poultry at once. High up on the old stone walls are two insignia of the kitchen; one apparently the shell of a vast turtle, presage of good cheer; the other the ancient arms of the college, the English Lion and Roses, and the grand old motto, that has sustained the sons of Trinity through many a hard contest with wickedness in high places—"Virtue is the true nobility." Our friend steps into a little office at the side of the kitchen, and gives a modest order. The whole cookery business of a college at Cambridge is really an institution. Each college has its staff of excellent cooks who not only serve the public dinner in the hall, but also furnish meals and provisions ready cooked on any scale of magnificence or simplicity to members of the college. Considering the superior quality of the food and cookery, and the promptness with which it is served, the prices charged are by no means exorbitant. A graduate, bachelor, or master of arts, can order any amount he likes, merely by signing his name. An undergraduate is confined within certain limits; but a special order signed by his tutor supersedes these, and these tutors' orders for breakfast, dinner, and supper are accorded with very great liberality. Having requested the cook to send in a pair of cold fowls and a tongue in the course of the evening, our friend retraces his steps, and passes out into the courtyard.

The Old Court of Trinity.

The Old Court of Trinity is one of the most splendid monuments at Cambridge. It is far the largest academic courtyard in England, being an irregular square of over two acres in extent. On the west side are the hall, with a few plain modern buildings, containing the kitchen, &c., in connection with it, and also a beautiful bit of battlemented Tudor architecture, the Master's Lodge, or residence of the head of the College. On the north is a small row of plain buildings, of the time of the Stuarts, occupied by some of the dignitaries, and a fine old gateway, whereon is a statue of Edward III., founder of King's Hall, the germ of Trinity College; beneath him is the motto, "Pugna pro patria," and still lower the proud announcement, "Tertius Edvardus famâ super æthera notus." Above him is a clock, which strikes every hour twice. The members of the neighboring College of St. John's complaining that Trinity clock struck too loud, a second movement was added which struck in a softer note, and they were perfectly satisfied. The chapel, a long, ugly piece of modern pseudo-Gothic, completes the side. The east and south sides are occupied by a long series of very comfortable lodging apartments, the main walls of the time of Queen Elizabeth, when all the students are understood to have had beds arranged throughout the length of one or two long dormitories; therefore the partitions are more recent. In the rear of one side is access to the lecture-rooms, and exactly opposite the Master's Lodge stands the main gateway, surmounted by Henry VIII without and James I. within. Every one of these suites of rooms teems with recollections of the great men who have lived there. But suffice it to mention one single staircase, leading to six sets of rooms. In that have lived successively Sir Isaac Newton, Lord Lyndhurst, Macaulay, Thackeray, and Tennyson. The centre of the court is divided into six plots of the velvet turf of England, clipped and rolled to the last degree of softness. It is a high offence for any one under the degree of a fellow to walk on the grass. In the centre is a grand old fountain under a magnificent canopy of ornamented stone-work, near it one of Troughton's curious sun-dials. But our friend has seen all these things again and again. He hurries through the gateway. As he stops to speak to the porter, does he reflect that the rooms over his head were Lord Bacon's?

Trinity Street—Union Society.

He passes out into the crooked, narrow, busy Trinity Street. It is full of brilliant shops and dingy lodging-houses. Immediately opposite the gate stands the entrance to the last new Court of Trinity—a gift of the present honored head of the College. A few rods through Trinity Street bring him to Green Street, and up the steps of the Union Society. The Union Societies of Cambridge and Oxford are exceedingly characteristic institutions. They are open to the whole body of the University. Anybody can join who likes, without the formality of an election. That at Cambridge contains a very

well stocked reading-room, good library, and convenient writing-room. All the popular newspapers and periodicals are found there. Its five hundred members making constant use of it from day to day, never, perhaps, writing a note out of its rooms, or reading for amusement anything not supplied by it, are yet to a vast extent wholly careless of who controls it, or what it does as a society. Its active working in all the points I mention is in the hands of two managing clerks. They are overseen by a board of officers, chosen every term from among the whole body of members, graduates and undergraduates. For these offices, in an American college, the competition would be terific, the canvassing incessant, and the meetings for business most stormy. Scarce anything of this is known at Cambridge. All the officers are frequently elected without opposition term after term A contested election twice a year is a very large allowance. And hardly anybody cares about the business-working of the society. When a contested election does arise, it is generally on some point like college rivalry, wholly apart from the real business.

But we have been leaving our friend an unconscionable time on the Union steps; to be sure he has been discussing whether Davies will win the University scholarship next year; and this all-absorbing topic of interest for the classical students at Cambridge is enough to excuse any delay or impoliteness But now he bounds up, and rushes into the reading-room, for he missed the paper this morning. As he takes up the *Times*, and subsides into a very comfortable arm-chair, he casually asks his neighbor, "if the Yankees have got another drubbing"; but, before he can get an answer, his eye catches the telegram of the battle of Chattanooga, and he does not repeat the question. The *Times* is soon discussed, a couple of other papers skimmed over, two or three magazines ditto, and a couple of letters written and posted. By this time, the deep-toned chapel bell of Trinity is beginning to sound loud in his ears, and he reflects that a slight neglect of the religious services, in the early part of the week, will necessitate attendance to-night. It being, as we have said, a saint's day, he repairs to his room It is in Letter D, New Court. There are now four courts in Trinity—the Old or Great, Neville's, the New, about thirty-five years old, and the Master's. He crosses the Great Court, defiles past the entrance of the hall, and emerging in the Neville's Court, slips through a portion of the cloisters, and under an archway into the New Court. Already he sees the stream of white surplices filing from every staircase; for at service on Saturday evening, Sundays, and saints' days, every member of the college, except the noblemen, has to appear in a white surplice, as though he were about to read the service. He enters the door over which the letter D is painted, the staircases, or, as we should say at Harvard, entries, being lettered. His room is gained, gown dashed off and surplice donned. Another run across the court; plenty of time, though, the service does not begin till a quarter of an hour after the bell. He enters the chapel, a narrow, inconvenient building, of very slight architectural merit. It is divided, like all the college chapels in England, into two parts, by a screen of oak, above which is the organ. The ante-chapel contains some fine stained windows: the memorial tablets of many fellows of Trinity who are buried there; and three glorious statues. Right and left of the passage through the screen, are those of Barrow and Bacon, and near the entrance is Roubiliac's masterpiece—the statue of Sir Isaac Newton, with the motto, "*Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit.*"

Evening Chapels.

But our friend has seen all this before. He does not stop to notice it, nor the beautiful carving of Gibbons with which the chapel itself is filled. At the upper end is the communion-table, raised on three high steps; along each side of the remainder run two tiers of raised seats, the masters of arts and fellow-commoners occupying the highest, the bachelors of arts, choristers, and undergraduate scholars the second. The seats for the body of the students are hard benches, with very flat apologies for cushions, not to sit, but kneel upon, arranged lengthwise throughout the body of the chapel and chancel. On one of these our friend seats himself, and watches the white crowd pour in. The bachelors of arts wear hoods, trimmed with white swansdown, hanging down their backs: the masters, hoods of black and white silk, and the doctors, scarlet. Presently pour in the two rows of chorister-boys, who take the treble parts; there are six of these on each side, together with half the number of adult male singers. The effect of these eighteen voices is very good, and the responsive parts are beautiful. There—enter the venerable head of the college, ushered to a high seat next the door; follow him the two deans—officers who attend to the police-work of the college—taking.

their seats on high, behind the choristers. The chaplain rises at the upper end. The evening service of the Church of England is performed, in a manner which seems very hurried to an American; but which soon appear. in very favorable contrast to the drawl so common here. As the "General Confession" is begun, see how every undergraduate rises from his seat, turns round, and bodily *kneels;* neither sits nor bows, nor any compromising posture. The musical part of the service is very good. The Psalms are chanted responsively, and to very beautiful tunes. The lessons from the Bible are always read by some member of the college proper or foundation; to-night being a saint's day, by a fellow, on Saturdays and Sundays by a bachelor scholar, on week days by an undergraduate scholar. This is a very pleasing part of the service, and greatly interests the young men themselves in it. All this time the two markers have been pacing up and down the chapel pricking down those who are present.

At the door of the chapel our friend meets one of his friends, a bachelor fellow. This gentleman was Senior Classic a year ago, and gained his fellowship the first time, so he is a model of scholarship and regularity to every one, and of great admiration to the younger members of the college. They stroll together to the fellows' staircase in the cloisters, and he says, "Come round to tea and whist this evening at nine." The invitation is eagerly accepted, and off runs our friend, for he must get through a good bit of work to-night, and it has struck seven. So to secure himself from all interruption, he sports the outer door. These outer doors are tremendous constructions of hard wood, opening outwards, and so when fastened by a spring-lock, absolutely impenetrable without a key. When shut they are said to be sported. Within this barricade our friend's domain consists of a front room about 14 feet by 13, looking into the courtyard, a back room not quite as wide, and a small dark cupboard called a gyp-room, where miscellanea are kept. Into this receptacle he carefully puts the fowls and tongue aforesaid which he finds have arrived from the kitchen in his absence. As to the internal appearance of the apartment suffice it to say it is a college room, but very comfortable, and all the more from having a good soft-coal fire in an open grate, instead of that abomination, a cast-iron stove.

Our friend gets out his Plato and Dictionary, and also writing materials. His first work is to prepare some composition, as it is called. This does not mean an English essay. No, his private tutor has handed him, on a piece of paper, a copy of twenty lines from Dryden's "Palamon and Arcite." This, if you please, he is to translate into Latin Hexameters as near like Virgil as possible. And he will do it too, and it wont take him an hour and a quarter to do the rough copy. And the rest of the time till nine he'll have to read some Plato. And in doing these verses not a shadow of grammar or dictionary will he use, and yet the verses will be very far from bad. So he works away, cheerfully but silently. At about half past eight a rustling is heard in the back room; the door is opened, and slowly appears an aged grim figure, not unlike the witches in Macbeth, holding a dimly burning lamp. Yet the brave heart of a Cambridge youth never quails. He only says, "O, Mrs. Day, breakfast for six to-morrow at nine—please order coffee and muffins at Hattersley's." "Very well, sir"; and the bedmaker, who has entered by a door to which she alone has the key, disappears, laying a funny little twisted note on his table. It requires an immediate answer, and fearing to trust the venerable genius of the apartments with his message, he slips on cap and gown, and hies him to his friend's room just outside the gate.

Proctorizing.

As he is hurrying back, nine having already struck, behold a singular scene. A procession is seen advancing, consisting of a master of arts in full academicals, with white tie and bands, and behind two stalwart men, their coats ornamented with a profusion of buttons. The train moves speedily up to an undergraduate without a gown, and in a little jaunty hat. "Are you a member of the University, sir?" says the clergyman, raising his cap politely. "Yes, sir." "Why have you not your academic dress on?" No excuse is apparent. "Your name and college if you please, sir." "Jones of Trinity Hall." "Jones of Trinity Hall; I fine you six and eight pence, sir; remember"—to his attendants—"Jones of Trinity Hall, 6*s.* 8*d.*"—and the train goes on. This is *proctorizing;* the reverend one is a proctor—the attendants are usually called bull-dogs. There are two proctors, and two assistant proctors, chosen from the colleges by a peculiar rotation. It is their duty to attend to various University matters, but particularly to parade the streets in this way, with their attendants, reprehending all offences against University discipline or public morality.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

Meanwhile our friend has slipped through the gate and reached his entertainer's rooms in the cloisters. There on the table are many loaves of bread, little pats of butter, each, according to the measure I stated, an inch roll, and sturdy white gallipots of jam, which is eaten whole ale on bread at Cambridge. All this is from the host's private stores. Two or three cups of strong tea are discussed, and the party sits down to whist. I can't pretend to give you all their hands, or who won each odd trick; but I must, at the risk of shocking everybody, say that all Cambridge, including the steadiest and most religious men, plays whist and other games for money, though the stakes are generally small. As the night wears on, frequent peals at the gate bell are heard. To explain these it must be noticed, that at sunset all the various entrances into the colleges are shut and locked except the one at the great gate. At ten, this also is locked, but the porter is in his lodge, to let in every one that rings the bell. All entering after lock-up are registered, and a very trifling fine levied for all between ten and twelve. After twelve the chain is put up, and a terrible blowing-up is the consequence of coming in later. If repeated, the results are serious, though in no way affecting the rank in scholarship.

At about half past six A. M. he is aroused to consciousness by allusions to the hour and morning chapel. It is from his gyp, who thinks it proper his master should attend. "No, thank you, Stacey," is the groan from under the bedclothes. "Don't forget breakfast at nine." Finally, after a roll or two, about a quarter past seven he rises, and from his bedroom window contemplates the prospect. A beautiful old lawn, still of England's velvety softness, varied by broad walks under lines of old trees—on the left is the college brewery, and on the right the Trinity bridge is visible. But what he thinks of is the November fog coming right up the river as thick as a Scotch mist, and freezing him to the bones to look at. In a few minutes, however, he is seated in his front room at a nice fire, duly made for him, observe, by the bedmaker. To her he hands a slip of paper—it is an order on the kitchen. He then looks over and corrects the Latin verses of last night, and reads a little more Plato; thus securing a good hour and more of work before breakfast. At half past eight he moves his work to another table, for now his bedmaker enters and proceeds to lay the cloth, together with knives, forks, etc., all from his own stores. Nine o'clock strikes—a great rattle outside; enter a boy bearing a waiter covered with green baize—green baize taken off discloses cups, saucers, and spoons for six; large coffee-pot, full of first-rate hot coffee, cream, sugar, and hot milk to correspond, two covered plates of muffins. These, be it observed, are supplied from the grocer's, outside the college walls.

Knock—"Come in"; enter first guest, who throws down cap and gown in a corner, and proceeds to warm himself, or look out of the window. Notice the court full of strong men clad in white, carrying heavy blue wooden trays on their heads. They are the cook's men, bringing the breakfasts from the college kitchens to such as order them. Observe, these hot breakfasts, ordered from the grocer's and kitchens, are exceptional affairs; generally, every one contents himself with bread and butter, from the college butteries—a different place from the kitchens—and coffee or tea made by himself in his own rooms. One of these cooks is seen approaching Letter D. Then tramp, tramp, like the horse in Don Giovanni—and crash—the heavy tray let down on the landing Delicately are fried soles, grilled fowl, and curried sausages extracted and set down to warm before the fire, where a stack of plates has been undergoing that operation for half an hour.

The rest of the guests soon assemble. They are five in all; two in their second year, like the host, and three freshmen. Three freshmen invited by a second year man! Yes. They are of course new to the college. And having some acquaintance with one of them, having been to school with the brother of the second, and having already met the third at a friend's rooms, the host thinks it his duty, as a gentleman and student, to show them this hospitality and every attention he can. For the knowledge how to furnish his rooms, etc., a new-comer almost always depends on a friend of advanced standing; in a great measure his only acquaintances, except his schoolfellows, for many weeks, are older men, and in short, throughout his freshman year, an undergraduate looks to those of the years above him for assistance, advice, and attention of every kind.

Mr. Everett in this connection administers a stinging condemnation of the "silly, cowardly, blackguardly practice" of hazing Freshmen which prevails at even Harvard and Yale.

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY.

MEMOIR.

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY, made Baron of Rothley in 1857, but who achieved his title to the peerage of his country by his splendid contributions to English literature and his fidelity, in and out of office, to the cause of civil and religious liberty, was born at Rothley Temple, October 25, 1800. His father was Zachary Macaulay, a West India merchant and eminent philanthropist of the evangelical type, and son of Rev. John Macaulay, a Presbyterian minister in the West of Scotland. His mother was Selma Mills, the daughter of a bookseller of Bristol, of a Quaker family. His early education was domestic, and in the conversations and associations of such a home we find the germs and leanings of the future opinions which he so manfully upheld by his pen and voice. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, at the age of eighteen, where he acquired a brilliant reputation as a scholar, both in mathematics and languages, and as a debater and writer. He twice won the Chancellor's medal for excellence in English literature, first in 1819; and in 1821 he obtained the Craven Scholarship. He took his first degree in 1822, was made Fellow of Trinity in the same year, and in 1825 was made Master of Arts—the same year in which his famous Essay on Milton appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, the first of that series of critico-historical essays, which now constitute a distinct department of English literature. He had already begun his apprenticeship as a literary journalist, by contributions to *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*, several of which are of such merit as to be included in his collected works.

In 1826 he was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, but was borne along with the current of political agitation, then running high, and in which he shared as Whig, until he entered Parliament for the borough of Calne in 1830. In the memorable struggle for Parliamentary Reform, he made several effective speeches; and to the first reformed House was returned as member for Leeds in 1831. As a member he was always an unflinching advocate of religious freedom

—his first speech was in support of a bill to repeal the civil disabilities of the Jews. He defended the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, and when a member for the city of Edinburgh, in 1846, supported a grant to Maynouth College and other measures, calculated to correct abuses in the government of Ireland, and remove just discontent from that portion of the Empire. For this magnanimous policy he was ousted of his seat in 1847, but was returned without any personal effort on his part by the same constituency in 1852. In the Melbourne Ministry he was made Secretary for the Board of Control for India, and in 1738 he went out to India as a member of the Supreme Council. Here his chief labor was in the preparation of a new penal code, and a system of public instruction. To his study on the spot of British rule in India we owe his masterly essays on Clive and Warren Hastings.

In 1840 he was appointed War Secretary, and it would seem as if under its inspiration, he appeared in 1842 as the author of those martial ballads, the *Lays of Ancient Rome.* In 1846 he was made Paymaster-General. In 1848 appeared the first two volumes of his *History of England from the accession of James II.*, in which he produced not merely the lives of kings, statesmen, and generals, but the development of arts and sciences and the progress of the people in every rank, in domestic comforts and good government. In 1849 he was chosen Lord-Rector of the University of Glasgow; and in 1855, the third and fourth volume of his History appeared 'with a rush for copies on the publishers and circulating libraries, such as only a popular novel usually exhibits.' In 1857 he was elected a foreign associate of the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences; and in the same year he was made Baron Macaulay of Rothley, and in Dec. 28, 1859, he died. His remains were buried in Westminster Abbey. His works, which are his best monument, have been published in a uniform edition, by Lady Trevelyan.

From first to last he was the advocate of a broad and liberal system of public instruction—from the elementary school for the entire mass of the people to universities for the highest science and literature, as well as for the greatest practical utilities, in every section of the Empire; and he was one of the first to recognize the special value of different studies in mental culture, and helped, by his report on the mode of appointment to office in India by competitive examination, to inaugurate a civil service based on educational qualifications.

ACADEMICAL EDUCATION IN ENGLAND—1826.*

That there are defects—great and radical defects in the constitution and studies of the two Universities we are strongly inclined to believe. What those defects are we shall attempt to state with frankness and candor. We would earnestly entreat the admirers of the two Universities to reflect on the importance of this subject, the advantages of calm investigation, and the folly of trusting, in an age like the present, to mere dogmatism and invective. If the system which they love and venerate rest upon just principles, the examination which we propose to institute, into the state of its foundations, can only serve to prove their solidity. If they be unsound, we will not permit ourselves to think, that intelligent and honorable men can wish to disguise a fact which, for the sake of this country, and of the whole human race, ought to be widely known. Let them, in tead of reiterating assertions which leave the question exactly where they found it; in-tead of turning away from all argument, as if the subject were one on which doubt partook of the nature of sin; instead of attributing to selfishness or malevolence, that which may at worst be harmless error, join us in coolly studying so interesting and momentous a point. As to this, however, they will please themselves. We speak to the English people. The public mind, if we are not deceived, is approaching to manhood. It has outgrown its swaddling-bands, and thrown away its play-things. It can no longer be amused by a rattle, or laid asleep by a song, or awed by a fairy tale. At such a time, we cannot doubt that we shall obtain an impartial hearing.

Objections to Oxford and Cambridge.

Our objections to Oxford and Cambridge may be summed up in two words, their wealth and their privileges. Their prosperity does not depend on the public approbation. It would therefore be strange if they deserved the public approbation. Their revenues are immense. Their degrees are, in some professions, indispensable. Like manufacturers who enjoy a monopoly, they work at such an advantage that they can venture to work ill.

Every person, we presume, will acknowledge that to establish an academic system on immutable principles, would be the height of absurdity. Every year sees the empire of science enlarged by the acquisition of some new province, or improved by the construction of some easier road. Surely the change which takes place in the state of knowledge, ought to be accompanied by a corresponding change in the method of instruction. In many cases the rude and imperfect works of early speculators ought to give place to the more complete and luminous performances of tho e who succeed them. Even the comparative value of languages is subject to great fluctuations. The same tongue which at one period may be richer that any other in valuable works, may, some centuries after, be poorer than any. That, while such revolutions take place, education ought to remain unchanged, is a proposition too absurd to be maintained for a moment.

If it be desirable that education should, by a gradual and constant change, adapt itself to the circumstances of every generation, how is this object to be secured? We answer—only by perfect freedom of competition. Under such a system, every possible exigence would be met. Whatever language, whatever art, whatever science, it might at any time be useful to know, *that* men would surely learn, and would as surely find instructors to teach. The professor who should persist in devoting his attention to branches of knowledge which had become useless, would soon be deserted by his pupils. There would be as much of every sort of information as would afford profit and pleasure to the possessor—and no more.

* Edinburgh Review: February, 1826. *The London University.*

But the riches and the franchises of our Universities prevent this salutary rivalry from taking place. In its stead is introduced an unnatural system of premiums, prohibitions, and apprenticeships. Enormous bounties are lavished on particular acquirements; and, in consequence, there is among our youth a glut of Greek, Latin, and Mathematics, and a lamentable scarcity of everything else.

University Studies too Few and not of the Right Kind.

We are by no means inclined to depreciate the studies which are encouraged at Oxford and Cambridge. We should reprobate with the same severity a system under which a like exclusive protection should be extended to French or Spanish, Chemistry or Mineralogy, Metaphysics or Political Economy. Some of these branches of knowledge are very important. But they may not always be equally important. Five hundred years hence, the Burmese language may contain the most valuable books in the world. Sciences, for which there is now no name, and of which the first rudiments are still undiscovered, may then be in the greatest demand. Our objection is to the principle. We abhor intellectual perpetuities. A chartered and endowed College, strong in its wealth and in its degrees, does not find it necessary to teach what is useful, because it can pay men to learn what is useless. Every fashion which was in vogue at the time of its foundation, enters into its constitution and partakes of its immortality. Its abuses savor of the reality, and its prejudices vest in mortmain, with its lands. In the present instance, the consequences are notorious. We every day see clever men of four and five-and-twenty, loaded with academical honors and rewards,—scholarships, fellowships, whole cabinets of medals, whole shelves of prize books,—enter into life with their education still to begin, unacquainted with the history, the literature, we might almost say, the language of their country, unacquainted with the first principles of the laws under which they live, unacquainted with the very rudiments of moral and political science! Who will deny that this is the state of things? Or who will venture to defend it?

This is no new complaint. Long before society had so far outstripped the Colleges in the career of improvement as it has since done, the evil was noticed and traced to its true cause, by that great philosopher who most accurately mapped all the regions of science, and furnished the human intellect with its most complete Itinerary. "It is not to be forgotten," says Lord Bacon, "that the dedicating of foundations and donations to professory learning, hath not only had a malign influence upon the growth of sciences, but hath also been prejudicial to states and governments: For hence it proceedeth, that princes find a solitude in respect of able men to serve them in causes of state, *because there is no education collegiate which is* FREE, where such as were so disposed might give themselves to histories, modern languages, books of policy and civil discourse, and other like enablements unto causes of state." The warmest admirers of the present system will hardly deny that, if this was an evil in the sixteenth century, it must be a much greater evil in the nineteenth. The literature of Greece and Rome is now what it was then. That of every modern language has received considerable accessions. And surely, "books of policy and civil discourse" are as important to an English gentleman of the present day, as they could be to a subject of James the First.

We repeat that we are not disparaging either the dead languages or the exact sciences. We only say that, if they are useful, they will not need peculiar encouragement, and that, if they are useless, they ought not to receive it. Those who maintain that the present system is necessary to pro-

mote the study of classical and mathematical knowledge, are the persons who really depreciate those pursuits. They do in fact declare, by implication, that neither amusement nor profit is to be derived from them, and that no man has any motive to employ his time upon them, unless he expects that they may help him to a fellowship.

Utility of Mathematics.

The utility of mathematical knowledge is felt in every part of the system of life, and acknowledged by every rational man But does it therefore follow that people ought to be paid to acquire it? A scarcity of persons capable of making almanacs and measuring land, is as little to be apprehended as a scarcity of blacksmiths. In fact, very few of our academical mathematicians turn their knowledge to such practical purposes. There are many wranglers who have never touched a quadrant. What peculiar title then has the mere speculative knowledge of mathematical truth to such costly remuneration? The answer is well known. It makes men good reasoners: it habituates them to strict accuracy in drawing inferences. In this statement there is unquestionably some truth A man who understands the nature of mathematical reasoning, the closest of all kinds of reasoning, is likely to reason better than another on points not mathematical, as a man who can dance generally walks better than a man who cannot But no people walk so ill as dancing-masters, and no people reason so ill as mere mathematicians. They are accustomed to look only for one species of evidence; a species of evidence of which the transactions of life do not admit. When they come from certainties to probabilities, from a syllogism to a witness, their superiority is at an end. They resemble a man who, never having seen any object which was not either black or white, should be required to discriminate between two near shades of gray. Hence, on questions of religion, policy, or common life, we perpetually see these boasted demonstrators either extravagantly credulous, or extravagantly sceptical. That the science is a necessary ingredient in a liberal education, we admit. But it is only an ingredient, and an ingredient which is pecularly dangerous, unless diluted by a large admixture of others. To encourage it by such rewards as are bestowed at Cambridge, is to make the occasional tonic of the mind its morning and evening nutriment.

Classical Literature.

The partisans of classical literature are both more numerous and more enthusiastic than the mathematicians; and the ignorant violence with which their cause has sometimes been assailed, has added to its popularity. On this subject we are sure that we are at least impartial judges. We feel the warmest admiration for the great remains of antiquity. We gratefully acknowledge the benefits which mankind has owed to them. But we would no more suffer a pernicious system to be protected by the reverence which is due to them, than we would show our reverence for a saint by erecting his shrine into a sanctuary for criminals.

An eloquent scholar has said that ancient literature was the ark in which all the civilization of the world was preserved during the deluge of barbarism. We confess it. But we do not read that Noah thought himself bound to live in the ark after the deluge had subsided. When our ancestors first began to consider the study of the classics as the principal part of education, little or nothing worth reading was to be found in any modern language. Circumstances have confessedly changed. Is it not possible that a change of system may be desirable?

Latin Language and Literature.

Our opinion of the Latin tongue will, we fear, be considered heretical. We cannot but think that its vocabulary is miserably poor, and its mechanism deficient both in power and precision. The want of a definite article, and of a distinction between the preterite and the aorist tenses, are two defects which are alone sufficient to place it below any other language with which we are acquainted. In its most flourishing era it was reproached with poverty of expression. Cicero, indeed, was induced by his patriotic feelings to deny the charge. But the perpetual recurrence of Greek words in his most hurried and familiar letters, and the frequent use which he is compelled to make of them, in spite of all his exertions to avoid them, in his philosophical works, fully prove that even this great master of the Latin tongue felt the evil which he labored to conceal from others.

We do not think much better of the writers, as a body, than of the language. The literature of Rome was born old. All the signs of decrepitude were on it in the cradle. We look in vain for the sweet lisp and the graceful wildness of an infant dialect. We look in vain for a single great creative mind,—for a Homer or a Dante, a Shakspeare or a Cervantes. In their place we have a crowd of fourth-rate and fifth-rate authors, translators, and imitators without end. The rich heritage of Grecian philosophy and poetry was fatal to the Romans. They would have acquired more wealth, if they had succeeded to less. Instead of accumulating fresh intellectual treasures, they contented themselves with enjoying, disposing in new forms, or impairing by an injudicious management, those which they took by descent. Hence, in most of their works, there is scarcely anything spontaneous and racy, scarcely any originality in the thoughts, scarcely any idiom in the style. Their poetry tastes of the hot-house. It is transplanted from Greece, with the earth of Pindus clinging round its roots. It is nursed in careful seclusion from the Italian air. The gardeners are often skilful; but the fruit is almost always sickly. One hardy and prickly shrub, of genuine Latin growth, must indeed be excepted. Satire was the only indigenous produce of Roman talent; and, in our judgment, by far the best.

We are often told the Latin language is more strictly grammatical than the English; and that it is, therefore, necessary to study it, in order to speak English with elegance and accuracy. This is one of those remarks which are repeated till they pass into axioms, only because they have so little meaning, that nobody thinks it worth while to refute them at their first appearance. If those who say that the Latin language is more strictly grammatical than the English, mean only that it is more regular, that there are fewer exceptions to its general laws of derivation, inflection, and construction, we grant it. This is, at least for the purposes of the orator and the poet, rather a defect than a merit; but be it merit or defect, it can in no possible way facilitate the acquisition of any other language. It would be about as reasonable to say, that the simplicity of the Code Napoleon renders the study of the laws of England easier than formerly. If it be meant that the Latin language is formed in more strict accordance with the general principles of grammar than the English, that is to say, that the relations which words bear to each other are more strictly analogous to the relations between the ideas which they represent in Latin than in English, we venture to doubt the fact. We are quite sure, that not one in ten thousand of those who repeat the hackneyed remark on which we are commenting, have ever considered whether there be any principles of grammar whatever, anterior to positive enactment,—any solecism which is a *malum in se*, as distinct from a *malum prohibitum*. Or, if we suppose that there exist such principles, is not

the circumstance, that a particular rule is found in one language and not in another, a sufficient proof that it is not one of those principles? That a man who knows Latin is likely to know English better than one who does not, we do not dispute. But this advantage is not peculiar to the study of Latin. Every language throws light on every other. There is not a single foreign tongue which will not suggest to a man of sense some new consideration respecting his own. We acknowledge, too, that the great body of our educated countrymen learn to grammaticize their English by means of their Latin. This, however, proves, not the usefulness of their Latin, but the folly of their other instructors. Instead of being a vindication of the present system of education, it is a high charge against it. A man who thinks the knowledge of Latin essential to the purity of English diction, either has never conversed with an accomplished woman, or does not deserve to have conversed with her. We are sure, that all persons who are in the habit of hearing public speaking must have observed, that the orators who are fondest of quoting Latin are by no means the most scrupulous about marring their native tongue. We could mention several Members of Parliament, who never fail to usher in their scraps of Horace and Juvenal with half a dozen false concords.

Greek Language and Literature.

We cannot refuse our admiration to that most wonderful and perfect machine of human thought, to the flexibility, the harmony, the gigantic power, the exquisite delicacy, the infinite wealth of words, the incomparable felicity of expression, in which are united the energy of the English, the neatness of the French, the sweet and infantine simplicity of the Tuscan. Of all dialects, it is the best fitted for the purposes both of science and of elegant literature. The philosophical vocabularies of ancient Rome, and of modern Europe, have been derived from that of Athens. Yet none of the imitations has ever approached the richness and precision of the original. It traces with ease distinctions so subtle, as to be lost in every other language It draws lines where all the other instruments of the reason only make blots. Nor is it less distinguished by the facilities which it affords to the poet There are pages even in the Greek Dictionaries over which it is impossible to glance without delight. Every word suggests some pleasant or striking image, which, wholly unconnected as it is with that which precedes or that which follows, gives the same sort of pleasure with that which we derive from reading the Adonais of poor Shelley, or from looking at those elegant, though unmeaning friezes, in which the eye wanders along a line of beautiful faces, graceful draperies, stags, chariots, altars, and garlands. The literature is not unworthy of the language. It may boast of four poets of the very first order, Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Aristophanes,—of Demosthenes, the greatest of orators—of Aristotle, who is perhaps entitled to the same rank among philosophers, and of Plato, who, if not the most satisfactory of philosophers, is at least the most fascinating. These are the great names of Greece; and to these is to be added a long list of ingenious moralists, wits, and rhetoricians, of poets who, in the lower departments of their art, deserve the greatest praise, and of historians who, at least in the talent of narration, have never been equalled.

It was justly said by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, that to learn a new language was to acquire a new soul. He who is acquainted only with the writers of his native tongue, is in perpetual danger of confounding what is accidental with what is essential, and of supposing that tastes and habits of thought, which belong only to his own age and country, are inseparable from the nature of man. Initiated into foreign literature, he finds that principles

of politics and morals, directly contrary to those which he has hitherto suppose to be unquestionable, because he never heard them questioned, have been held by large and enlightened communities; that feelings, which are so universal among his contemporaries, that he had supposed them instinctive, have been unknown to whole generations; that images, which have never failed to excite the ridicule of those among whom he has lived, have been thought sublime by millions. He thus loses that Chinese cast of mind, that stupid contempt for everything beyond the wall of his celestial empire, which was the effect of his former ignorance. New associations take place among his ideas. He doubts where he formerly dogmatized. He tolerates where he formerly execrated. He ceases to confound that which is universal and eternal in human passions and opinions with that which is local and temporary. This is one of the most useful effects which results from studying the literature of other countries; and it is one which the remains of Greece, composed at a remote period, and in a state of society widely different from our own, are peculiarly calculated to produce.

Ancient and Modern Languages.

But though we are sensible that great advantages may be derived from the study of the Greek language, we think that they may be purchased at too high a price: And we think that seven or eight years of the life of a man who is to enter into active life at two or three-and-twenty, is too high a price. Those are bad economists who look only to the excellence of the article for which they are bargaining, and never ask about the cost. The cost, in the present instance, is too often the whole of that invaluable portion of time during which a fund of intellectual pleasure is to be stored up, and the foundations of wisdom and usefulness laid. No person doubts that much knowledge may be obtained from the Classics. It is equally certain that much gold may be found in Spain. But it by no means necessarily follows, that it is wise to work the Spanish mines, or to learn the ancient languages. Before the voyage of Columbus, Spain supplied all Europe with the precious metals. The discovery of America changed the state of things. New mines were found, from which gold could be procured in greater plenty, and with less labor. The old works were therefore abandoned—it being manifest those who persisted in laying out capital on them would be undersold and ruined. A new world of literature and science has also been discovered. New veins of intellectual wealth have been laid open. But a monstrous system of bounties and prohibitions compels us still to go on delving for a few glittering grains in the dark and laborious shaft of antiquity, instead of penetrating a district which would reward a less painful search with a more lucrative return. If, after the conquest of Peru, Spain had enacted that, in order to enable the old mines to maintain a competition against the new, a hundred pistoles should be given to every person who should extract an ounce of gold from them, the parallel would be complete.

We will admit that the Greek language is a more valuable language than the French, the Italian, or the Spanish. But whether it be more valuable than all the three together, may be doubted; and that all the three may be acquired in less than half the time in which it is possible to become thoroughly acquainted with the Greek, admits of no doubt at all. Nor does the evil end here Not only do the modern dialects of the Continent receive less attention than they deserve, but our own tongue, second to that of Greece alone in force and copiousness, our own literature, second to none that ever existed, so rich in poetry, in eloquence, in philosophy, is unpardonably neglected. All the nineteen plays of Euripides are digested, from the first bubbling froth of the Hecuba to the last vapid dregs of the Electra; while our

own sweet Fletcher, the second name of the modern drama, in spite of all the brilliancy of his wit, and all the luxury of his tenderness, is suffered to lie neglected. The Essay on the human understanding is abandoned for the Theotetus and the Phœdon. We have known the dates of all the petty skirmishes of the Peloponnesian war carefully transcribed and committed to memory, by a man who thought that Hyde and Clarendon were two different persons! That such a man has paid a dear price for his learning, will be admitted. But, it may be said, he has at least something to show for it. Unhappily he has sacrificed, in order to acquire it, the very things without which it was impossible for him to use it. He has acted like a man living in a small lodging, who, instead of spending his money in enlarging his apartments and fitting them up commodiously, should lay it all out on furniture fit only for Chatsworth or Belvoir. His little rooms are blocked up with bales of rich stuffs and heaps of gilded ornaments, which have cost more than he can afford, yet which he has no opportunity and no room to display. Elegant and precious in themselves, they are here utterly out of place; and their possessor finds that, at a ruinous expense, he has bought nothing but inconvenience and ridicule. Who has not seen men to whom ancient learning is an absolute curse, who have labored only to accumulate what they cannot enjoy? They come forth into the world, expecting to find only a larger university. They find that they are surrounded by people who have not the least respect for the skill with which they detect etymologies, and twist corrupt Epodes into something like meaning. Classical knowledge is indeed valued by all intelligent men; but not such classical knowledge as theirs. To be prized by the public, it must be refined from its grosser particles, burnished into splendor, formed into graceful ornaments, or into current coin. Learning in the ore, learning with all the dross around it, is nothing to the common spectator. He prefers the cheapest tinsel; and leaves the rare and valuable clod, to the few who have the skill to detect its qualities, and the curiosity to prize them.

A Complete and Liberal Education.

Not one gentleman in fifty can possibly receive what we should call a complete and liberal education. That term includes not only the ancient languages, but those of France, Italy, Germany, and Spain. It includes mathematics, the experimental sciences, and moral philosophy. An intimate acquaintance both with the profound and polite parts of English literature is indispensable. Few of those who are intended for professional or commercial life can find time for all these studies. It necessarily follows that some portion of them must be given up: And the question is, what portion? We say, provide for the mind as you provide for the body,—first necessaries,—then conveniences,—lastly luxuries. Under which of those heads do the Greek and Latin languages come? Surely under the last. Of all the pursuits which we have mentioned, they require the greatest sacrifice of time. He who can afford time for them, and for the others also, is perfectly right in acquiring them. He who cannot, will, if he is wise, be content to go without them. If a man is able to continue his studies till his twenty-eighth or thirtieth year, by all means let him learn Latin and Greek. If he must terminate them at one-and-twenty, we should in general advise him to be satisfied with the modern languages. If he is forced to enter into active life at fifteen or sixteen, we should think it best that he should confine himself almost entirely to his native tongue, and thoroughly imbue his mind with the spirit of its best writers. But no! The artificial restraints and encouragements which our academic system has introduced have altogether *reversed* this

natural and salutary order of things. We deny ourselves what is indispensable, that we may procure what is superfluous.

The Classics under an Optional System.

Under a free system, the ancient languages would be less read, but quite as much enjoyed. We should not see so many lads who have a smattering of Latin and Greek, from which they derive no pleasure, and which, as soon as they are at liberty, they make all possible haste to forget. It must be owned, also, that there would be fewer young men really well acquainted with the ancient tongues. But there would be many more who had treasured up useful and agreeable information. Those who were compelled to bring their studies to an early close, would turn their attention to objects easily attainable. Those who enjoyed a longer space of literary leisure would still exert themselves to acquire the classical languages. They would study them, not for any direct emolument which they would expect from the acquisition, but for their own intrinsic value. Their number would be smaller, no doubt, than that of present aspirants after classical honors. But they would not, like most of those aspirants, leave Homer and Demosthenes to gather dust on the shelves, as soon as the temporary purpose had been served. There would be fewer good scholars of twenty-five; but we believe that there would be quite as many of fifty.

University Bounties not Wisely Bestowed.

We have supposed that the bounties which they offer to certain studies are fairly bestowed on those who excel. The fact, however, is that they are in many cases appropriated to particular counties, parishes, or names. The effect of the former system is to encourage studies of secondary importance, at the expense of those which are entitled to preference. The effect of the latter is to encourage total idleness. It has been also asserted that at some Colleges the distributors of fellowships and scholarships have allowed themselves to be influenced by party spirit, or personal animosity. On this point, however, we will not insist. We wish to expose the vices, not of individuals, but of the system.

The Curriculum not Strictly Enforced.

All who wish for degrees must reside at College; but only those who expect to obtain prizes and fellowships apply themselves with vigor to classical and mathematical pursuits. The great majority have no inducement whatever to exert themselves. They have no hope of obtaining the premium; and no value for the knowledge without the premium. For the acquisition of other kinds of knowledge the Universities afford no peculiar facilities. Hence proceeds the general idleness of collegians. Not one in ten, we venture to say, ever makes any considerable proficiency in those pursuits to which everything else is sacrificed. A very large proportion carry away from the University less of ancient literature than they brought thither.

Too much Claimed and Allowed for University Residence.

The defenders of our Universities commonly take it for granted that we are indebted to them for all the talent which they have not been able to destroy. It is usual, when their merits come under discussion, to enumerate very pompously all the great men whom they have produced as if great men had not appeared under every system of education. Great men were trained in the schools of the Greek sophists and Arabian astrologers, of the Jesuits and the Jansenists. There were great men when nothing was taught but school Divinity and Canon Law; and there would still be great men if nothing were taught but the fooleries of Spurzheim and Swedenberg. A

long list of eminent names is no more a proof of the excellence of our Academic institutions, than the commercial prosperity of the country is a proof of the utility of restrictions in trade. No financial regulations, however absurd and pernicious, can prevent a people amongst whom property is secure, and the motive to accumulate consequently strong, from becoming rich. The energy with which every individual struggles to advance, more than counteracts the retarding force, and carries him forward, though at a slower rate, than if he were left at liberty. It is the same with restrictions which prevent the intellect from taking the direction which existing circumstances point out. They do harm. But they cannot wholly prevent other causes from producing good. In a country in which public opinion is powerful, in which talents properly directed are sure to raise their professor to distinction, ardent and aspiring minds will surmount all the obstacles which may oppose their career. It is amongst persons who are engaged in public and professional life that genius is most likely to be developed. Of these a large portion is necessarily sent to our English Universities. It would, therefore, be wonderful if the Universities could not boast of many considerable men. Yet, after all, we are not sure whether, if we were to pass in review the Houses of Parliament and the English and Scottish Bar, the result of the investigation would be so favorable as is commonly supposed to Oxford and Cambridge. And of this we are sure, that many persons who, since they have risen to eminence, are perpetually cited as proofs of the beneficial tendency of English education, were at College never mentioned but as idle, frivolous men, fond of desultory reading, and negligent of the studies of the place. It would be indelicate to name the living; but we may venture to speak more particularly of the dead. It is truly curious to observe the use which is made in such discussions as these, of names which we acknowledge to be glorious, but in which the Colleges have no reason to glory,—that of Bacon, who reprobated their fundamental constitution; of Dryden, who abjured his *Alma Mater*, and regretted that he had passed his youth under her care; of Locke, who was censured and expelled; of Milton, whose person was outraged at one University, and whose works were committed to the flames at the other!

THE LONDON UNIVERSITY.

From these radical defects of the old foundations the London University is free. It cannot cry up one study or cry down another. It has no means of bribing one man to learn what it is of no use to him to know, or of exacting a mock attendance from another who learns nothing at all. To be prosperous, it must be useful.

We would not be too sanguine. But there are signs of these times, and principles of human nature, to which we trust as firmly as ever any ancient astrologer trusted to the rules of his science. Judging from these, we will venture to cast the horoscope of the infant institution. We predict that the clamor by which it has been assailed will die away,—that it is destined to a long, a glorious, and a beneficent existence,—that, while the spirit of its system remains unchanged, the details will vary with the varying necessities and facilities of every age,—that it will be the model of many future establishments—that even those haughty foundations which now treat it with contempt, will in some degree feel its salutary influence,—and that the approbation of a great people, to whose wisdom, energy and virtue, its exertions will have largely contributed, will confer on it a dignity more imposing than any which it could derive from the most lucrative patronage, or the most splendid ceremonial.

University Teaching at Athens.

The Athenian populace surpassed in general intelligence the lower orders of any community that ever existed. To be a citizen of Athens was to be a legislator, a soldier, a judge,—one upon whose voice might depend the fate of the wealthiest tributary state, or of the mo t eminent public men. The lowest offices, both of agriculture and of trade, were, in common, performed by slaves. The state supplied its meanest members with the support of life, the opportunity of leisure, and the means of amusement. Books were indeed few; but they were excellent; and they were accurately known. It is not by turning over libraries, but by repeatedly perusing and intently contemplating a few great models, that the mind is best disciplined. Demosthenes is said to have transcribed six times the history of Thucydides. * *

Books, however, were the least part of the education of an Athenian citizen. Let us for a moment transport ourselves, in thought, to that glorious city. Let us imagine that we are entering its gates in the time of its power and glory. A crowd is assembled round a portico. All are gazing with delight at the entablature, for Phidias is putting up the frieze. We turn into another street; a rhapsodist is reciting there: men, women, children are thronging round him: the tears are running down their cheeks; their eyes are fixed; their very breath is still, for he is telling how Priam fell at the feet of Achilles, and kissed those hands,—the terrible,—the murderous,—which had slain so many of his sons. We enter the public place; there is a ring of youths, all leaning forward, with sparkling eyes, and gestures of expectation. Socrates is pitted against the famous atheist, from Iona, and has just brought him to a contradiction in terms. But we are interrupted. The herald is crying—"Room for the Prytanes." The general assembly is to meet. The people are swarming in on every side. Proclamation is made—"Who wishes to speak." There is a shout, and a clapping of hands; Pericles is mounting the stand. Then for a play of Sophocles; and away to sup with Aspasia. I know of no modern university which has so excellent a system of education.

Knowledge thus acquired and opinions thus formed were, indeed, likely to be, in some respects, defective. Propositions which are advanced in discourse generally result from a partial view of the question, and cannot be kept under examination long enough to be corrected. Men of great conversational powers almost universally practise a sort of lively sophistry and exaggeration, which deceives, for the moment, both themselves and their auditors. Thus we see doctrines, which cannot bear a close inspection, triumph perpetually in drawing rooms, in debating societies, and even in legislative and judicial assemblies. To the conversational education of the Athenians I am inclined to attribute the great looseness of reasoning which is remarkable in most of their scientific writings. Even the most illogical of modern writers would stand perfectly aghast at the puerile fallacies which seem to have deluded some of the greatest men of antiquity. Sir Thomas Lethbridge would stare at the political economy of Xenophon; and the author of *Soirées de Pétersbourg* would be ashamed of some of the metaphysical arguments of Plato. But the very circumstances which retarded the growth of science were peculiarly favorable to the cultivation of eloquence. From the early habit of taking a share in animated discussion, the intelligent student would derive that readiness of resource, that copiousness of language, and that knowledge of the temper and understanding of an audience, which are far more valuable to an orator than the greatest logical powers.—*Complete Works of Lord Macaulay, Vol. VII.* Athenian Orators.

THE STATE AND POPULAR EDUCATION.

I hold that it is the right and the duty of the State to provide for the education of the common people. On this subject I can not refer to higher authority, or use more strong terms, than have been employed by Adam Smith; and I take his authority the more readily, because he is not very friendly to State interference; and almost on the same page as that I refer to, he declares that the State ought not to meddle with the education of the higher orders; but he distinctly says that there is a difference, particularly in a highly civilized and commercial community, between the education of the higher classes and the education of the poor. The education of the poor he pronounces to be a matter in which government is most deeply concerned; and he compares ignorance, spread through the lower classes, neglected by the State, to a leprosy, or some other fearful disease, and says that where this duty is neglected, the State is in danger of falling into terrible disorder. He had scarcely written this than the axiom was fearfully illustrated in the riots of 1780.

Mr. David Hume, after laying down the general principle of non-interference of the government in matters where individual interest is sufficient to prompt to necessary efforts to realize the highest advantages to the public, admits that there are some useful and necessary ends to be secured, which require the intervention of the government, either by means of money, or distinctions, or both. Now the experience of England shows that the schools for the people and teachers for those schools will not be provided without such intervention.

GENERAL CULTURE FOR CIVIL SERVICE APPOINTMENTS.

Dr. Donaldson cites the following passages from Mr. Macaulay's Report on the East India Civil Service Examinations in 1854, in favor of a liberal general education over a narrow special training, although more immediately practical:

'We believe that men who have been engaged, up to 21 or 22, in studies which have no immediate connection with the business of any profession, and of which the effect is merely to open, to invigorate, and to enrich the mind, will generally be found, in the business of every profession, superior to men who have, at 18 or 19, devoted themselves to the special studies of their calling. The most illustrious English jurists have been men, who have never opened a law-book till after the close of a distinguished academical career; nor is there any reason to believe that they would have been greater lawyers, if they had passed in drawing pleas and conveyances the time which they gave to *Thucydides*, to *Cicero*, and to *Newton*.'

Of the Mathematical portion of the examination they say:—

'We think it important that not only the acquirements, but also the mental powers and resources of the competitors should be brought to the test.'

Speaking of the Moral Sciences, as included in the scheme, they remark:—

'Whether this study shall have to do with mere words or things, whether it shall degenerate into a formal and scholastic pedantry, or shall train the mind for the highest purposes of active life, will depend, to a great extent, on the way in which the examination is conducted. . . . The object of the examiners should be rather to put to the test the candidate's powers of mind than to ascertain the extent of his metaphysical reading.'

With the same reference to the immediate objects of a competitive test, they recommend that eminence in classical composition should have a considerable share in determining the issue of the competition:—

'Skill in Greek and Latin versification has, indeed, no direct tendency to form a judge, a financier, or a diplomatist. But the youth who does best what all the ablest and most ambitious youths about him are trying to do well, will generally prove a superior man; nor can we doubt that an accomplishment, by which Fox and Canning, Grenville and Wellesley, Mansfield and Tenterden first distinguished themselves above their fellows, indicates powers of mind which, properly trained and directed, may do great service to the state.'

And with regard to the Examination in general they observe with truth:—

'Experience justifies us in pronouncing with entire confidence that, if the

examiners be well chosen, it is utterly impossible that the delusive show of knowledge, which is the effect of the process popularly called cramming, can ever be successful against real learning and ability.'

It is clear, from these explicit statements of their views, that the able and eminent persons, who framed the scheme for the civil service examination, had no wish to send out to India clever smatterers, feeble bookworms, scholastic pedants, and one-sided mathematicians; but to select the most energetic and vigorous young men from the crowds who were likely to offer themselves as candidates for a share in the administration of our most important Satrapies. The particular kind of knowledge, which would be most serviceable to them in the presidencies, was to be prescribed to those selected by the first test, and this subsequent course of study was to be stimulated by a second examination. But, for the preparatory selection, it was only necessary to test existing methods of education, and to discover the best men they could produce. The reasonableness of this procedure was manifest. On the one hand, as the candidates would come from schools and colleges, which had long pursued fixed systems of instruction, differing in different parts of the country, it was necessary that the touchstone should be applied fairly to them all. On the other hand, as only a limited number of the candidates could be successful, it was essential that the whole body of applicants should not be drawn away from their general studies by specialties, which might be of little or no use to those who would not ultimately proceed to India. But, independently of these considerations, suggested by the distinctive peculiarities of the appointments themselves and the means of filling them, the framers of the scheme of examination could not but foresee that such an object of competition would soon produce an effect on the educational system of the whole country, and that teachers would address themselves to the immediate preparation of candidates. They, therefore, wisely laid down some general principles, applicable to the future no less than to the present. They have declared unreservedly that they want the fruits of real mental discipline, that they desire habits of exact thought, and not a wide range of diversified information; and thus they give their adhesion to the old rather than to the new form of education, and would prefer the solid groundwork of the old school of arts rather than the showy stucco-work of modern sciolism. They indicate that, up to a certain time of life, it is of much less consequence what we read than how we read it; and that the young man, who would prepare himself for future distinction, must be frequently less anxious to advance than to know the route which he has already traversed. The student, who is worthy of the name, must be willing to acquiesce in those teachers, who, in the older universities, were called *repetents* —a sort of intellectual drill-sergeants; he must often remind himself of the words of the Platonic Socrates: 'Perhaps it would not be amiss to go over this ground again; for it is better to accomplish a little thoroughly, than a great deal insufficiently.' In the words of a modern philosopher (Hamilton), he will thus learn that 'as the end of study is not merely to compass the knowledge of facts, but, in and from that knowledge, to lay up the materials of speculation; so it is not the quantity read, but the degree of reading which affords a profitable exercise to the student. Thus it is far more improving to read one good book ten times, than to read ten good books once; and *non multa sed multum*, 'not much, perhaps, but accurate,' has, from ancient times, obtained the authority of an axiom in education, from all who had any title to express an opinion on the subject.'

Adopting these principles and thus confining the competitive test to the results of a liberal or general education, these exponents of the newest demands upon intellectual culture have not only given the most important place to the old basis of instruction, namely, classics and mathematics, but have even declared their preference for the more old fashioned of these two departments of study. For while mathematics have only 1,000 marks assigned as the maximum of credit, 1,500 marks are allotted to Greek and Latin. And thus in our newest educational stimulus we have, as in our oldest academical institutions, a premium for the cultivation of classical scholarship even as compared with mathematical science.

FEMALE EDUCATION IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The second wife of Sir Nicholas and mother of Francis Bacon was Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, a man of distinguished learning who had been tutor to Edward the Sixth. Sir Anthony had paid considerable attention to the education of his daughters, and lived to see them all splendidly and happily married. Their classical acquirements made them conspicuous even among the women of fashion of that age. Katherine, who became Lady Killigrew, wrote Latin Hexameters and Pentameters which would appear with credit in the *Musæ Etonenses*. Mildred, the wife of Lord Burleigh, was described by Roger Ascham as the best Greek scholar among the young women of England, Lady Jane Grey always excepted. Anne, the mother of Francis Bacon, was dintinguished both as a linguist and as a theologian. She corresponded in Greek with Bishop Jewel, and translated his *Apologia* from the Latin, so correctly that neither he nor Archbishop Parker could suggest a single alteration.

She also translated a series of sermons on fate and free-will from the Tuscan of Bernardo Ochino. This fact is the more curious, because Ochino was one of that small and audacious band of Italian reformers, anathematized alike by Wittenberg, by Geneva, by Zurich, and by Rome, from which the Socinian sect deduces its origin.

Lady Bacon was doubtless a lady of highly cultivated mind after the fashion of her age. But we must not suffer ourselves to be deluded into the belief that she and her sisters were more accomplished women than many who are now living. On this subject there is, we think, much misapprehension. We have often heard men who wish, as almost all men of sense wish, that women should be highly educated, speak with rapture of the English ladies of the sixteenth century, and lament that they can find no modern damsel resembling those fair pupils of Ascham and Aylmer who compared, over their embroidery, the styles of Isocrates and Lysias, and who, while the horns were sounding and the dogs in full cry, sat in the lonely oriel, with eyes riveted to that immortal page which tells how meekly and bravely the first great martyr of intellectual liberty took the cup from his weeping jailer. But surely these complaints have very little foundation. We would by no means disparage the ladies of the sixteenth century or their pursuits. But we conceive that those who extol them at the expense of the women of our time forget one very obvious and very important circumstance. In the time of Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, a person who did not read Greek and Latin could read nothing, or next to nothing. The Italian was the only modern language which possessed any thing that could be called a literature. All the valuable books then extant in all the vernacular dialects of Europe would hardly have filled a single shelf. England did not yet possess Shakspeare's plays and the Fairy Queen, nor France Montaigne's Essays, nor Spain Don Quixote. In looking round a well furnished library, how many English or French books can we find which were extant

* Lady Jane Grey (Lady Guilford Dudley) was the daughter of Frances Brandon (the daughter of Mary Queen Dowager of France and sister of Henry VIII. and Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk) and Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, who was descended from Elizabeth, Queen to Edward IV. Her teacher was Mr. Elmer, or Aylmer, who was made Bishop of London in 1576. Roger Ascham records that he found her reading Plato's *Phædon* while her parents and their guests were hunting in the park—declaring that she owed her love of learning 'to the greatest benefit God ever gave me,—a gentle schoolmaster, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing while I am with him.'

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

when Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth received their education? Chaucer, Gower, Froissart, Comines, Rabelais, nearly complete the list. It was therefore absolutely necessary that a woman should be uneducated or classically educated. Indeed, without a knowledge of one of the ancient languages no person could then have any clear notion of what was passing in the political, the literary, or the religious world. The Latin was in the sixteenth century all and more than all that the French was in the eighteenth. It was the language of courts as well as of the schools. It was the language of diplomacy; it was the language of theological and political controversy. Being a fixed language, while the living languages were in a state of fluctuation, and being universally known to the learned and the polite, it was employed by almost every writer who aspired to a wide and durable reputation. A person who was ignorant of it was shut out from all acquaintance, not merely with Cicero and Virgil, not merely with heavy treatises on canon-law and school-divinity, but with the most interesting memoirs, state papers, and pamphlets of his own time—nay, even with the most admired poetry and the most popular squibs which appeared on the fleeting topics of the day, with Buchanan's complimentary verses, with Erasmus's dialogues, with Hutten's epistles.

This is no longer the case. All political and religious controversy is now conducted in the modern languages. The ancient tongues are used only in comments on the ancient writers. The great productions of Athenian and Roman genius are indeed still what they were. But though their positive value is unchanged, their relative value, when compared with the whole mass of mental wealth possessed by mankind, has been constantly falling. They were the intellectual all of our ancestors. They are but a part of our treasures. Over what tragedy could Lady Jane Grey have wept, over what comedy could she have smiled, if the ancient dramatists had not been in her library? A modern reader can make shift without Œdipus and Medea, while he possesses Othello and Hamlet. If he knows nothing of Pyrgopolynices and Thraso, he is familiar with Bobadil, and Bessus, and Pistol, and Parolles. If he can not enjoy the delicious irony of Plato, he may find some compensation in that of Pascal. If he is shut out from Nephelococcygia, he may take refuge in Lilliput. We are guilty, we hope, of no irreverence toward those great nations to which the human race owes art, science, taste, civil and intellectual freedom, when we say, that the stock bequeathed by them to us has been so carefully improved that the accumulated interest now exceeds the principal. We believe that the books which have been written in the languages of western Europe, during the last two hundred and fifty years,—translations from the ancient languages of course included,—are of greater value than all the books which at the beginning of that period were extant in the world. With the modern languages of Europe English women are at least as well acquainted as English men. When, therefore, we compare the acquirements of Lady Jane Grey with those of an accomplished young woman of our own time, we have no hesitation in awarding the superiority to the latter. We hope that our readers will pardon this digression. It is long; but it can hardly be called unseasonable, if it tends to convince them that they are mistaken in thinking that the great-great-grandmothers of their great-great-grandmothers were superior women to their sisters and their wives.—*Edinburgh Review*, July, 1837.—LORD BACON.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN INDIA.

[The following extracts are taken from Trevelyan's Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay. Vol. I., p. 353–362.]

When Macaulay arrived in India in 1834, all educational action had been at a stand for some time back, on account of an irreconcilable difference of opinion in the Committee of Public Instruction; which was divided, five against five, on either side of a controversy, vital, inevitable, admitting of neither postponement nor compromise, and conducted by both parties with a pertinacity and a warmth that was nothing but honorable to those concerned. Half of the members were for maintaining and extending the old scheme of encouraging Oriental learning by stipends paid to students in Sanscrit, Persian, and Arabic; and by liberal grants for the publication of works in those languages. The other half were in favor of teaching the elements of knowledge in the vernacular tongues, and the higher branches in English. On his arrival, Macaulay was appointed president of the committee; but he declined to take any active part in its proceedings until the Government had finally pronounced on the question at issue. Late in January, 1835, the advocates of the two systems, than whom ten abler men could not be found in the service, laid their opinions before the Supreme Council; and, on the 2d of February, Macaulay, as a member of that council, produced a minute in which he adopted and defended the views of the English section in the committee.

How stands the case? We have to educate a people who can not at present be educated by means of their mother tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands preëminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions, which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equaled; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature; with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, and trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. Nor is this all. In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia; communities which are every year becoming more important, and more closely connected with our Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we

shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be most useful to our native subjects.

The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronize sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier—astronomy, which would move laughter in the girls at an English boarding-school—history, abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long—and geography, made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter.

We are not without experience to guide us. History furnishes several analogous cases, and they all teach the same lesson. There are in modern times, to go no further, two memorable instances of a great impulse given to the mind of a whole society—of prejudice overthrown—of knowledge diffused—of taste purified—of arts and sciences planted in countries which had recently been ignorant and barbarous.

The first instance to which I refer is the great revival of letters among the Western nations at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that time almost every thing that was worth reading was contained in the writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Had our ancestors acted as the Committee of Public Instruction has hitherto acted; had they neglected the language of Cicero and Tacitus; had they confined their attention to the old dialects of our own island; had they printed nothing and taught nothing at the universities but chronicles in Anglo-Saxon and romances in Norman-French, would England have been what she now is? What the Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham, our tongue is to the people of India. The literature of England is now more valuable than that of classical antiquity. I doubt whether the Sanscrit literature be as valuable as that of our Saxon and Norman progenitors. In some departments—in history, for example—I am certain that it is much less so.

Another instance may be said to be still before our eyes. Within the last hundred and twenty years, a nation which had previously been in a state as barbarous as that in which our ancestors were before the Crusades, has gradually emerged from the ignorance in which it was sunk, and has taken its place among civilized communities. I speak of Russia. There is now in that country a large educated class, abounding with persons fit to serve the state in the highest functions, and in no wise inferior to the most accomplished men who adorn the best circles of Paris and London. There is reason to hope that this vast empire, which in the time of our grandfathers was probably behind the Punjab, may, in the time of our grandchildren, be pressing close on France and Britain in the career of improvement. And how was this change effected? Not by flattering national prejudices; not by feeding the mind of the young Muscovite with the old woman's stories which his rude fathers had believed; not by filling his head with lying legends about St. Nicholas; not by encouraging him to study the great question, whether the world was or was not created on the 13th of September; not by calling him a 'learned native' when he has mastered all these points of knowledge; but by teaching him those foreign languages in which the greatest mass of information had been laid up, and thus putting all that information within his reach. The languages of Western Europe civilized Russia. I can not doubt that they will do for the Hindoo what they have done for the Tartar.

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I think it highly probable that Mr. Nicholls may be to blame, because I have seldom known a quarrel in which both parties were not to blame. But I see no evidence that he is so. Nor do I see any evidence which tends to prove that Mr. Nicholls leads the Local Committee by the nose. The Local Committee appear to have acted with perfect propriety, and I can not consent to treat them in the manner recommended by Mr. Sutherland. If we appoint the colonel to be a member of their body, we shall, in effect, pass a most severe censure on their proceedings. I dislike the suggestion of putting military men on the committee as a check on the civilians. Hitherto we have never, to the best of my belief, been troubled with any such idle jealousies. I would appoint the fittest men, without caring to what branch of the service they belonged, or whether they belonged to the service at all.

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As to the corrupting influence of the zenana, of which Mr. Trevelyan speaks, I may regret it; but I own that I can not help thinking that the dissolution of the tie between parent and child is as great a moral evil as can be found in any zenana. In whatever degree infant schools relax that tie, they do mischief. For my own part, I would rather hear a boy of three years old lisp all the bad words in the language, than that he should have no feelings of family affection —that his character should be that which must be expected in one who has had the misfortune of having a schoolmaster in place of a mother.

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With respect to making our college libraries circulating libraries, there is much to be said on both sides. If a proper subscription is demanded from those who have access to them, and if all that is raised by this subscription is laid out in adding to the libraries, the students will be no losers by the plan. Our libraries, the best of them at least, would be better than any which would be readily accessible at an up-country station; and I do not know why we should grudge a young officer the pleasure of reading our copy of Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' or 'Marmontel's Memoirs,' if he is willing to pay a few rupees for the privilege.

These utterances of cultured wisdom, or homely mother wit, are sometimes expressed in phrases almost as amusing, though not so characteristic, as those which Frederic the Great used to scrawl on the margin of reports and dispatches for the information of his secretaries.

We are a little too indulgent to the whims of the people in our employ. We pay a large sum to send a master to a distant station. He dislikes the place. The collector is uncivil; the surgeon quarrels with him; and he must be moved. The expenses of the journey have to be defrayed. Another man is to be transferred from a place where he is comfortable and useful. Our masters run from station to station at our cost, as vaporized ladies at home run about from spa to spa. All situations have their discomforts; and there are times when we all wish that our lot had been cast in some other line of life, or in some other place.

With regard to a coat of arms for Hooghly college, he says:—

I do not see why the mummeries of European heraldry should be introduced into any part of our Indian system. Heraldry is not a science which has any eternal rules. It is a system of arbitrary canons, originating in pure caprice. Nothing can be more absurd and grotesque than armorial bearings, considered in themselves. Certain recollections, certain associations, make them interesting in many cases to an Englishman; but in those recollections and associations the natives of India do not participate. A lion rampant, with a folio in his paw, with a man standing on each side of him, with a telescope over his head, and with a Persian motto under his feet, must seem to them either very mysterious or very absurd.

In a discussion on the propriety of printing some books of Oriental science, Macaulay writes:—

I should be sorry to say any thing disrespectful of that liberal and generous enthusiasm for Oriental literature which appears in Mr. Sutherland's minute; but I own that I can not think that we ought to be guided in the distribution of the small sum which the government has allotted for the purpose of education by considerations which seem a little romantic. That the Saracens a thousand years ago cultivated mathematical science is hardly, I think, a reason for our spending any money in translating English treatises on mathematics into Arabic. Mr. Sutherland would probably think it very strange if we were to urge the destruction of the Alexandrian Library as a reason against patronizing Arabic literature in the nineteenth century. The undertaking may be, as Mr. Sutherland conceives, a great national work. So is the breakwater at Madras. But under the orders which we have received from the government, we have just as little to do with one as with the other.

Now and then a stroke aimed at Hooghly college hits nearer home. That men of thirty should be bribed to continue their education into mature life 'seems very absurd. Moghal Jan has been paid to learn something during twelve years. We are told that he is lazy and stupid; but there are hopes that in four years more he will have completed his course of study. We have had quite enough of these lazy, stupid school-boys of thirty.'

I must frankly own that I do not like the list of books. Grammars of rhetoric and grammars of logic are among the most useless furniture of a shelf. Give a boy 'Robinson Crusoe.' That is worth all the grammars of rhetoric and logic in the world. We ought to procure such books as are likely to give the children a taste for the literature of the West; not books filled with idle distinctions and definitions which every man who has learned them makes haste to forget. Who ever reasoned better for having been taught the difference between a syllogism and an enthymeme? Who ever composed with greater spirit and elegance because he could define an oxymoron or an aposiopesis? I am not joking, but writing quite seriously, when I say that I would much rather order a hundred copies of 'Jack the Giant-killer' for our schools than a hundred copies of any grammar of rhetoric or logic that ever was written.

Goldsmith's Histories of Greece and Rome are miserable performances, and I do not at all like to lay out £50 on them, even after they have received all Mr. Pinnock's improvements. I must own, too, that I think the order for globes and other instruments unnecessarily large. To lay out £324 at once on globes alone, useful as I acknowledge those articles to be, seems exceedingly profuse, when we have only about £3,000 a year for all purposes of English education. One twelve-inch or eighteen-inch globe for each school is quite enough; and we ought not, I think, to order sixteen such globes when we are about to establish only seven schools. Useful as the telescopes, the theodolites, and the other scientific instruments mentioned in the indent undoubtedly are, we must consider that four or five such instruments run away with a year's salary of a schoolmaster, and that if we purchase them it will be necessary to defer the establishment of schools.

At one of the colleges at Calcutta the distribution of prizes was accompanied by some histrionic performances by the pupils.

I have no partiality [writes Macaulay] for such ceremonies. I think it a very questionable thing whether, even at home, public spouting and acting ought to form part of the system of a place of education. But in this country such exhibitions are peculiarly out of place. I can conceive nothing more grotesque than the scene from the 'Merchant of Venice,' with Portia represented by a little black boy. Then, too, the subjects of recitation were ill chosen. We are attempting to introduce a great nation to a knowledge of the richest and noblest literature in the world. The society of Calcutta assemble to see what progress we are making; and we produce as a sample a boy who repeats some blackguard doggerel of George Colman's, about a fat gentleman who was put to bed over an oven, and about a man-midwife who was called out of his bed by a drunken man at night. Our disciple tries to hiccough, and tumbles and staggers about in imitation of the tipsy English sailors whom he has seen at the punch-houses. Really, if we can find nothing better worth reciting than this trash, we had better give up English instruction altogether. As to the list of prize books, I am not much better satisfied.

The list [of prize books] ought in all its parts to be thoroughly recast. If Sir Benjamin Malkin will furnish the names of ten or twelve works of a scientific kind which he thinks suited for prizes, the task will not be difficult; and, with his help, I will gladly undertake it. There is a marked distinction between a prize book and a school book. A prize book ought to be a book which a boy receives with pleasure, and turns over and over, not as a task, but spontaneously. I have not forgotten my own school-boy feelings on this subject. My pleasure at obtaining a prize was greatly enhanced by the knowledge that my little library would receive a very agreeable addition. I never was better pleased than when at fourteen I was master of Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' which I had long been wishing to read. If my master had given me, instead of Boswell, a critical pronouncing dictionary, or a geographical class-book, I should have been much less gratified by my success.

The idea had been started of paying authors to write books in the languages of the country. On this Macaulay remarks:—

To hire four or five people to make a literature is a course which never an-

swered and never will answer, in any part of the world. Languages grow. They can not be built. We are now following the slow but sure course on which alone we can depend for a supply of good books in the vernacular languages of India. We are attempting to raise up a large class of enlightened natives. I hope that, twenty years hence, there will be hundreds, nay thousands, of natives familiar with the best models of composition, and well acquainted with Western science. Among them some persons will be found who will have the inclination, and the ability, to exhibit European knowledge in the vernacular dialects. This I believe to be the only way in which we can raise up a good vernacular literature in this country.

These hopeful anticipations have been more than fulfilled. Twice twenty years have brought into existence, not hundreds or thousands, but hundreds of thousands, of natives who can appreciate European knowledge when laid before them in the English language, and can reproduce it in their own. Taking one year with another, upward of a thousand works of literature and science are published annually in Bengal alone, and at least four times that number throughout the entire continent. Our colleges have more than six thousand students on their books, and two hundred thousand boys are receiving a liberal education in schools of the higher order. For the improvement of the mass of the people, nearly seven thousand young men are in training as certificated masters. The amount allotted in the budget to the item of Public Instruction has increased more than seventy-fold since 1835; and is largely supplemented by the fees which parents of all classes willingly contribute, when once they have been taught the value of a commodity the demand for which is created by the supply. During many years past the generosity of wealthy natives has to a great extent been diverted from the idle extravagance of pageants and festivals, to promote the intellectual advancement of their fellow-countrymen. On several different occasions, at a single stroke of the pen, our Indian universities have been endowed with twice, three times, four times the amount of the slender sum which Macaulay had at his command. But none the less was he the master-engineer, whose skill and foresight determined the direction of the channels along which this stream of public and private munificence was to flow for the regeneration of our Eastern empire.

It may add something to the merit of Macaulay's labors in the cause of education that those labors were voluntary and unpaid; and voluntary and unpaid likewise was another service which he rendered to India, not less durable than the first, and hardly less important—a penal code framed on two great principles—the principle of suppressing crime with the smallest possible amount of suffering, and the principle of ascertaining truth at the smallest possible cost of time and money.

Civil Appointment on a Basis of Competition.

In the discussion on the India Bill of 1853, Mr. Macaulay remarked:—

It is said, I know, that examinations in Latin, in Greek, and in mathematics, are no tests of what men will prove to be in life. I am perfectly aware that they are not infallible tests; but that they are tests I confidently maintain. Look at every walk of life, at this House, at the other House, at the Bar, at the Bench, at the Church, and see whether it be not true that those who attain high distinction in the world were generally men who were distinguished in their academic career. Indeed, s.r, this objection would prove far too much even for those who use it. It would prove that there is no use at all in education. Education would be a mere useless torture, if, at two or three and twenty, a man who had neglected his studies were exactly on a par with a man who had applied himself to them—exactly as likely to perform all the offices of public life with credit to himself and with advantage to society. Whether the English system of education be good or bad is not now the question. Perhaps I may think that too much time is given to the ancient languages and to the abstract sciences. But what then? Whatever be the languages, whatever be the sciences, which it is, in any age or country, the fashion to teach, the persons who become the greatest proficients in those languages and those sciences will generally be the flower of the youth; the most acute, the most industrious, the most ambitious of honorable distinctions. If the Ptolemaic system were taught at Cambridge instead of the Newtonian, the senior wrangler would, nevertheless, be in general a superior man to the wooden spoon. If, instead of learning Greek, we learned the Cherokee, the man who understood the Cherokee best, who made the most correct and melodious Cherokee verses, who comprehended most accurately the effect of the Cherokee particles, would generally be a superior man to him who was destitute of those accomplishments. If astrology were taught at our universities, the young man who cast nativities best would generally turn out a superior man. If alchemy were taught, the young man who showed most activity in the pursuit of the philosopher's stone would generally turn out a superior man.

In the discussion on the India Bill of 1853, Mr. Macaulay remarked:—

There is something plausible in the proposition that you should allow him [the governor-general] to take able men wherever he finds them. But my firm opinion is, that the day on which the Civil Service of India ceases to be a close service will be the beginning of an age of jobbing—the most monstrous, the most extensive, and the most perilous system of abuse in the distribution of patronage that we have ever witnessed. Every governor-general would take out with him, or would soon be followed by, a crowd of nephews, first and second cousins, friends, sons of friends, and political hangers-on; while every steamer arriving from the Red Sea would carry to India some adventurer bearing with him testimonials from people of influence in England. The governor-general would have it in his power to distribute residencies, seats at the council board, seats at the revenue board, places of from four thousand to six thousand pounds a year, upon men without the least acquaintance with the character or habits of the natives, and with only such knowledge of the language as would enable them to call for another bottle of pale ale, or desire their attendant to pull the punka faster. In what way could you put a check on such proceedings? Would you, the House of Commons, control them? Have you been so successful in extirpating nepotism at your own door, and in excluding all abuses from Whitehall and Somerset House, that you should fancy that you could establish purity in countries the situation of which you do not know, and the names of which you can not pronounce? I believe most fully that, instead of purity resulting from that arrangement to India, England itself would soon be tainted; and that before long, when a son or brother of some active member of this House went out to Calcutta, carrying with him a letter of recommenda-

tion from the prime minister to the governor-general, that letter would be really a bill of exchange drawn on the revenues of India for value received in Parliamentary support in this House.

We are not without experience on this point. We have only to look back to those shameful and lamentable years which followed the first establishment of our power in Bengal. If you turn to any poet, satirist, or essayist of those times, you may see in what manner that system of appointment operated. There was a tradition in Calcutta that, during Lord Clive's second administration, a man came out with a strong letter of recommendation from one of the ministers. Lord Clive said in his peculiar way, 'Well, chap, how much do you want?' Not being accustomed to be spoken to so plainly, the man replied that he only hoped for some situation in which his services might be useful. 'That is no answer, chap,' said Lord Clive. 'How much do you want? will a hundred thousand rupees do?' The person replied that he should be delighted if, by laborious service, he could obtain that competence. Lord Clive at once wrote out an order for the sum, and told the applicant to leave India by the ship he came in, and, once back in England, to remain there. I think that the story is very probable, and I also think that India ought to be grateful for the course which Lord Clive pursued; for, though he pillaged the people of Bengal to enrich this lucky adventurer, yet, if the man had received an appointment, they would have been pillaged, and misgoverned as well. Against evils like these there is one security, and, I believe, but one; and that is, that the Civil Service should be kept close.

In reference to Lord Ellenborough's opposition to appointment by open competitive examination, Mr. Macaulay observed:—

If I understand the opinions imputed to that noble lord, he thinks that the proficiency of a young man in those pursuits which constitute a liberal education is not only no indication that he is likely to make a figure in after life, but that it positively raises a presumption that he will be passed by those whom he overcame in these early contests. I understand that the noble lord holds that young men who gain distinction in such pursuits are likely to turn out dullards, utterly unfit for an active career; and I am not sure that the noble lord did not say that it would be wiser to make boxing or cricket a test of fitness than a liberal education. It seems to me that there never was a fact proved by a larger mass of evidence, or a more unvaried experience than this: that men who distinguish themselves in their youth above their contemporaries almost always keep, to the end of their lives, the start which they have gained. This experience is so vast that I should as soon expect to hear any one question it, as to hear it denied that arsenic is poison, or that brandy is intoxicating. Take down, in any library, the Cambridge calendar. There you have the list of honors for a hundred years. Look at the list of wranglers and of junior optimes; and I will venture to say that, for one man who has in after life distinguished himself among the junior optimes, you will find twenty among the wranglers. Take the Oxford calendar, and compare the list of first class men with an equal number of men in the third class. Is not our history full of instances which prove this fact? Look at the Church or the Bar. Look at Parliament, from the time that Parliamentary government began in this country; from the days of Montague and St. John to those of Canning and Peel. Look to India. The ablest man who ever governed India was Warren Hastings, and was he not in the first rank at Westminster? The ablest civil servant I ever knew in India was Sir Charles Metcalfe, and was he not of the first standing at Eton? The most eminent member of the aristocracy who ever governed India was Lord Wellesley. What was his Eton reputation? What was his Oxford reputation? I must also mention—I can not refrain from mentioning—another noble and distinguished governor-general. A few days ago, while the memory of the speech to which I have alluded was still fresh in my mind, I read in the 'Musæ Cantabrigienses' a very elegant and classical ode by a young poet of seventeen, which the University of Cambridge rewarded with a gold medal; and with pleasure, not altogether unmingled with pain, I read at the bottom of that composition the name of the Honorable Edward Law, of St. John's College. I saw with

pleasure that the name of Lord Ellenborough may be added to the long list of men who, in early youth, have by success in academical studies given the augury of the part which they were afterward to play in public life; and, at the same time, I could not but feel some concern and surprise that a nobleman so honorably distinguished in his youth by attention to those studies should, in his maturer years, have descended to use language respecting them which would have better become the lips of Ensign Northerton, or the captain in Swift's poem, who says·

> A scholard when first from his college broke loose
> Can hardly tell how to cry *baa!* to a gouse.
> Your Noveds, and Bluturchs, and Omurs, and stuff.
> By George, they don't signify this pinch of snuff,
> To give a young gentleman right education
> The army's the only good school in the nation.
> My schoolmaster called me a dunce and a fool;
> But at cuffs I was always the cock of the school.

If a recollection of his own early triumphs did not restrain the noble earl from using this language, I should have thought that his filial piety would have had that effect. I should have thought that he would have remembered how splendid was the academical career of that great and strong-minded magistrate, the late Lord Ellenborough. . . . It is no answer to say that you can point—as it is desirable that you should be able to point—to two or three men of great powers who, having idled when they were young, stung with remorse and generous shame, have afterward exerted themselves to retrieve lost time. Such exceptions should be noted; for they seem intended to encourage those who, after having thrown away their youth from levity or love of pleasure, may be inclined to throw their manhood after it from despair; but the general rule is, beyond all doubt, that the men who were first in the competition of the schools have been first in the competition of the world.

Macaulay clearly explained to the House how a system of competitive examination, by an infallible and self-acting process, maintains, and even raises, the standard of excellence, and how a system of pass examination tends surely and constantly to lower it. He supported his view by a chain of reasoning which has often been employed since, but to which no advocate of the old mode of appointment by private interest has even so much as attempted to reply.* He said something against the superstition that proficiency in learning implies a want of energy and force of character; which, like all other superstitions, is cherished only by those who are unwilling to observe facts, are unable to draw deductions. A man who has forced his way to the front of English politics has afforded at least a strong presumption that he can hold his own in practical affairs; and there has been a Cabinet in which six out of the seven ministers in the House of Commons, who had been educated at the English universities, were either first class or double first class men.

* His argument ran thus: Under a system of competition every man struggles to do his best; and the consequence is that, without any effort on the part of the examiner, the standard keeps itself up. But the moment that you say to the examiner, not, 'Shall A or B go to India?' but 'Here is A. Is he fit to go to India?' the question becomes altogether a different one. The examiner's compassion, his good nature, his unwillingness to blast the prospects of a young man, lead him to strain a point in order to let the candidate in if he possibly can. That would be the case even if we suppose the dispensers of patronage left merely to the operation of their own minds; but you would have them subjected to solicitations of a sort which it would be impossible to resist. 'The father comes with tears in his eyes; the mother writes the most pathetic and heart-breaking letters. Very firm minds have often been shaken by appeals of that sort. But the system of competition allows nothing of the kind. The parent can not come to the examiner and say, 'I know very well that the other boy beat my son; but please be good enough to say that my son beat the other boy.'

Macaulay did not vouchsafe more than a passing allusion to the theory that success in study is generally attended by physical weakness and dearth of courage and animal spirits. As if a good place in an examination list were any worse test of a sound constitution than the possession of family or political interest! As if a young fellow who can get the heart out of a book, and concentrate his faculties over a paper of questions, must needs be less able to sit a horse or handle a bat, and, if need be, to lead a forlorn hope or take charge of a famine stricken district, than the son of a person of fashion who has the ear of a minister, or the nephew of an influential constituent who owns twenty public-houses in a Parliamentary borough! The Royal Engineers, the select of the select—every one of whom, before he obtains his commission, has run the gantlet of an almost endless series of intellectual contests—for years together could turn out the best foot-ball eleven in the kingdom, and within the last twelvemonth gained a success at cricket absolutely unprecedented in the annals of the game.* But special examples are not needed in order to confute the proposition that vigor of mind necessarily, or even frequently, goes with feebleness of body. It is not in deference to such sophistry as this that the fathers of Great Britain will ever surrender what is now the acknowledged birthright of their sons—the privilege of doing their country's work, and eating their country's bread, if only, in a fair and open trial, they can win for themselves the right to be placed on the roll of their country's servants.

Before he sat down, Macaulay had shown how little faith his opponents themselves had in their own arguments. 'The noble lord,' he said, 'is of opinion that by encouraging natives to study the arts and learning of Europe we are preparing the way for the destruction of our power in India. I am utterly at a loss to understand how, while contemning education when it is given to Europeans, he should regard it with dread when it is given to natives. This training, we are told, makes a European into a book-worm, a twaddler, a man unfit for the active duties of life; but give the same education to the Hindoo, and it arms him with such an accession of intellectual strength, that an established government, with an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, backed by the whole military and naval force of England, are to go down inevitably before its irresistible power.'

* The match in question was played on the 20th and 21st of August, 1875, against an eleven of I Zingari. Eight wickets of the Royal Engineers fell for an average of more than ninety runs a wicket; and this stupendous score was made against good bowling and excellent fielding

Strictures on American Institutions—Jefferson.

In 1857, Mr. Macaulay addressed to Henry S. Randall of Homer, N. Y., two letters, from which the following extracts are taken, suggested by a letter of Mr. Randall accompanying a presentation copy of his *Life of Thomas Jefferson*:—

Mr. Jefferson is not one of my heroes, and I can not reckon him among the benefactors of mankind. I readily admit that his intention was good, and his abilities considerable. I am perfectly aware of the immense progress which your country has made and is making in population and wealth. But I see no reason to believe that your progress would have been less rapid, that your laboring people would have been worse fed or clothed or taught, if your government had been conducted on the principles of Washington and Hamilton. Nay, you will, I am sure, acknowledge that the progress which you are now making is only a continuation of the progress which you have been making ever since the middle of the seventeenth century, and that the blessings which you now enjoy were enjoyed by your forefathers who were loyal subjects of the kings of England. The contrast between the laborer of New York and the laborer of Europe is not stronger now than it was when New York was governed by noblemen and gentlemen commissioned under the English great seal. And there are at this moment dependencies of the English crown in which all the phenomena which you attribute to purely democratical institutions may be seen in the highest perfection. The colony of Victoria, in Australia, was planted only twenty years ago. The population is now, I suppose, near a million. The revenue is enormous, near five millions sterling, and raised without any murmuring. The wages of labor are higher than they are even with you. Immense sums are expended on education. And this is a province governed by the delegate of a hereditary sovereign. It therefore seems to me quite clear that the facts which you cite to prove the excellence of purely democratic institutions ought to be ascribed not to those institutions, but to causes which operated in America long before your Declaration of Independence, and which are still operating in many parts of the British empire. You will perceive, therefore, that I do not propose, as you thought, to sacrifice the interests of the present generation to those of remote generations. It would, indeed, be absurd in a nation to part with institutions to which it is indebted for immense present prosperity from an apprehension that, after the lapse of a century, those institutions may be found to produce mischief. But I do not admit that the prosperity which your country enjoys arises from those parts of your polity which may be called, in an especial manner, Jeffersonian. Those parts of your polity already produce bad effects, and will, unless I am greatly mistaken, produce fatal effects if they shall last till North America has two hundred inhabitants to the square mile.

I have long been convinced that institutions purely democratic must, sooner or later, destroy liberty or civilization, or both. In Europe, where the population is dense, the effect of such institutions would be almost instantaneous. What happened lately in France is an example. In 1848, a pure democracy was established there. During a short time there was reason to expect a general spoilation, a national bankruptcy, a new partition of the soil, a maximum of prices, a ruinous load of taxation laid on the rich for the purpose of supporting the poor in idleness. Such a system would, in twenty years, have made France as poor and barbarous as the France of the Carlovingians. Happily the danger was averted; and now there is a despotism, a silent tribune, an enslaved press. Liberty is gone, but civilization has been saved. I have not the smallest doubt that, if we had a purely democratic government here, the effect would be the same. Either the poor would plunder the rich, and civilization would perish, or order and prosperity would be saved by a strong military government, and liberty would perish. You may think that your country enjoys an exemption from these evils. I will frankly own to you that I am of a very different opinion. Your fate I believe to be certain, though it is deferred by a physical cause. As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land, your laboring population will be far more at ease than the laboring population

of the Old World, and, while that is the case, the Jefferson politics may continue to exist without causing any fatal calamity. But the time will come when New England will be as thickly peopled as old England. Wages will be as low, and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. You will have your Manchesters and Birminghams, and in those Manchesters and Birminghams hundreds of thousands of artisans will assuredly be sometimes out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test. Distress every where makes the laborer mutinous and discontented, and inclines him to listen with eagerness to agitators who tell him that it is a monstrous iniquity that one man should have a million while another can not get a full meal. In bad years there is plenty of grumbling here, and sometimes a little rioting. But it matters little. For here the sufferers are not the rulers. The supreme power is in the hands of a class, numerous indeed, but select; of an educated class; of a class which is, and knows itself to be, deeply interested in the security of property and the maintenance of order. Accordingly, the malcontents are firmly yet gently restrained. The bad time is got over without robbing the wealthy to relieve the indigent. The springs of national prosperity soon begin to flow again: work is plentiful, wages rise, and all is tranquillity and cheerfulness.

I have seen England pass three or four times through such critical seasons as I have described. Through such seasons the United States will have to pass in the course of the next century, if not of this. How will you pass through them? I heartily wish you a good deliverance. But my reason and my wishes are at war, and I can not help foreboding the worst. It is quite plain that your government will never be able to restrain a distressed and discontented majority. For with you the majority is the government, and has the rich, who are always a minority, absolutely at its mercy. The day will come when in the State of New York a multitude of people, none of whom has had more than half a breakfast, or expects to have more than half a dinner, will choose a legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of a legislature will be chosen? On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith. On the other is a demagogue ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers, and asking why any body should be permitted to drink champagne and to ride in a carriage while thousands of honest folks are in want of necessaries. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a working-man who hears his children cry for more bread? I seriously apprehend that you will, in some such season of adversity as I have described, do things which will prevent prosperity from returning; that you will act like people who should in a year of scarcity devour all the seed-corn, and thus make the next a year not of scarcity, but of absolute famine. There will be, I fear, spoliation. The spoliation will increase the distress. The distress will produce fresh spoliation. There is nothing to stop you. Your Constitution is all sail and no anchor. As I said before, when a society has entered on this downward progress, either civilization or liberty must perish. Either some Cæsar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman Empire was in the fifth, with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions.

If you can derive any comfort as to the future destinies of your country from your conviction that a benevolent Creator will never suffer more human beings to be born than can live in plenty, it is a comfort of which I should be sorry to deprive you. By the same process of reasoning, one may arrive at many very agreeable conclusions, such as that there is no cholera, no malaria, no yellow fever, no negro slavery, in the world. Unfortunately for me, perhaps, I learned from Lord Bacon a method of investigating truth diametrically opposed to that which you appear to follow.

* Buckle, in his history of Civilization in England, I., 666: 'In 1776, the Americans laid before the world that noble Declaration, which ought to be hung up in the nursery of every king and blazoned on the porch of every royal palace. In words, the memory of which can never die, they declared, that the object of the institution of government is to secure the rights of the people, and that from the people alone it derives its powers.'

UNIVERSITY OF LEIPSIC.

HISTORY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPSIC, established in 1409, started vigorously with a sudden accession of German students and professors out of Prague, in consequence of an interference by the King of Bohemia to deprive the German students of certain special privileges which the Emperor Charles IV., in its foundation, had accorded to them in the organization into nations. Exasperated by this procedure, all the students affected by it, with their professors, left, and thus gave rapid development to Cracow, Ingoldstadt, and Leipsic. In Leipsic a school for the training of ministerial boys had been established as early as 1213, in connection with the Cathedral of St. Thomas; and in 1395 a school for grammar and the liberal arts existed under the control of the city authorities. A movement had been begun by Margrave Frederic the Warlike and his brother William, to erect a university, which put Leipsic in readiness to receive the refugees from Prague. It consisted first of the three faculties of Arts, Theology, and Law, and in 1438 obtained the privilege of appointing two medical professors. When, in the division of the territory, the University fell to Duke Ernest, he was instrumental in introducing the study of mathematics on account of the mining interests of his dominion, and his son was instrumental in having the newly developed studies of Italy represented in the teaching force.

Leipsic has from the beginning held a high position among the universities of Germany, and has always secured and retained in the different faculties one or more representative men in every science. Gillert, Ernesti, Platner, Morus, Dathe, Keil, Schaefer, Titman, Beck, Hermann, Rosenmüller, Heinroth, are among the names which grace her annals. At the time of Prof. Dwight's* visit to Europe in 1825–6, and Dr. Robinson's* in 1829–30, Leipsic was universally regarded as second to no other, not even Berlin, for the profound and varied scholarships of its professors. "Over Saxony it has poured a flood of intelligence, rendering this land for ages, the intellectual garden of Germany."

* Dr. Robinson's account of the Universities of Germany—both in detail, and in the general organization, administration, studies and student life, in the Biblical Repository for January 1831: and Prof. Henry E. Dwight's letters, devoted to Göttingen, Berlin and Halle, written in 1826, and printed in 1829, were among the earliest and are still among the most reliable expositions of these institutions in the English language.

studying the outward manifestations of intellectual activity. At certain hours of the day the streets of the inner city, in the neighborhood of the university building, were thronged with students on their way to and from lecture. More particularly was this noticeable at one o'clock, when the midday pause comes in. The arched ways and courts of the quondam Dominican cloister, with all the avenues of approach, resembled a huge swarming ant-heap. Hundreds, thousands of young men, *Mappe* in hand, were hastening away to their rooms and their dining-places. Although there was no disorder, none of the turbulence and boisterous demonstrations that distinguish an American class let loose, it was almost impossible to make one's way against the surging mass of humanity. On one occasion I amused myself, while enjoying an after-dinner cup of coffee in the Café Français, by studying the motley composition of my neighbors. The upper rooms of the Café are given up to smokers, and at this hour of the day nearly all the guests are students. To my left sat a party of Poles sibilating to their hearts' content over a game of draughts. To my right, a sedate party of Greeks, men of thirty or thirty-five, puffing cigarettes and conversing in an undertone. Directly in front, Germans boisterous over 'Scat.' In the adjoining billiard-room, three or four of my countrymen still more boisterous over pool, 'damning scratches' and taking for granted, with the license that prevails among Americans on the Continent, that no one could understand them. The whole world seemed to be represented in that post-prandial reunion in the smoking-room of the Café Français. Coming fresh from the scenes of the Vienna Exhibition, I thought to myself that Leipsic too was a World's Fair, a standing parliament of the nations. The quiet Saxon town had made the world its tributary. Among its students were men who had played the role of professor at home, men well on in the thirties and even forties, who had saved up a few hundreds and had come from the four quarters of the earth, had crossed mountains and continents and oceans, in quest of the fountain of knowledge.

The reader has before him the materials with which to construct an image of the great university in its magnitude and its variety. Let him add thereto the city gymnasiums, with their numerous staff of highly educated teachers, the celebrated Conservatory of Music, the many scientific and literary institutions, the bureaus of countless periodicals that have their headquarters here, the great publishing houses of Brockhaus, Teübner, Tauchnitz, and others scarcely less renowned, each one of which has its *personnel* of critical proof-readers, editors, and literary advisers, and finally the many authors themselves residing here permanently. The aggregation of talent and culture is startling. The city throbs with the pulsations of intense and sustained intellectual effort. Leipsic is the head-center for the culture of the most productive nation of the present day. Only London, Paris, and Berlin, I am persuaded, surpass it in the number of men of learning, while in proportion to its population—barely 100,000—it is without a peer.

general discipline. One course of lectures (four or five hours a week) is his quantum of work. If he is successful enough to establish two or three courses, the lecture-fees are his private gain.

University Life in Leipsic.

I passed two months in Leipsic in the summer of 1872. Being pressed for time, I took the first apartment that I could find, without stopping to advertise or to bargain. It consisted of a study, with two windows facing on the main street, and a sleeping room with one window. Both rooms were commodious, perfectly clean, and well furnished. The furniture was, for Germany, almost elegant. I paid ten thalers a month. The same quarters could not be obtained in New York for less than $10 a week. Breakfast, consisting of two cups of coffee, bread and butter, and eggs, served in my room, cost five thalers a month. My dinner at Müller's restaurant, one of the best in town, cost, including a glass of beer, twelve thalers. Supper, a substantial warm meal, averaged about ten thalers. The aggregate of my expenses for living, then, was thirty-seven thalers a month. I venture to say that for this trifling sum I lived better, that is, more at my ease, feeling that I got more for my money, than I have ever succeeded in doing, under like circumstances, in America. As it was, I paid too much. I was a stranger, in a hurry, and unable to take the time for devising ways of economy. One located permanently in Leipsic could live fully as well for three-fourths of the amount. Many a good room can be had, by hunting after it, for six thalers a month. The incidental expenses of life in Germany are nothing, as compared with those in America. An excellent suit of clothes can be purchased for twenty-five or thirty thalers, a pair of shoes for five or six thalers. Amusements are also very cheap. By purchasing a season-ticket for the *Schützenhaus*, the great concert garden of the city, the price of admission is reduced to three cents an evening. For this trifling sum, one has the entrée to a large and beautifully illuminated garden; the music, lasting from eight to eleven o'clock, is furnished by two large bands that play alternately in different sections of the garden. In addition to the music, there is a display of acrobats. The best reserved seats at the opera and theater cost only one thaler. But subscription-seats can be obtained at less than half the price.* There are numerous reading-rooms, where one can have access to all the periodicals, magazines, and reviews, for a mere pittance, not to speak of the newspapers taken in the cafés.

During my stay in Leipsic I was too much absorbed in my private studies to take very careful note of the world around me. Besides, it was the long vacation for the greater part of the time. But in 1873, on my return home from Vienna, I stopped for a few days to make some purchases. Having complete disposal of my time, I employed it in

* It would be ungrateful in me to fail to mention the delightful motets delivered gratuitously every Saturday afternoon in the Church of St. Thomas.

Prof. Hart in his *German Universities* gives the following notice of Leipsic:

Number of Salaries and Income of Professors.

In the summer of 1874 there were 141 professors of all grades and faculties, for 2,940 students, viz., for 399 in Protestant Theology, 1,012 in Jurisprudence and Public Economy; 906 in Philosophy, and 559 in Medicine.

Of the total expenditures, 275,454*th* go for salaries and the apparatus of instruction, say *ninety per cent. of the whole.* Even deducting the 18,618 paid to employés would leave the per centage at almost eighty-five.

The above statement takes no account of lecture-fees. These fees, although paid in first instance to the university treasurer, are not entered in the general fund, but are transferred directly to the respective professors. So little are they regarded as an item of university income, that my informant has not even thought it necessary to give them. Assuming that there are 3,000 students, in round numbers, and that each one pays only twenty-five thalers a year,—a low average, and one that makes ample allowance for such poor students as obtain a remission or abatement of their fees,—we get the sum of 75,000, which sum is to be added of course to the 157,863 of official salaries. It is an interesting feature, and one that reveals in the strongest light the radical difference between Germany and America, that what we regard as the main source of support for our colleges, their life-blood, is not even entered by the University of Leipsic in the official statement of its income.

The highest salary is about 3,500 thalers, but some of the professors are in receipt of gratuities (*Zuschusse*) in addition. Thus the *ordinarius* of the law-faculty has an addition of at least 1,000, the directors of the hospitals have about 600 in addition, and so on. This does not include lecture-fees, which, in many cases, must amount to 2,000 or 3,000. Accordingly our best paid man can not be in receipt of less than 7,000. But this, to be sure, is a highly favored position (*eine glänzende Ausnahmestellung*). The minimum for an *ordinarius* is, at present, about 1,000. Most of the *ordinarii* receive 1,800 to 2,000. The average income of the *ordinarii* would be 2,500. As to the *extra-ordinarii*, no fixed rule prevails. A few receive no salary, others receive only 500, others again 1,000. One, if I mistake not, receives 1,200.

These salaries will appear, at first sight, decidedly meager. Yet it should be borne in mind that money is only a relative notion. Whether a person in receipt of a fixed sum is well off or poorly off, depends upon the purchasing power represented by that sum. I should rather take my chances as *Ausserordentlicher* of the Leipsic faculty with 500 thalers a year, than as an American assistant-professor with $1,000. The Leipsic man has one decided advantage over his American colleague. His official duties are light, and lie altogether in the direction of his chosen studies. He is not called upon to give instruction to classes for twelve, fifteen, or even twenty hours a week, nor is his time frittered away in enforcing

STUDENTS IN WINTER TERM OF 1873–4.

Distributed in the Faculties and States to which they belong:

	Theology.	Jurisprudence.	Medicine.	Pharmacy.	Nat. Science.	Philosophy.	Pedagogics.	Philology.	Mathematics.	Agriculture.	Cameralia.	Total.
I. German Empire.												
Anhalt	5	5	8	1	3	2	..	6	..	2	1	33
Baden	1	7	..	1	1	..	..	2	..	..	3	15
Bavaria	18	9	8	..	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	45
Brunswick	4	8	6	..	1	2	..	8	1	5	..	35
Bremen	1	3	1	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	1	10
Bückeburg	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	3
Alsace-Lorraine	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	4
Hamburg	4	10	4	2	2	2	..	5	..	1	2	32
Hesse-Darmstadt	2	7	..	..	3	..	..	3	1	2	1	19
Lauenburg	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Lippe	..	3	3	..	1	..	..	2	..	1	1	11
Lübeck	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	5
Meckle'g-Schwerin	17	14	6	..	..	5	..	8	3	7	..	60
Meckle'g-Strelitz	4	5	3	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	15
Oldenburg	4	4	7	1	..	..	..	3	2	1	..	22
Prussia	154	420	156	66	64	44	3	139	33	43	18	1140
Reuss	5	10	1	..	..	..	1	2	..	1	..	20
Saxony (Kingdom)	114	333	141	44	56	20	60	73	32	24	11	908
Saxe-Altenburg	9	12	2	2	3	..	3	4	..	..	..	35
Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	1	6	1	1	1	..	..	4	..	..	1	15
Saxe-Meiningen	8	8	2	3	1	..	..	7	3	..	..	32
Saxe-Weimar	1	14	3	1	..	1	5	5	1	1	..	32
Schwarzburg	3	7	1	3	2	2	1	5	..	..	..	24
Waldeck	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Würtemburg	2	10	17	..	2	..	..	1	..	1	..	33
Total	362	898	370	125	141	84	74	287	78	97	41	2551
II. Other European States.												
Denmark	..	..	..	..	.	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
France	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
Greece	..	2	2	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	7
Great Britain	9	..	1	..	2	2	..	1	..	..	..	15
Italy	1	..	..	..	3	..	..	1	..	1	1	7
Holland	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	5
Austria	13	17	18	1	5	13	1	12	..	15	1	96
Roumania	..	7	2	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	12
Russia	1	12	12	2	4	15	1	9	..	7	8	71
Sweden, Norway	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	2
Switzerland	1	12	11	2	2	5	2	4	1	4	1	45
Turkey	2	2	1	..	1	..	..	3	..	1	..	10
Total	27	54	47	5	21	41	5	32	1	29	11	273
III. Non-European States.												
North America	8	7	8	..	4	11	..	6	1	..	..	45
Brazil	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Venezuela	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Japan	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Africa	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Total	10	8	12	..	4	11	..	6	1	..	..	52
Recapitulation.												
I. German Empire	362	898	370	125	141	84	74	287	78	91	41	2551
II. Other European States	27	54	47	5	21	41	5	32	1	29	11	273
III. Non-European States	10	8	12	..	4	11	..	6	1	..	..	52
Total	399	960	429	130	166	136	79	325	80	120	52	2874

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

PRE-ACADEMIC CAMBRIDGE.

THE original Cambridge was a small settlement in what is now the least academical and fashionable part of it, on the left bank of the river Granta or Cam, forty-eight miles northeast of London. A hill rises above the plain, and on that hill stood the Roman Camboritum. The walls of the old camp or stronghold can now be traced, and Roman coins from the time of Vespasian downwards have been found there. In the earliest Anglo-Saxon period it was known as Grantchester, and a little later as Grantabrydge. With the ascendancy of Cam as the name of the stream, the town became known as Cambridge—derived from the ancient Camboritum, or else from the bridge over the Cam—the earliest structure of the kind in this region.

Its position on the river, commanding the fen country, invited the ravages of the Danes and its almost extinction by them in 871, but secured its renewal and resettlement afterwards, as well as the gradual foundation of religious houses and commercial Fairs, as a center of population, traffic, and local influence. The oldest ecclesiastical structure is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, erected in 1001; the castle was built by William the Conqueror about 1009; Pot Fair, so called from the quantity of earthern ware brought to it, and Stourbridge Fair held in a field near Barnwell, and anciently one of the largest in the kingdom, both antedate the foundation of Peterhouse, the first college; and the guild of merchants, afterwards recognized in the charter of the town, was in existence in 1109, when Joffrid, Abbot of Croyland, sent over to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge, Gislebert, with three other learned monks, who first taught their sciences in a hired barn, the germ of what is now the University; and now an Oxford poet thus muses over the grounds, courts, and buildings of seventeen Colleges and Halls on the Cam:

> Were ever river banks so fair,
> Gardens so fit for nightingales as these?
> Were ever haunts so meet for summer breeze,
> Or pensive walk in evening's golden air?
> Was ever town so rich in court and tower,
> To woo and win stray moonlight every hour? —*F. W. Faber.*

EXISTING CONSTITUTION AND CONDITION.*

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE is a society of students in all and every of the liberal arts and sciences, incorporated (13th Eliz. c. 29) by the name of "*The Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Cambridge.*" This commonwealth is a Union of seventeen colleges, or societies, devoted to the study of learning and knowledge, and for the better service of the Church and State. All these colleges have been founded since the beginning of the reign of King Edward I., and are maintained by the endowments of their several founders and benefactors. Each college is a body corporate, bound by its own statutes; but is likewise controlled by the paramount laws of the University. The present University Statutes were confirmed by Queen Victoria, by Order in Council, July 31, 1858.

Legislative Branch.

The Legislative Branch of the Government is vested in an Assembly or Congregation, called the Senate, whose acts, votes, or decrees are denominated *Graces*. No measure can be offered for the consideration or action of the Senate without the sanction of the Council, (formerly known as the *Caput Senatus*), as established in 1858.

All persons who are Masters of Arts or Laws, or Doctors in one or other of the three faculties, viz., Divinity, Law, and Physic, having their names upon the University Register, have votes in this assembly. Those whose names are removed from the Register lose the right of voting, but may recover it again by replacing their names on the Register and paying all University dues from the time of removal of their names, 180 days being first allowed to elapse after the replacing of the names.

The Council consists of the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, four heads of Colleges, four Professors of the University, and eight other Members of the Senate, chosen from the Electoral Roll, published by the Vice-Chancellor. Two of the heads of Colleges, two of the Professors, and four other Members of the Senate are elected by the Persons whose names are on the Electoral Roll, on the seventh of November in every other year, and they all hold office for four years.

The Electoral Roll is published in the Michaelmas term of each year, and consists of Members of the Senate who have resided within one mile and a half of Great St. Mary's Church for fourteen weeks at the least between the first day of that Michaelmas term and the first day of the preceding Michaelmas term, together with all Officers of the University being Members of the Senate, the Heads of Houses, the Professors, and the Public Examiners.

Before the beginning of each Term, the Vice-Chancellor publishes a list of the several days of that term on which a Congregation or Assembly of the Senate will be held for transacting University business: these fixed days occur about once a fortnight; but in case of emergency, the Vice-Chancellor summons a special Congregation. Three days' notice of Congregations is required to be given. A Congregation may also be held without three days' previous notice, provided at least *forty* Members of the Senate be present.

Executive Branch.

The Executive Branch of the University consists of the following officers:

A Chancellor, who is the head of the whole University, and presides over all cases relating to that body. In him is placed the sole executive authority within the precincts, except in matters of mayhem and felony.

* *Authorities.*—University Calendar for 1873; University Commissioners' Reports; Scientific Commissioners' Report, 1-73; University Property and Income Report, 1874; Guide to Cambridge, 1874; Everett on the Cam.; Bristed's Five Years at Oxford.

A High Steward, who has special power to take the trial of scholars impeached of felony within the limits of the University, and to hold and keep a leet according to the established charter and custom. He appoints a Deputy.

A Vice-Chancellor, who is elected annually on the 4th of November, by the Senate. His office, in the absence of the Chancellor, embraces the execution of the Chancellor's powers, and the government of the University according to her Statutes. He must, by Statute 19 and 20 Vict. c. 88, be the Head of some college; and during his continuance in office he acts as a magistrate for the University, the Town, and the County.

A Commissary, who is an officer under the Chancellor, and appointed by him. He holds a court of record for all privileged persons and scholars under the degree of M. A.

The Sex Viri, elected by Grace of the Senate, to hold office for two years; whose business it is to hear and adjudicate, together with the Vice-Chancellor, all accusations against members of the University who are not *in statu pupillari*, for offences against the Statutes or Ordinances of the University. They have the power of punishing offenders by the deprivation or suspension of degrees; but there is liberty of appeal to the Senate from their decision.

A Public Orator, who is the voice of the Senate upon all public occasions. He writes, reads, and records the letters to and from the body of the Senate, and presents to all honorary degrees with an appropriate speech.

A Librarian, to whom the management of the University Library is confided.

A Registrary, who is obliged, either by himself or by deputy properly authorized, to attend all Congregations, to give directions (if it be required) for the due forms of such Graces as are to be propounded, to receive them when passed, and to register them in the University records.

The Assessor is an officer specially appointed, by Grace of the Senate, to assist the Vice-Chancellor in his court, *in causis forensibus et domesticis*.

Two Proctors, who are peace-officers, elected annually. It is their especial duty to attend to the discipline and behavior of all persons *in statu pupilari*, and to search houses of ill-fame. Another part of their duty is to be present at all Congregations of the Senate, to read the Graces, to take the assent or dissent, and to pronounce the same. They must be Masters of Arts or Law of three years' standing at the least, or Bachelors of Divinity. They must also have resided during the major part of each of three terms during the two preceding years.

Two Moderators, nominated by the Colleges which present the Proctors, and appointed by Graces of the Senate. They superintend the examinations of the Candidates for Honors in the Mathematical Tripos.

Two Pro-Proctors, who assist the Proctors in that part of their duty which relates to the discipline and behavior of those persons who are *in statu pupillari*, and the preservation of public morals; but in the other parts of the Proctors' office they have not any concern, or control.

Two Esquire Bedels, whose office is to attend the Vice-Chancellor, whom they precede with their silver maces upon all public occasions and solemnities; to receive from the Vice-Chancellor the Graces delivered to them, and to deliver them to the Proctors, and to summon to the Chancellor's Court all members of the Senate.

The University Marshals are appointed by the Vice-Chancellor.

The Two Members whom the University sends to the Imperial Parliament are chosen by the collective body of the Senate.

The University Council are appointed by the Senate. The Solicitor is appointed by the Vice-Chancellor.

Syndics are the members of special committees of members of the Senate, appointed by Grace from time to time for specific duties.

UNIVERSITY PROFESSORSHIPS AND INSTRUCTION.

The following tabulated statement exhibits:

I. The Date and Title of each University Professorship and Teachership.
II. The Income attached to each paid out of University Chest.
III. The Income from Special Endowments and Fees of Students.
IV. Total Income for 1871, exclusive of residenee.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
1540.	Divinity, Regius,	£...	£1,435	£1,435
1502.	" Lady Margaret,	...	1,855	1,855
1777.	" Norrisian,	68	132	200
1728.	" Hulsean,	...	572	572
1663.	Mathematics, Lucasian,	...	677	677
1704.	" Plumian Astronomy,	...	491	491
1749.	" Lowndean,	...	458	458
1860.	" Sadlerian,	...	581	581
1540.	Law, Civil, Regius,	448	135	583
1800.	" English, Downing,	...	466	466
1867.	" International,	...	500	500
1540.	Medicine, Regius,	85	282	367
1800.	" Downing,	35	494	529
1702.	Chemistry,	500	132	632
1707.	Anatomy,	300	116	416
1724.	Botany,	300	57	357
1866.	Zoology,	300	60	360
1871.	Experimental Physics,	500	....	500
1808.	Mineralogy,	300	35	335
1540	Hebrew, Regius,	...	860	860
1540.	Greek, "	...	860	860
1632.	Arabic, Adams,	230	70	300
1632.	" Almoner,	...	41	41
1683.	Moral Philosophy or Casuistry,	175	125	300
16 4.	Music,	100	....	100
1724.	Modern History,	311	97	408
1727.	Geology,	45	491	537
1783.	Physiology, Jacksonian,	140	234	374
1851.	Arc eology (Disney)	...	96	96
1828.	Political Economy,	300	....	300
1867.	Sanskrit,	500	....	500
1869.	Latin,	...	183	183
1869.	Fine Arts (Slade)	...	357	357
	Demonstrator, Human Anatomy,	100	....	100
	" Chemistry	150	....	150
	" Superin. of Museums	100	....	100
	" Rabbinic and Talmudic,	30	....	30
	Total,	£5,077	£11,835	£16,912

UNIVERSITY PREACHERS AND LECTURERS.

Lady Margaret's Preacher, founded in 1504 by Lady Margaret, mother of King Henry VII., must (since 1858) preach one sermon in University Church at the Commemoration of Benefactors, on the Sunday before November 3. He is appointed for one year, from members of the Senate in Holy Orders.

Sir Robert Redes Lecturer, founded in 1518 by Lord Chief Justice Rede, is appointed every year to preach in the Senate House in Lent Term.

Whitehall Preachers, established by George I. in 1724, and until 1837 twenty-four, are now reduced to two, who are appointed by the Bishop of London from the Fellows of the several Colleges.

Hulsean Lecturer on the Evidences of Revealed Religion and obscure parts of Holy Scripture, must preach four sermons a year.

Ramsden Sermon was established in 1848, to preach an annual sermon on 'Church Extension over the Colonies of the British Empire.'

Sermons in University Church are delivered during Term on Sunday morning by Bachelors in Divinity and Masters of Arts, and for certain afternoons, persons and time being fixed by a Syndicate.

A *Chapel Service* is held in every College in Term both morning and evening, one of which every undergraduate in residence is required to attend.

UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONS.

The following Institutions exist within or in connection with the University:

The *Botanic Garden*, founded by Rev. Richard Walker, D.D., in 1762. It has a special endowment which yields an annual income of £300, and requires an appropriation from the University funds of twice that amount.

The *Observatory*, erected in 1822–4, at an expense of £18,000, and is well equipped for practical work. The care of the institution is attached to the Lowndean Professorship of Mathematics, and receives special grants from the Sheepshanks fund.

The *Fitzwilliam Museum*, the foundation of Richard Viscount Fitzwilliam, who died in 1816—leaving to the University a valuable collection of books, paintings, drawings, and prints, and the sum of £100,000. Out of the interest of this sum has been created one of the finest modern architectural structures of Cambridge, and the repository of one of the choicest art collections in England—fine examples of the greatest masters of the Italian, French, Dutch, and English Schools of Painting, with one hundred and twenty folio volumes of engravings, and rare illuminated missals and manuscripts. The collection has been enriched by valuable modern paintings and statuary—and when the building and its ornamentation are complete, the income of the bequest alone will admit of large annual contributions to its treasures of art.

The *New Museum*, with its valuable collections in Natural Science, erected in 1665 at an expense of £30,000.

The *University Library*, with its vast collection of 200,000 volumes.

The *Senate House*.—The present structure was completed in 1730, at an expense of £20,000. The University examinations which take place here, the Saturnalia which follow the announcements of the successful candidates in the several Triposes, the boisterous loyalty and boyish vociferations of Degree presentation, and the regular legislation of the Council combine to make this edifice the very heart of the University system, the throne of Academical authority, and the centre of a Graduate's associations of his academic career.

University Prizes—Scholarships—Fellowships, and Church Patronage.

The number of University Scholarships specified in the University Calendar of 1871, is 44, varying in value from £15 to £100 per annum, and tenable for three to seven years—making an aggregate allotment of £1,230.

The Prizes and Medals distributed by the University from the income of Trust Funds amount to over 100, and to an aggregate annual value of £1,500, exclusive of £800 distributed in prizes by the Colleges.

Three-fourths of all the University Prizes are given for Classics and English Composition, and more than one-half of the College Prizes are given for the encouragement of Classical Literature.

The *Fellowships* are mainly at the disposal of the Colleges—numbering in 1871, 850, of which 120 were held in connection with educational or other offices within the Colleges or University, while the remaining 230 were chiefly held by non-residents. The expenditure for the Fellows in the year 1871 was £102,976, out of a total expenditure for all College objects of £287,453.

Besides the endowments held directly by the University for Fellowships, Scholarships, Exhibitions, and Prizes, the annual value of the advowsons of 65 benefices exceeds £21,000, besides the right of presentation to over 200 Parishes and Grammar Schools, each having an annual income from £100 to £1,000. For any vacancy, a Cambridge graduate is sure of preference over all other candidates.

MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY—NUMBER AND RANK.

A student of any College becomes a member of the University by having his name duly entered on its Boards (a wooden tablet in the Buttery), and paying the University dues—a quarterly fee of 4s. 3d. from the date of his admission. To become a member of the Senate, with the right to vote and to use the University Libraries and other Institutions, he must be Master of Arts, or Doctor in Divinity, Law, or Medicine, and have paid his dues.

According to the Calendar for 1874, there were 2,239 Undergraduates, and 5,717 members of the Senate.

In the published list of the members on the College Boards, the members rank as follows:

1. A Head of a College or House, who is generally a Doctor in his Faculty. The Head of King's is styled Provost; of Queen's, President; of every other College, Master. The Head (Master, Provost, or Principal) does not teach the Undergraduates, but administers the affairs generally of the College to which he belongs, associated with the Foundation members or a certain number of the Senior Fellows.

2. Fellows, who generally are Doctors in Divinity, Law, or Physic; Bachelors in Divinity; Masters or Bachelors of Arts; some few Bachelors in Law or Physic, as at Trinity Hall and Caius College. The number of Fellowships in the University in 1871 was 358, of which number 120 were resident, and connected with the instruction or administration of the Colleges or University. The rest (more than two-thirds) were residing elsewhere, engaged in avocations of their own, and yet draw from their several Colleges sums equal in the aggregate to the entire expense of Yale College.

3. Noblemen Graduates, Doctors in the several faculties, Bachelors in Divinity, Masters of Arts and Masters of Law, who are not on the foundation. The expense of keeping the name upon the boards varies in different Colleges from about £2 to about £4 per annum.

4. Bachelors of Arts, Law and Physic.

5. Fellow-Commoners, who are generally the younger sons of the nobility, or young men of fortune, and have the privileges of dining at the Fellows' table, whence the appellation originated.

6. Scholars, who are generally foundation members of their respective Colleges, and who enjoy various advantages; in some cases they have their commons free, their chambers rent free, and various weekly or other allowances; in other cases they have specific stipends only, in conformity with the conditions of the foundation. They are for the most part elected, by direct examination or otherwise, at different periods subsequent to the commencement of their residence at the University, from the most promising and distinguished of the students.

7. Pensioners, who form the great body of the Students, who pay for their commons, chambers, &c., and enjoy generally no pecuniary advantages from their respective colleges, except from Prizes won by scholarships.

8. Sizars are generally Students of limited means. They usually have their commons free, and receive various emoluments.

9. Non-Collegiate Students are admitted members of the University without being Members of any College or Hostel. Such Students keep Terms by residing in Cambridge with their parents or in lodgings duly licensed, and are entitled to be matriculated, examined, and admitted to Degrees in the same manner and with the same status and privileges as Students who are Members of Colleges. They are under the jurisdiction of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, and are required to pay due obedience to all academical regulations, and report to the Censor.

Results of the Non-Collegiate System.

Rev. R. B. Somerset, Censor of Non-Collegiate Students at Cambridge, under date of August, 1876, writes as follows:

Broadly stated, the effect of the action of the University in admitting into its body non-collegiate students has been to reduce by one half the *minimum* expenditure by which a degree can be obtained at Cambridge. In speaking of this *minimum* expenditure, I assume that the student is at the outset fairly prepared for University study, that he is content to take only the ordinary B.A. degree, and that he only resides in Cambridge as long as he is required to reside in order to keep his Terms. Those who are specially ill-prepared, as well as those who aim at higher distinction, need special help, which is necessarily costly; and students of the latter class find it desirable to reside some weeks more in every year than the least time which suffices to satisfy the statute as to residence. Putting aside these special cases, it has been abundantly ascertained that a student accustomed to live cheaply can keep Terms and obtain a B.A. degree upon an annual expenditure averaging for the three years £50, and that even an inexperienced student can easily restrict his annual expenditure to £60. In making these statements, I rely on the testimony of many students who, in various years since the scheme was established, have actually kept their Terms for these sums, as well as on detailed accounts shown to me by students who spent more, but the excess of whose expenditure was occasioned by private tuition, or special courses of lectures, or some amusements which were purely optional.

The heads of necessary expenditure are accounted for thus:—£10 a year will cover University dues, including fees for matriculation, for examinations, for degree, and for supervision; £10 a year will provide for College lectures, Professors' lectures, and the really necessary books and stationery; £30 a year allowed for household expenses during 23 weeks may be made to include the small initial outlay necessary for caution money and cap and gown. It is under the head of household expenses that the chief variations will occur. They may be partly independent of the student's own will. In the Michaelmas Term, when the demand for University lodgings is greatest, it is not always possible exactly to meet the circumstances of each student in the choice of lodgings. An untried landlady may not be the most careful or skilful of housekeepers. But in the main, and in the long run almost entirely, the differences will be determinable by the habits and wishes of the students themselves. For instance, while the household bills of one student are 24*s.* a week, those of another in equally cheap lodgings are 35*s.* because the latter needs or desires a more liberal diet. In the additional expenses, which are either purely optional or due to the special studies of the individual, the saving to be effected by a non-collegiate student, as compared with a student of frugal habits in a College, is not so great. Private tuition, in particular, can hardly be cheapened to a non-collegiate student as such. Some addition to the estimates given above may well be made where it is possible for the student to reside more than the required two thirds of the formal Term, even if he is only a candidate for the ordinary B.A. degree. I should rejoice in the adoption by the University of a proposal lately made by a Syndicate, which would fix for all undergraduates the same limits of residence in each Term, embracing a slightly longer period than is now usually required by Colleges. The additional cost would to non-collegiate students be slight, and the benefit very great. Where a slight addition may fairly be made for amusements, or such recreation as is offered by the University Union Society, the outlay may be judicious. A non-collegiate student is free from social pressure which might urge him to join special clubs or other associations for which he has no need; and if he does join clubs which exist among non-collegiate students, the modest scale of their expenditure answers to the circumstances of almost all their members. Apart from private tuition and the lectures which are necessary in some special departments of study (the cost of which, however, is not great), I believe that the average University expenditure of all the non-collegiate students who live in lodgings does not exceed £60 a year.

When I lay stress upon the greater cheapness, and therefore the greater fitness for some persons, of this new form of University life which now exists side by side with the Colleges, I only desire to imply that the latter do not adequately meet the needs of every class of the community which is concerned in University education; and I am not without hope that the coexistence of the two forms of student life in the University will prove helpful to members of the Colleges themselves, by increasing the number of those who come to Cambridge with the serious purpose of men by whom time and money are felt to be precious.

Academic Costume.

The following description of the Academical Dresses worn by the different members of the University, is taken from the *Cambridge Guide:*

A Doctor in Divinity has three robes: the *first*, a gown made of scarlet cloth, with ample sleeves terminating in a point, and lined with rose-colored silk, which is worn in public processions, and on all state and festival days; the *second* is the cope, worn at Great St. Mary's during the service on Litany days, in the Divinity Schools during an Act, and at *Concionem ad Clerum;* it is made of scarlet cloth, and completely envelopes the person, being closed down the front, which is trimmed with an edging of ermine; at the back of it is affixed a hood of the same costly fur; the *third* is a gown made of lack silk or poplin, with full, round sleeves, and is the habit commonly worn in public by a D. D.; Doctors, however, sometimes wear a Master of Arts' gown, with a silk scarf. These several dresses are put over a black silk cassock, which covers the entire body, around which it is fastened by a broad sash, and has sleeves coming down to the wrists, like a coat. A handsome scarf of the same materials, which hangs over the shoulders, and extends to the feet, is always worn with the scarlet and black gowns. A square black cloth cap, with silk tassel, completes the costume.

Doctors in the Civil Law and in Physic have two robes; the *first* is the scarlet gown, as just described, and the *second*, or ordinary dress of a D. C. L., is a black silk gown, with a plain square collar, the sleeves hanging down square to the feet; the ordinary gown of an M. D. is of the same shape, but trimmed at the collar, sleeves, and front with rich black silk lace.

A Doctor in Music commonly wears the same dress as a D. C. L.; but on festival and scarlet-days is arrayed in a gown made of rich white damask silk, with sleeves and facings of rose-color, a hood of the same, and a round black velvet cap with gold tassel.

Bachelors in Divinity and Masters of Arts wear a black gown, made of bombazine, poplin, or silk. It has sleeves extending to the feet, with apertures for the arms just above the elbow, and may be distinguished by the shape of the sleeves, which hang down square, and are cut out at the bottom like the section of a horse-shoe.

Bachelors in the Civil Law and in Physic wear a gown of the same shape as that of a Master of Arts.

All Graduates of the above ranks are entitled to wear a hat, instead of the square black cloth cap, with their gowns, and the custom of doing so is generally adopted, except by the Heads, Tutors, and University and College Officers, who consider it more correct to appear in full academical costume.

A Bachelor of Arts' gown is made of bombazine or poplin, with large sleeves terminating in a point, with apertures for the arms, just below the shoulder-joint. Bachelor Fellow-Commoners usually wear silk gowns, and square velvet caps. The caps of other Bachelors are of cloth.

All the above, being Graduates, when they use surplices in chapel wear over them their *hoods*, which are peculiar to the several degrees. The hoods of Doctors are made of scarlet cloth, lined with rose-colored silk; those of Bachelors in Divinity, and Non-Regent Masters of Arts, are of black silk: those of Regent Masters of Arts and Bachelors in the Civil Law and in Physic, of black silk lined with white; and those of Bachelors of Arts, of black serge, trimmed with a border of white lamb's-wool.

The dresses of the Undergraduates are the following:

A Nobleman has two gowns: the *first* in shape like that of the Fellow-Commoners, is made of purple Ducape, very richly embroidered with gold lace, and is worn in public processions, and on festival days; a square black

velvet cap with a very large gold tassel is worn with it; the *second*, or ordinary gown, is made of black silk, with full round sleeves, and a hat is worn with it. The latter dress is worn also by the Bachelor Fellows of King's College.

A Fellow-Commoner wears a black prince's stuff gown, with a square collar, and straight hanging sleeves, which are decorated with gold lace; and a square black velvet cap with a gold tassel.

The Fellow-Commoners of Emmanuel College wear a similar gown, with the addition of several gold-lace buttons attached to the trimmings on the sleeves; those of Trinity College have a purple prince's stuff gown, adorned with silver-lace, and a silver tassel is attached to the cap; at Downing the gown is made of black silk, of the same shape, ornamented with tufts and silk lace; and a square cap of velvet with a gold tassel is worn. At Jesus College, a Bachelor's silk gown is worn, plaited up at the sleeve, and with a gold lace from the shoulder to the bend of the arm. At Queen's a Bachelor's silk gown, with a velvet cap and a gold tassel, is worn: the same at Corpus and Magdalene; at the latter it is gathered and looped up at the sleeve, at the former (Corpus) it has velvet facings. Married Fellow-Commoners usually wear a black silk gown, with full, round sleeves, and a square velvet cap with silk tassel.

The Pensioner's gown and cap are mostly of the same material and shape as those of the Bachelor's: the gown differs only in the mode of trimming. At Trinity and Caius Colleges the gown is purple, with large sleeves, terminating in a point. At St. Peter's and Queen's, the gown is precisely the same as that of a Bachelor; and at King's, the same, but made of fine black woolen cloth. At Corpus Christi is worn a B. A. gown, with black velvet facings. At Downing and Trinity Hall the gown is made of black bombazine, with large sleeves, looped up at the elbows.

Students in the Civil Law and in Physic, who have kept their Acts, wear a full-sleeved gown, and are entitled to use a B. A. hood.

Bachelors of Arts and Undergraduates are obliged by the statutes to wear their academical costume constantly in public, under a penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.* for every omission.

The Non-collegiate Undergraduate wears a gown and cape, a distinct pattern, and must appear in them on all public occasions.

Very few of the University Officers have distinctive dresses.

The Chancellor's gown is of black damask silk, very richly embroidered with gold. It is worn with a broad, rich lace band, and square velvet cap with large gold tassel.

The Vice-Chancellor dresses merely as a Doctor, except at Congregations in the Senate House, when he wears a cope. When proceeding to St. Mary's, or elsewhere, in his official capacity, he is preceded by the three Esquire-Bedells with their silver maces, which were the gift of Queen Elizabeth.

The Regius Professors of the Civil Law and of Physic, when they preside at Acts in the Schools, wear copes, and round black velvet caps with gold tassels.

The Proctors are not distinguishable from other Masters of Arts, except at St. Mary's Church and at Congregations, when they wear cassocks and black silk ruffs, and carry the Statutes of the University, being attended by two servants, dressed in large blue cloaks, ornamented with gold-lace buttons.

The Yeoman-Bedell, in processions, precedes the Esquire-Bedells, carrying an ebony mace, tipped with silver; his gown, as well as those of the Marshal and School-Keeper, is made of black prince's stuff, with square collar, and square hanging sleeves.

UNIVERSITY DEGREES.

No degree is ever conferred without a Grace for that purpose. After the Grace has passed, the Vice-Chancellor is at liberty to confer the degree. Every ordinary degree must have been allowed, or passed, by the ollege to which the (andidate belongs. The Supplicat for the degree is signed by the Prælector of the college to which the Candidate belongs, and the subscriber is made responsible for the assertion it contains. The penalty for subscribing a false Supplicat, is '*ipso facto*,' two years' deprivation of the privilege of voting in the Senate. *Stat.* cap. 3, sect. 1.

For every degree there is a proper form of supplicat.

DEGREES IN ARTS—BACHELOR AND MASTERS.

There are three days of general admission to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in every year, viz., on the last Saturday in January for those who have obtained honors in the Triposes next preceding in Mathematics, Moral Sciences, Natural Sciences, or Law and History; on the first day of the Easter Term for those who have obtained honors in the Triposes next preceding in Classics, Mathematics, Moral Sciences, Natural Sciences, or Law and History; and on the Saturday before the last Tuesday but one in June for those who have passed any one of the final examinations for the Ordinary B. A. degree then just completed. Students, who take the degree of Bachelor of Arts at any other time, are required to pay additional fees.

Every Student must have completed nine Terms' residence during *two-thirds* of each Term, before he can take his degree. It is not necessary that his name should be admitted on the boards of his college before he begins to reside. The mode of admission is, either by a personal examination before the Tutor and some of the College officers, or, which is more usual, by sending to the Tutor a recommendatory certificate, signed by some Master of Arts of this University, stating the name, age, qualifications, &c., &c., of the candidate, and transmitting with it the caution-money. If this certificate be considered satisfactory, the admission takes place, and the person's name is immediately placed on the boards which are suspended in the butteries of the several Colleges.

The Matriculation in the University, or enrolment of the Students' names in the University Books, takes place on the day after the division of each Term. At this time also the fees to the University are paid to the Registrary. In some (olleges students have to pass an Examination before they are allowed to matriculate.

Besides a constant attendance on lectures, the Undergraduates are examined in their respective Colleges yearly, or half-yearly, in those subjects which have engaged their studies; and, according to the manner in which they acquit themselves in these examinations, their names are arranged in classes, and those who obtain the honor of the first places receive prizes of different value.

By this course the Students are prepared for those *public* Examinations which the University requires candidates for the degree to pass.

Plan of Examinations for the Ordinary Degree of B. A.

1. A Previous Examination, to be held towards the end of the Michaelmas Term in each year, open to all students who have entered on their third term at least, having previously kept two terms.

2. A general examination, to be held towards the end of the Easter Term in each year, open to all students who have entered on their fifth Term at least, having previously kept four terms and passed the previous examination.

3. A special examination in certain departments of Theology, to be held

in the Easter Term of each year, open to all students who have entered on their ninth Term at least, having previously kept eight Terms, and have passed the previous and general examinations [and have attended a course of Lectures given by one of the Professors of Divinity]. *Or*,

A special examination in certain branches of Moral Science, to be held in the Easter Term of each year, open to all students who have entered on their ninth Term at least, having previously kept eight Terms, have passed the previous and general examinations, and have attended a course of lectures given by the Professor of the branch of Science selected. *Or*,

A special examination in Law, to be held in the Easter Term of each year, open to all students who have entered on their ninth Term at least, having previously kept eight Terms, have passed the previous and general examinations, and have attended a course of the lectures of the Regius Professor of Laws or of the Downing Professor of the Laws of England. *Or*,

A special examination in certain branches of Natural Science, to be held in the Easter Term of each year, open to all students who have entered on their ninth Term at least, having previously kept eight Terms, have passed the previous and general examinations, and have attended a course of lectures given by the Professor of the branch of Science selected. *Or*,

A special examination in Mechanism and Applied Science, to be held in the Easter Term of each year, open to all students who have entered on their ninth Term at least, having previously kept eight Terms, have passed the previous and general examinations, and have attended a course of Professors' lectures on this branch of science.

No Student can be admitted to the Final Examination for the Ordinary Degree of Bachelor of Arts, who has not entered upon his ninth Term at least, having previously kept eight Terms; and, if examined in his ninth Term, he must show, when he applies for admission to his degree, that he has kept the said ninth Term.

Modes of Admission to the Degree of Bachelor.

On the last Saturday in January there is a Congregation in the forenoon for the admission to the title of Bachelor designate in Arts (or Law, for Students who have obtained Honors in Law and History), of those who have obtained Honors in the Triposes next preceding in Mathematics, Moral Sciences, Natural Sciences, or Law and History: at ten o'clock, the whole number of Candidates appear in the Senate House.

The Council has previously passed the Supplicats of the Candidates, two papers having been presented to it on behalf of each Candidate by the Prælector, or Father, of his College:

1. The Supplicat having the name of the Candidate in full, and of his College, and signed by the Prælector himself.
2. A certificate, signed and sealed by the Master of the College (or his locumtenens), showing that each Questionist has kept the required number of Terms; if otherwise, the deficiency is mentioned in the Supplicat, and a certificate explaining the cause is delivered to the Council by the Father.

If any Questionist have been prevented by *illness* from keeping all his terms, the Certificate to be delivered to the Council is to be as follows:

I hereby certify to the Senate and University of Cambridge, that Mr. ——, of —— College, has been under my care from the —— day of —— till the —— day of ——; and that during that time he could not with safety, on account of his health, return to Cambridge.

Witness my hand this —— day of ——, 18—.

C. D.,

(*Residence.*) (M. D. or Surgeon).

The Council of the Senate have agreed to the following minute as to the conditions under which Ægrotat terms are allowed:

That only one term be allowed under *Stat.* cap. 2, sect. 11, and that no term be so allowed if the applicant has omitted to reside during any term subsequent to that for which he applies without satisfactory reason for such omission.

One of the Bedells carries the Supplicats to the Proctors; the Senior reads them, and, if all are approved, he says, *Omnes placent.* But, if any are disapproved of, he says, *A. B. &c. non placent, reliquæ placent.*

The Supplicats are then delivered to the Registrary, who writes on them, *Lect. et concess. die — Jan. ——.*

The Vice-Chancellor takes the chair before the table, and a Bedell having desired the respective Fathers to be in readiness with their Sons, he precedes the Father of the Senior Wrangler (the rest of the Fathers following with their Sons) to the Vice-Chancellor.

The Father, taking the Senior Wrangler by the right hand, presents him in these words:

Dignissime Domine, Domine Pro-Cancellarie, et tota Academia; præsento vobis hunc juvenem, quem scio, tam moribus quam doctrinâ, esse idoneum ad titulum assequendum baccalaurei in artibus designati; idque tibi fide meâ præsto, totique Academiæ.

The Senior Wrangler then kneels down before the Vice-Chancellor, who, taking his hands between his own, admits him in these words:

Auctoritate mihi commissâ, admitto te ad titulum baccalaurei in artibus designati, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.

The Father of King's next presents his Sons: then those of Trinity and St. John's are presented, and after them those of the other Colleges according to the seniority of the Fathers. Four or five are presented at once, the Father saying, *Præsento vobis hos juvenes quos, &c.*

As soon as they have been presented, they are directed by one of the Bedells to the south side of the Senate House.

When all have been presented, they are admitted by the Vice-Chancellor in the order in which their names stand in the Mathematical, Moral Sciences, Natural Sciences, and Law and History Triposes, in succession.

When the admissions are concluded, the Vice-Chancellor dissolves the Congregation.

The form of admission to the title of Bachelor designate in Arts or Law at other times is similar.

The Inauguration of all Bachelors designate, and perfecting of their degree, takes place in every year on the second day of the Easter Term. The names are read in the following order:

A. 1. Wranglers. 2. The first class of the Classical Tripos. 3. The first class of the Moral Sciences Tripos. 4. The first class of the Natural Sciences Tripos. 5. The first class of the Law and History Tripos.

6. Senior Optimes. 7. The second class of the Classical Tripos. 8. The second class of the Moral Sciences Tripos. 9. The second class of the Natural Sciences Tripos. 10. The second class of the Law and History Tripos.

11. Junior Optimes. 12. The third class of the Classical Tripos. 13. The third class of the Moral Sciences Tripos. 14. The third class of the Natural Sciences Tripos. 15. The third class of the Law and History Tripos.

B. 1. The aggregate of the first classes of the Special Examinations in the preceding Easter term, the names being arranged alphabetically.

2. The aggregate of the second classes of the Special Examinations in the preceding Easter term, the names being arranged alphabetically.

3. The aggregate of all other persons who have been admitted during the year, the names being arranged alphabetically.

The Senior Proctor then pronounces them all to be actually Bachelors in Arts, or Bachelors in Law.

Inceptors and Masters in Arts.

A Bachelor of Arts may be admitted *ad incipiendum in artibus* at any time after three academical years have passed from the completion of his Bachelor's degree. The Inceptors in every year become complete Masters of Arts by creation on the Commencement day, *i. e.*, on the last Tuesday but one in June. The Candidates, who have incepted during the year, are not obliged to attend personally for creation, but, the names being read over in a list arranged according to their Seniority as Bachelors, the Senior Proctor pronounces them to be actually Masters of Arts.

MASTERS AND DOCTORS IN LAW.

A Bachelor of Laws may take the Degree of Master of Laws, by incepting, as in Arts, at any time after the completion of three years from his Inauguration. The creation of Doctors and Masters of Laws takes place, without their personal attendance, on Commencement Tuesday.

Bachelors of Arts and Masters of Arts desirous of proceeding to the degree of Master of Laws, are required to satisfy the Examiners for the Law and History Tripos in the Commentaries of Gaius and the 4th Vol. of Blackstone's Commentaries, and to pay a fee of £3 3s. to the Regius Professor of Laws.

A Master of Laws of five years' standing may proceed to the degree of Doctor of Laws; he is required to keep an Act in the following manner:

The Regius Professor of the faculty shall assign the day and hour when the exercise for the degree of Doctor of Laws shall be kept;

The Professor, or some graduate of the faculty, who is a member of the Senate, deputed by him, shall preside over the exercise;

The Candidate shall read a thesis, composed in English by himself on some subject approved by the Professor; the Professor, or graduate presiding, shall bring forward arguments or objections in English for the Candidate to answer, and shall examine him in English *viâ voce* as well on questions connected with his thesis as on other subjects in the faculty of a more general nature; the exercise being made to continue at least one hour;

Public notice of the Act shall be given by fixing on the door of the University Schools, eight days at least before the assigned time, a written paper specifying the name and College of the Candidate, the day and hour appointed for the exercise, and the subject of the thesis; copies of the notice shall be delivered also, at the same time, to the Vice-Chancellor and to the Professor.

Candidates for the Degree of Doctor of Law pay to the Professor for keeping their Act a fee of £10 10s.

DEGREES IN DIVINITY.

A Master of Arts must be of at least seven years' standing before he can be admitted to the Degree of Bachelor in Divinity, for which degree the requisite exercises are, one Act, and an English Sermon. The Act cannot be kept by a Master of Arts of less than four years' standing; the other exercise may be kept at any time after the Degree of Master of Arts has been completed.

A Doctor in Divinity must be a Bachelor in Divinity of not less than five years' standing. The exercises are, one Act, and an English Sermon.

DEGREES IN MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

A Student before he can become a Bachelor of Medicine must have resided nine terms. The exercise for this Degree is one Act.

The Degree of Doctor of Medicine may be granted to a Bachelor of Medicine in the ninth term after his Inauguration, and to a Master of Arts in the twelfth term after his creation. The exercise for this degree is one Act.

Five years of Medical Study shall be required of Candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Medicine, with the exception of Students who have obtained

Honors in the Mathematical, Classical, Moral Sciences, or Natural Sciences Tripos, in whose case four years of Medical Study shall be deemed sufficient.

All persons proceeding to the degree of Doctor of Medicine shall be required to produce certificates of having been engaged in Medical Study during five years.

DEGREES IN MUSIC.

The main conditions for either Degree are the same, viz., that the Candidate be a member of some College; and that he satisfy the Professor of Music as to his proficiency; more particularly by composing an Exercise, which in the case of a Candidate proceeding to the degree of Doctor of Music is performed at the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor before the University.

UNIVERSITY LOCAL EXAMINATIONS AND LECTURES.

The University scheme of Local Examinations, begun at Oxford in 1857, was instituted at Cambridge by the appointment of a Syndicate for that purpose in 1858. They are conducted at various places throughout the country by means of printed papers set by a central body of Examiners and worked by the candidates in the presence of Examiners sent down for that purpose. For seven years the Examinations were open to boys only. In 1865, a Grace of the Senate admitted girls also to the Examinations for 1865 1866, 1867; and in 1867 girls were put permanently on the same footing as boys, except that no names of Candidates and no Class Lists are to be published in the case of girls.'

The Candidates are either Seniors or Juniors. The former are under 18 years of age, the latter under 16. Every Candidate pays to the Syndicate a fee of £1. The local expenses of providing an examination room, stationery, &c., are borne by the local Committee of Management at each centre of Examination, and to meet these expenses a local fee is charged to each Candidate by the local Committee. This fee is usually from five to ten shillings.

Every Junior Candidate is required to satisfy the Examiners in the following:

1. Reading aloud a passage from some standard English prose author; 2. Writing from dictation; 3. English Grammar, including the parsing and analysis of sentences; 4. Arithmetic.

Also in two at least of the following, not in the same section:

1. Religious Knowledge; 2. English History and Geography and Literature, 3, 4. Latin, Greek; 5, 6. French, German; 7, 8. Pure Mathematics, Mechanics; 9. Chemistry; 10. Zoology or Botany or Geology.

Candidates can not be examined in more than six of these ten sections.

Candidates can also be examined in any or all of the following:

Geometrical Drawing; Linear Perspective; Drawing from the Flat; Drawing from Models; Music.

Every Senior Candidate is required to satisfy the Examiners in the following:

1. Reading aloud a passage from some standard English poet; 2. English Grammar, including parsing and the analysis of sentences; 3. The principles and practice of Arithmetic.

Also in three at least of the sections marked A, B, C, D, E, F, G, or in two of them, and in one of the sections marked H, I:

A. Religious Knowledge.

B. English, comprising two at least of these four: History; Geography; a play, poem, or book of some standard English writer; Political Economy. Every Candidate in this section must write a short English Essay.

C. Latin, Greek. D. French, German.

E. Euclid and Algebra. The following may also be taken by Candidates in this section: Trigonometry, Conic Sections, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Astronomy.

F. Chemistry. Heat, Magnetism and Electricity may also be taken by Candidates in Chemistry. G. Zoology or Botany or Geology.

H. Drawing from the Flat, and one at least of the following: Drawing from Models; Perspective; Imitative Coloring. I. Music.

Candidates can not be examined in more than five of the subjects A to G.

Every Candidate, Senior or Junior, must be examined in Religious Knowledge, unless a written form of objection to such examination is sent in by the Parent or Guardian of the Candidate.

The Examinations are held in the second or third week of December.

A Class List is published after each Examination, dividing the Candidates into three Classes of Honors and one Class of those who have merely satisfied the Examiners.

Certificates signed by the Vice-Chancellor are given to all who appear in the Class List, stating in detail the subjects in which the Candidate passed or passed with distinction. The Class Lists usually appear in the third week of February, and the Certificates are issued in April. In December, 1872, 2,228 boys and 847 girls entered for the Examination.

The expense of the scheme for 1871, in which 900 were examined, was:

For Examiners	£1,800	
Printing	336	
Secretary and Clerical Help	498	
Stationery, Advertising	42	£2,667

The income was:

From Fees from Candidates	£2,838	
Sale of Publications	120	£2,958

LOCAL UNIVERSITY TEACHINGS BY MEANS OF LECTURES.

In 1873 a Syndicate was appointed by the Senate, on the memorial from Birmingham, Leeds, Nottingham, Crewe, and other populous centres, asking for 'the coöperation of the University in securing the means of higher education for local classes'*—empowered to organize courses of lectures, on condition that the requisite funds are guaranteed by the local committees, under the immediate superintendence of the Syndicate. Courses of Lectures on Political Economy, by Mr. Stanton of Trinity College; on English Literature, by Mr. Berks of Trinity College, and on Force and Motion, by Mr. Harding of Trinity College; and at the close of the courses, which occupied twelve weeks in the months of October, November, and December, 1873, a written examination was held by three Examiners, who reported to the Vice-Chancellor in detail, that the general results were highly satisfactory, showing careful and accurate teaching, and painstaking study. A second series was opened in February, March, and April, 1874, with still more satisfactory results, and the Syndicate have received applications for a larger number of courses for other populous centres.

Degrees Jure Dignitatis aut Natalium.

Degrees without residence or examination or exercises may be conferred on: 1, Privy Counsellors; 2, Bishops; 3, Noblemen; 4, Sons of Noblemen, or their heirs apparent; 5, Deans of Cathedrals; 6, Heads of Colleges.

If noblemen, or the sons or heirs apparent of noblemen, go to the University as *juvenes*, they can take the degree of B. A. only, and must pass the same examination for that degree as other students. They are, however, required to reside seven terms, and may be candidates for Honors in any of the Honor Triposes in their seventh term of residence, and are admitted at once *ad perfectum gradum.*

Persons taking Honorary Degrees are not entitled to vote in the Senate, unless they shall have resided three Terms, and must pay double the fees required for ordinary degrees.

UNIVERSITY FEES.

The Matriculation fee paid to the Registrary for the Common Chest is: £15 10*s.* for Noblemen; £10 10*s.* for Fellow Commoner; £5 for Pensioner, and 15*s.* for Sizar. From these fees the University realized in 1871, £3,048.

Before admission to examination at the Previous Examination in every year, every candidate is required to pay the sum of 50*s.* to the Common Chest, and it is not returned in case of failure to be approved. The University realized from these payments in 1871 the sum of £1,535. The Common Chest realized out of the payments made by Candidates for Degrees, in 1871, the sum of £7,186.

* A similar movement was inaugurated in Rhode Island by Henry Barnard, State Commissioner of Public Schools in 1847–48, in connection with Professors of Brown University, and other scientific and literary men.

THE CEREMONY OF TAKING A DEGREE.*

Let us suppose, then, that we have a friend whose name has been announced as having successfully passed some examination, it makes little difference which, in virtue whereof he is entitled to a degree. The first thing you may be sure, considering the scene is laid in a University, and that an English one, is to pay, and pay well. The proctors, as representing the University, receive seven pounds from every expectant bachelor for the University chest, as the treasury is called. The college dues amount to about three pounds more. His next business is to order the peculiar insignia of a Bachelor of Arts—the black gown with its ribbons dangling in front, and the long black hood with its swan's-down trimming. He will also add a clergyman's bands, as a necessary part of full academic costume, if he have not already procured them for some other public occasion. The hood he will throw on over his undergraduate's gown—the black gown he will intrust to his bedmaker, and so arrayed will make his way to the Senate House The galleries are filled with undergraduates, and the body of the hall below by officials and spectators of all kinds, and by the candidates themselves, often far exceeding a hundred in number. As there is a good deal of waiting on all such public occasions at Cambridge, the undergraduates in the gallery proceed to amuse themselves by cheering. This, as well as hissing, is commonly carried to a perfectly insane extent, beyond all bounds of authority. Proceedings are usually opened as soon as the galleries are pretty well filled, with "Three cheers for the Queen." Given vociferously. Before any one can call anything else, somebody is observed below who has not taken off his cap at the instant of entering. "Cap, cap, cap, cap, cap," is at once the cry, and this is kept up till it is taken off. "Three cheers for Lord Derby." "Hurrah, hurrah," or rather "Hurray," the English form of a cheer. A few groans attempted by some liberal, who further proceeds to "Three cheers for Lord Palmerston." A few spirited cheers, and good many groans, which, however, is nothing to the bear-garden of growls that replies to the call of "Three groans for John Bright." Three cheers for something or other is drowned in "Cap, cap, cap," "Hat, hat, hat." A pause, for an instant, the individual summoned obstinately refusing to remove his cap, when one of the proctors' attendants, nicknamed bull-dogs, appears below. "Stuboy, Boning, row, row. Take his cap off; bite him, Boning,—please remove your cap, sir," etc. "Three cheers for ——," in a feeble voice. "What is it, sir? speak up." "Three cheers for the Bishop of Oxford." Violent acclamations. The chief church dignitary in the Sandwich Islands having recently addressed a large meeting at Cambridge, was once irreverently summoned with "Three cheers for the Bishop of Hullabaloo." I once heard the United States called for in the course of the last three years, when it was drowned with laughter, and calls of the "Disunited States"; and a proposal of cheers for the Confederates was received with equal derision. A few more persons, obnoxious or honored, are clamored for, when a loud burst of cheering throughout the length and breadth of the Senate House, calls our attention to a somewhat singular procession that is walking in. Most of its members appear as ordinary Masters of Arts, in black gowns with white and black hoods thrown over them,—but the procession is headed by one, who, in addition to this garb, bears an enormous silver mace, looking very like a gigantic poker, and so usually denominated.

There are three of these mace-bearers, known as the esquire bedells, who enclose a reverend looking gentleman in a scarlet gown and ermine tippet.

* Everett "*On the Cam.*"

This is the Vice-Chancellor, the head of the University, and in all cases the greatest man there, except when the Chancellor himself takes it into his head, which is very seldom, to come down and administer. The Vice-Chancellor is chosen from the masters of the colleges annually, on the 5th of November, and goes out of office on the 4th. So that on the day of election there is no one in office—but two proctors are considered as equal to one Vice-Chancellor, and act as the presiding officers on the day of his election. This, as all other elections of University officers, is by the body of the Masters and Doctors, called the Senate,—the general affairs being managed by a smaller body called the Council, who propose all measures to be acted upon by the Senate, the enacting measure being called a Grace of the Senate. The night of the Vice-Chancellor's election being also the old day of the celebration of Gunpowder Plot, was formerly celebrated at Cambridge by the town and gown riots. I cannot say these are absolutely extinct. The townspeople, who have nothing else to do, come out a good deal. A certain number of students also come out and walk up and down the streets, where passage is generally freely conceded, though very opprobrious remarks are heard right and left. I have tramped through a town and gown row so called, and if I had desired a pugilistic encounter of any kind, I should have had to seek it.

The Vice-Chancellor, by this time, has taken his seat in the Senate House. One of the esquire bedells has the lists of candidates in his hand. The undergraduates are ushered forward by some fellow of their college, who is called "the father," and presents his "sons" in squads of six or eight. If the Senior Wrangler and Senior Classic is to take his degree, he is led up alone, by himself, amid most vociferous cheering. What the students are supposed to do when they are thus led up I don't know. The father says something in Latin—I believe to the effect that he presents to the Vice-Chancellor this youth, whom he knows as well in morals as in learning to be a proper person for receiving the degree of B. A. Formerly, they were required to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. They are then directed to one side—and the real process of conferring degrees begins. They take their station in a long queue, and come up to the Vice-Chancellor one by one, first laying down their caps on the floor, and then kneeling on the floor themselves. They fold the palms of their hands together, and the Vice-Chancellar takes them between his, and pronounces a Latin formu'a, giving them all the rights, privileges, etc., pertaining to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," raising his cap before the sacred names. They rise, turn away, and the operation is complete. No part, no preacher's gown, no diploma. As they go out, the bedmaker is in readiness to exchange the undergraduate's for the bachelor's gown, and to appropriate the former, in connection with a pound sterling. "It's the custom, sir. All the gentlemen does it, sir. It's the bedmaker's perquisites, sir," is all the explanation I ever heard to be given—and this is about all the explanation given for anything at Cambridge.

MEANS OF DISCIPLINE.

The means of discipline are elaborate and peculiar. A certain amount of attendance at chapel and lecture is required; and, if not complied with, a graduated series of scoldings, rising from a simple printed notice, filled up with a name, as follows: "Everett, Junior Soph., irregular in his attendance at chapel, admonished by the Junior Dean";—I did get one such notice once,—up through personal interviews with the Deans, Tutor, Master, and Body of Fellows. By this time, an undergraduate so persistently irregular will probably have brought matters to a crisis by some other more flagrant act, and be obliged to leave the college. Repeated absence from lecture is

STUDIES AND EXAMINATIONS FOR DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS.*

The direct object of a Student at Cambridge is to obtain one of the degrees which are conferred by that University, in the faculties of Arts, Law, Medicine, Divinity, and Music. The first degree which is conferred in these faculties is that of Bachelor, and the vast majority of Students become Candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. It is the object of this introductory article to describe in outline the course of a Student before he takes his degree; in technical language, of an Undergraduate; and in such a manner and with such careful explanation as to make, if possible, the whole subject clear even to persons who have no previous acquaintance whatever either with this or any other University.

In order to obtain the Bachelor's degree it is indispensably necessary, (1) to reside for a certain period in Cambridge, (2) to become a member of the University by being admitted either as a member of a College, or as a Non-Collegiate Student, (3) to pass certain examinations.

Entrance and Residence.]

The period of residence is measured by terms, i. e., the divisions of the year during which the business of the University is carried on. These are three in each year, the Michaelmas or October Term, beginning on the 1st of October and ending on the 16th of December, the Lent Term, beginning on the 13th of January and ending on the Friday before Palm Sunday, the Easter or May Term, beginning on the Friday after Easter Day, and ending on the Friday after Commencement-Day, which is the last Tuesday but one in June.

These Students are to be distinguished as either Candidates for Honors, or Poll Men, that is, Candidates for the ordinary B. A. degree without special honor or distinction.

The period of residence required in Arts is nine terms. Thus a person entering in January may become eligible for his degree in the November of the next but one succeeding year; he who enters after Easter, in the March of the third year after; he who enters in October, in the June of the third year after. But the three terms of the year do not all offer the same opportunities of undergoing the prescribed examinations. The final examinations for the ordinary B. A. degree occur only twice a year, and a Poll man who enters in the Easter term must wait an additional term before he can be examined for his degree. For a Poll man who wishes his University course to be as short as possible, the choice is thus limited to January and October; and it is plain that he who enters in October has the shorter course, owing to the fact that the long vacation, as it is called, that is the time during which lectures are suspended between June and October, enters only twice, and not three times, into his course.

But for those who wish to win their degree with honor and distinction, which is the best time to enter? Such persons may desire their time of probation to be as long as possible, in order that their attainments may be the greatest possible. Now to Candidates for Honors in any Tripos a limiting period is fixed, in order to equalize the competition. The Honor examinations are held only once a year, the Mathematical, the Classical, the Theological, the Semitic Languages and the Indian Languages Triposes in the Lent Term, and the Moral Sciences, the Natural Sciences, the Law and the Historical Triposes in the Michaelmas Term. For the former it is required that the Student shall have entered upon his ninth term at least, having previously

* From the Introduction to the *Student's Guide to the University of Cambridge.* By Rev. R. B. Somerset, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College. 1874.

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kept eight terms, and that not more than ten terms shall have passed since his first term of residence; for the latter he is required to have entered upon his eighth term at least, having previously kept seven terms, and not more than nine terms are to have passed since his first term. The Student may therefore secure the option of the longest or the shortest period of preparation by entering after Easter; but College arrangements never encourage this, and in some cases they do not permit it. It is sometimes not inconvenient to commence residence in January. The most convenient and usual time for entering the Colleges is October. The course of studies prescribed in each College begins at this point; and the Examination held in each College on the eve of the Long Vacation, for those of its students who are not at the time undergoing any University Examination, commonly embraces the subjects on which lectures have been delivered from the October previous.

A person is not said to be *resident* in the University even though he be living in Cambridge, unless he be occupying either rooms in College or one of the lodging-houses in the town which have been licensed to receive University men, or be living with his parents, or, under special circumstances approved by the authorities of the University, with other friends or in his own or in a hired house. Once resident, a student or pupil, that is, every member of the University under the degree of Master in some faculty, cannot go out of residence without the written permission or *exeat* of the Tutor of his College, or, if a Non-Collegiate student, of the Censor. Students who have been guilty of misconduct are sometimes sent away for the rest of the term. As it is the indispensable condition of obtaining a degree to have resided nine terms, the effect of this punishment may be to prolong by a term the period of undergraduateship. Residence for two-thirds of the term is accepted by the University as residence for the whole, and no more than this is necessary in the case of Non-Collegiate students, but the Colleges usually require residence for a much larger part of the Lent and Michaelmas Terms, except for some good reason.

College and Non-Collegiate Students.

There are seventeen Colleges at Cambridge, and they are very various in the advantages which they offer to their members. The selection of one College rather than another, or of a College rather than the position of a Non-Collegiate Student, is often made with a view to other than purely educational advantages. It being assumed that with whatever body a student is connected he is equally likely to take a degree, both the student and his parents will often think comparatively little of the question, whether abler teachers are to be found in one College than another. The more studious think of the prizes offered in a College, and as far as they take account of the better or worse teaching to be obtained, they regard it chiefly as affecting their chance of gaining high University distinction; the less studious think of little beyond the opportunities held out of living agreeably in a congenial society.

The incidental advantages of life at the University are for a large proportion of the students quite equal in importance to the intellectual culture or the information to be secured there. The opportunity of mixing with a considerable society of young men of easy circumstances, at an age when intimacies are readily formed, in a state of freedom tempered by an easy and well-understood discipline, and by an obligation to do some intellectual work, is of high value to all who come to the University prepared to use it. The arrangements of a College are particularly favorable to close intercourse of its members one with another. The smaller the College is, the more likely

is it that all its members, or at least all who are of the same standing, will be acquainted with one another, if there be no marked disparity of previous education to keep them apart. The diffident will thus find themselves introduced into a society ready formed for them; those of less culture, or force of mind or character, will benefit by the superior average of their neighbors; at any given time, something of a common tone, both social and moral, will prevail in the whole society of a moderate-sized College; and though this may change rapidly, it concerns those who are choosing a College for an average student, to get such information as they can at the time, as to the reputation of the undergraduate society of each College that is in question. This is not less important, and it is sometimes less easy, than it is to ascertain what reputation the Tutor has for stimulating the minds or guiding the conduct of his pupils. A person of greater force of character may be more independent of these considerations. If his choice is not determined, by personal connection or the hope of prizes, in favor of a small college, such a student may prefer one of the larger, as offering either greater variety of companionship, or a greater number of persons whose tastes and circumstances are similar to his own. Members of different Colleges meet together in associations for religious, literary, social or merely athletic purposes; ties of school friendship, of home neighborhood, or of family connection, frequently unite members of different Colleges or different social sets in the University; and each new acquaintance may in its turn become an introduction to others; but all these causes together do less to mark out the circle of acquaintance of any one average undergraduate than membership of one and the same College. But if it is important to consider what the society is into which a freshman is to be introduced, it must also be considered how far he is himself a person likely to make what is good in the society his own, and to withstand any temptation he may meet in it. What he gets from the society will very much depend on what he brings to it.

The Non-Collegiate Student does not necessarily come into any close association with the men of his own class. He has no dinner in Hall, no compulsory lectures, no officially-provided religious worship, to connect him with all other Non-Collegiate Students of the same standing. If he chooses to restrict his intercourse with them to the narrowest limits, he will sometimes meet them at the rooms or house of the officer who has the charge of them, at University lectures or examinations, and possibly at College lectures, but hardly elsewhere. The only duty prescribed to Non-Collegiate Students, as distinguished from other undergraduates, is to call on their Censor on five days of the week at times indicated by him, and to sign their names in a book kept for the purpose. No lectures have been specially provided for them. At the lectures which they attend in Colleges or in the University, they are associated with members of Colleges. It is arranged that they shall have a common reading-room; a cricket-club has been for some time in operation; other voluntary associations may spring up among these students, as their number increases, to bind them more closely together as members of one body. At present the Union Debating Society, the Volunteer Corps, the University Football Club, and other University Associations and Clubs, are as likely to bring them into contact with members of Colleges, as to draw them nearer to one another. The wider the area covered by these organizations, the less likely they are to affect the condition of an otherwise friendless or diffident student. On the other hand, one who is desirous of society, and has ordinary social power, need not long be at a loss for opportunities of making sufficient acquaintance to render his Cambridge life pleasant, as well as wholesome. Hitherto he has been assumed to be of the usual age of under-

graduates, and to be living alone in lodgings. If he is older than usual, or married, or living with relations in the town, it makes comparatively little difference to him, whether he is a member of a College or not.

Mode of Admission to a College.

The student who has selected a College will write to the Tutor of that College: one who wishes to be a Non-Collegiate Student will write to the Censor of Non-Collegiate Students. The names of these officers will be found in the Cambridge Calendar; through them most of the business of the student with the College or the Board is conducted; to the College Tutor or the Censor the applicant for admission, and the newly arrived student or 'freshman,' should habitually apply for direction. At most of the Colleges the candidate for admission must produce a certificate* signed by a Cambridge M. A., attesting that he has been examined by him and found to be qualified, and he must at the same time pay a certain sum of Caution Money, (the amount of which will be found under the head of College Expenses,) and an Entrance Fee, which varies in the different Colleges, and will be found under the head of each. If he is unprovided with a certificate, he may be examined by the Tutor himself, or by some other of the officers of the College.

At some Colleges there is an examination held which every freshman must pass, before he can be matriculated; the subjects of this examination are given in the Tutor's circular sent to applicants for admission. At Trinity College, in filling up the vacancies, the priority of right is given to those who acquit themselves with credit in the examination for Minor Scholarships; for the remaining places there are competitive examinations in January and June, and, if need be, a supplementary one in October. The Tutors receive the names of applicants on the understanding that they will present themselves at some of these examinations; the purpose of such preliminary examinations is to exclude candidates who are not sufficiently advanced to profit by the most elementary courses of lectures delivered in the College. If the candidate be approved by the College Examiners, or his certificate be satisfactory, he is admitted, and his name is placed on the boards which are suspended in the College butteries. For Non-Collegiate Students there is no preliminary examination, either by officers of the Board, or by a Cambridge or Oxford M. A.; but the Board requires satisfactory testimony as to the character of the applicant and his fitness to become a member of the University. A sum of £2 Caution Money is required, but no entrance fee is charged.

A minor must be entered by authority of his guardian; if the candidate for admission have attained his majority references are usually expected.

Membership of the University.

Being thus made a member of a College, or a Non-Collegiate Student, the freshman has to be formally enrolled as a member of the University. This enrolment, which is called Matriculation, does not, however, take place immediately on commencing residence, but on the day after the division, that is, the first day of the latter half of the term. The ceremony is performed

* *Form of Certificate for admission at College.*

"I hereby certify to the Master and Fellows of College, that I have known A. B. for years, and have also examined him; and that I believe him to be, both as to learning and moral character, a fit person to be admitted of College in the University of Cambridge.

[Signed,] , M. A., of College, Cambridge."

Date.

in the Senate-House in the presence of the Registrary, who receives at the time from the Tutor or the Censor a fee for each student. This fee is paid by a member of a College to the Tutor, either on entrance or in his first account; by a Non-Collegiate Student before Matriculation.

The student's first business on arriving at Cambridge will be to procure himself rooms. The Tutor will inform him whether any sets of rooms within the College itself are vacant, and if not, which of the licensed houses in the town can admit him. The Censor in like manner will advise the Non-Collegiate student as to the choice of licensed lodgings, and in special cases may take steps to procure special licenses. In no case should the student engage lodgings without the consent of the Tutor or Censor. At some of the Colleges room is made within the walls for the freshmen, by expelling the questionists *i. e.* undergraduates of the fourth year, into lodgings; but in the majority the freshmen are served last as being the last arrived, and in many cases have to wait more than one term for admittance. Some persons prefer lodgings to rooms in College. They have one practical advantage, viz., that in them, as in lodging-houses anywhere else, the servant can be summoned at any time, whereas in College-rooms there are no bells, and the servants, who go by the names of *gyps* and *bedmakers*, are not constantly on the staircase, but make their rounds at fixed hours. On the other hand, so far from there being greater liberty in lodgings, as might be supposed, there is somewhat less, for the lock, which the lodging-house keeper is bound to turn at 9 or 10 o'clock, confines you to the house itself, whereas the closing of the College-gate at the same hour leaves to those within liberty to range the whole College. Nor again does the student in lodgings taste the genuine flavor of College-life; besides being at a greater distance from Chapel, Hall, and Lecture-rooms.

Academic Dress.

Each College has its own pattern for the gown worn by its undergraduates; for Non-Collegiate Students also a distinct pattern is prescribed. The proper gown, with the cap, will be furnished by any University tailor. The cap and gown constitute the Academic dress, and are to be used on all occasions when the student acts in the character of a member of the University or College, on all public occasions in the Senate-House, and in the University Church of St. Mary, in visiting the officers of the University, and the Master, Tutors, and other officers of the College, at all University or College lectures, at the public dinner in the College Hall, and generally at the College Chapel. At Chapel, instead of the gown, a surplice is worn on Sunday, on Saturday evening, on all Saints' days, and at the evening service of the day before every Saint's day; the surplice is not worn on any other occasion by the members of a College, and in the case of Non-Collegiate Students it is not required at all. For the sake of discipline, the cap and gown are required to be worn by all students appearing in the streets in the evening, and throughout the whole of Sunday.

UNIVERSITY WORK.

The University in every respect deals with each of its members in the same way, whether he belongs to a College or is a Non-Collegiate Student; the difference between the two classes consists in the fewer points of contact between the Non-Collegiate Student and the Censor, as compared with those between the Collegiate Student and the College through its authorities and institutions. The University is to be considered, (1) as affording instruction; (2) as holding examinations; (3) as conferring degrees, prizes, and scholarships; (4) as maintaining discipline.

University Instruction.

1. The University affords instruction by means of a staff of Professors, who deliver lectures in several public rooms belonging to the University.

These are, four Divinity; four Medicine (Anatomy, Physic, and Physiology); three Law (Civil Law, Law of England, and International); six Philology (Arabic, Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, and Hebrew); four Mathematics (Pure and Applied, Astronomy, and Geometry); three Moral Science (Casuistry, Modern and Political Economy); six Natural Science (Botany, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, Natural and Experimental Philosophy); one Archæology; one Fine Art. These lectures are independent of the readings of the Colleges.

Candidates for the Ordinary Degree are required to attend during one term at least the lectures delivered by at least one of the Professors, the choice among the Professors being limited in the case of each student according to the class of subjects in which he intends to present himself for his final examination.

University Examinations—Previous and Special.

2. The University holds examinations. If the student undergoes examinations in his own College, these are preparatory and subordinate to those to which he will be subjected by the University. There is one such examination which all students alike must pass before they can be admitted to a degree. This is the Previous Examination, better known, in the time-consecrated colloquial language of the University, as the *Little-Go*, or *Smalls*.

Previous Examination.

This examination may be described, first, as it affects the average Poll man, secondly, as it affects the better prepared and more ambitious student.

First, in the case of the average candidate for a degree without special distinction; it is held in June and December of each year, and at each time consists of two Parts. The First Part embraces one Gospel in the original Greek, one of the Latin Classics, and one of the Greek (for example, two books of Ovid's Fasti and one book of Herodotus), with a paper of questions on Latin and Greek Grammar, principally with reference to the set subjects. In the Latin subject the examination is conducted partly *viva voce*, partly by printed papers; in all other subjects of their examination, and in nearly all the examinations necessary for a degree in Arts, printed questions alone are used. The Second Part embraces Paley's Evidences; Euclid, Books I., II., III., Definitions 1–10 of Book V., and Props. 1–19 and A of Book VI.; Arithmetic and Elementary Algebra (as far as easy Quadratic Equations of not more than two unknown quantities, and the elementary rules of Ratio, Proportion, and Variation). A matriculated student in his second or any later term of residence may present himself for either part separately, or for both parts of the examination, at any time of its occurrence. The Gospel and the Classics fixed for June in any given year are also subjects of the following December examination. Though either part may be passed separately, both are required to be passed by every student before he can present himself as a candidate in any of the more advanced examinations necessary for a degree. Thus a Poll man who has commenced residence in October should in general pass one or both parts in the following June; if he has not passed both in June, he can present himself for examination in the same subjects the following December. If he then fail, he can go in again; but if his failure has occurred in the first part, or both parts, he will be required to read other classical subjects for the following June. At each examination in each part a fee has to be paid. The University imposes no penalty on a student who delays presenting himself as a candidate in this examination beyond the proper time: but the College, or the Non-Collegiate Students' Board, may refuse to retain a student who has failed to pass the examination when, in the opinion of the officers who have the supervision of him, he ought to have done so. It is necessary to observe that every person is required in

writing his answers to conform to the rules of English Grammar, including Orthography; and no one is approved who has failed in that respect.

Secondly, those who intend to graduate with honors in any Tripos must not only pass both the First and Second Parts of the examination, already described, but they must also satisfy the examiners in additional subjects, viz., (1) Algebra (including easy elementary problems, proofs of rules in Arithmetical and Geometrical Progression, and Logarithms); (2) Elementary Trigonometry, and (3) Elementary Mechanics. This additional examination may be passed either at the same time with the ordinary Previous Examination or at any subsequent holding of the Previous Examination. The Previous Examination being intended for all students alike, and being placed early in the course, is necessarily easy. The standard is low, and will be so, though it may be raised in a small degree now that the examination is divided into two parts which can be passed separately. But even advanced students must be careful to observe that though low, the standard must be reached in each subject, and that excellence in one will not be allowed to compensate for deficiency in another. As, however, the best prepared students often leave school with knowledge sufficient to pass the examination, it has been thought expedient to allow such students to pass the examination at the earliest time of its occurrence, and thus secure three years of uninterrupted study of the subjects in which they wish to graduate with honors. Accordingly it has been provided that matriculated students in their first term of residence may present themselves as candidates in the Previous Examination, but are not to be held to have passed either part of the Previous Examination, or the examination in the additional subjects, unless they are approved in both parts and also in the additional examination of candidates for honors.

Examination for Ordinary Degree.

After passing the Previous Examination, the candidates for Honors and the candidates for the Ordinary Degree have a different course before them. The former class have only one more examination to pass, and they may devote the whole remaining time exclusively to the special subjects which they find themselves best able to master. They may, however, and not unfrequently do, endeavor to achieve distinction in more than one of these subjects. Those, on the other hand, who determine to try for the Ordinary Degree must submit to two more examinations. The plan adopted by the University for such students assumes that in most cases two years will be spent by them upon the studies which it regards as essential to general education, that is, Divinity, Classics, and Mathematics, and an additional year upon some special pursuit. During the second year, therefore, and generally at the end of it, there is a second examination, after the passing of which the student is intended to devote his undivided attention to some one special subject. It is held near the end of May and near the end of November in each year. The subjects are the Acts of the Apostles in the original Greek, one of the Greek Classics, one of the Latin Classics, Algebra (easy equations of a degree not higher than the second, involving not more than two unknown quantities, proofs of rules of Arithmetical and Geometrical Progression, and easy Elementary problems), Elementary Statics, Elementary Hydrostatics and Heat. As in the Previous Examination, students are required to attain a certain standard in each subject separately. Two additional papers are set, one containing passages for translation into Latin Prose, the other one or more subjects for an English Essay, and one or more passages from Shakespeare or Milton to be punctuated and paraphrased. Students are not required to do these papers, but by doing them they may gain a higher place in the list. This list is divided into four classes, the names in

each class being arranged alphabetically. A student who fails at one such examination may go in again six months later, each time paying a small fee. After passing the General Examination at the end of his second year, the student has a year to devote to one of five specified departments of study, and at the end of that time to present himself for a final examination, on passing which he becomes entitled to his Degree. These five departments are Theology, Moral Science, Law and History, Natural Science, and Mechanism or Applied Science. Each of these examinations commences on the Monday next but one before the General Admission to the B. A. degree in the Easter Term, and the list of those approved in each subject is published on the Thursday morning next before the same day. For those who are unable to attend one of these examinations in the Easter Term, or who fail to pass it, another examination in each subject is held in the Michaelmas Term.

Special Examinations.

Every student, before being admitted to any of the Special Examinations, must present to the Registrary a certificate signed by the Professor of the subject in which he elects to be examined, stating that he has attended one course of his lectures. The Vice-Chancellor and Proctors are empowered, in cases of sickness or necessary absence from the University, to grant exemption from this rule.

The Special Examination in Theology embraces the following subjects: (1) Selected books of the Old Testament in the English Version, (2) One of the Four Gospels in the original Greek, (3) Two at least of the epistles of the New Testament in the original Greek, (4) The history of the Church of England to the Revolution of 1688. A paper is set in Hebrew, which the students are not required to do, but by doing which they may obtain a higher place in the list, as well as a mark of distinction affixed to their names.

The Special Examination in Moral Science embraces (1) Moral Philosophy, (2) Political Economy. In Moral Philosophy, the students are examined in the following books: Stewart's *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, Butler's *Three Sermons on Human Nature* (Whewell's edition), Whewell's *Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy*, 1–15, Cicero *de Officiis*, Books 1 and 2. In Political Economy the books are Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (McCulloch's edition), Fawcett's *Manual of Political Economy*, and Bastiat's *Harmonies of Political Economy*. But between these two subjects the students are to make their election, and no student is examined in more than one of them.

In the Special Examination in Law and History, the student must choose either Law or History, and no student is examined in more than one of them. In Law the subjects are (1) Justinian's Institutes in the original Latin, (2) Lord Mackenzie on Roman Law, or the Elements of Hindu and Mohammedan Law, (3) Malcolm Kerr's abbreviated edition of Blackstone. In History the students are examined in the *Outlines of English History from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of George IV.*, in Hallam's *Constitutional History*, and in a period of European History, of which notice is given in the preceding Michaelmas Term.

The subjects of the Special Examination in Natural Science (of which students are to select one, and no student is to be examined in more than one) are, 1 Chemistry, (2) Geology, (3) Botany, (4) Zoölogy. In each of these subjects at least three papers are set.

In the Special Examination in Mechanism and Applied Science, students are examined as to the practical application of Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Heat, Electricity and Magnetism.

The lists of all these examinations are divided into two classes, the names in the first class being placed in order of merit, and those in the second alphabetically.

*Tripos Examinations.**

The Honor Examinations held annually for the degree in Arts are of course of a much severer character. Into these flock annually the ablest young men, who four or five years earlier were the admiration of their schoolfellows, and who during their University course have received all the instruction that the best Tutors, and all the stimulus that a competition well known to be severe, can give. As there can be here no reason or excuse for leniency, and the contest is one into which the cleverest youths in the country enter, it may safely be affirmed that even the lowest place in these Triposes is justly called an *honor;* and that he who wins it must have, at least *when* he wins it, a knowledge of the special subjects of examination considerably greater than is possessed by the majority of educated Englishmen. Undoubtedly cramming will do much, and there are kinds and degrees of excellence which cannot be tested at all by the method of examination; but to take a good degree, as it is somewhat inaccurately called, remains a fair object of ambition, requiring either abilities above the average level, or a course of steady industry pursued through many years.

In saying this, we refer most of all to the Mathematical and Classical Honor Examinations, which have been long established, and are passed annually by a large number of students. The Honor Examinations in Moral and Natural Science, first held in 1851, are of a similar character, and demand similar qualifications; they have lately been growing in estimation, but do not rival in importance the older two. The Theological Honor Tripos has not in past years been a title to a degree; now that it has been placed on the same level with the older Triposes, it may probably attract a large proportion of students of considerable promise. The Law and Modern History Tripos, which dates from 1870, has after a short experience been resolved into two, one in Law (giving the option of a degree in Law or in Arts), and one in History, each to be first held in December, 1875. In addition to these, two entirely new Honor Examinations have been arranged, each to be first held in January, 1875, viz., the Semitic Languages Tripos and the Indian Languages Tripos Examinations.

Mathematical Tripos.

The Mathematical Examination of Cambridge is widely celebrated, and has given to this University its character of the Mathematical University *par excellence.* Commencing on the Monday next after the 29th of December, it continues for four days, then stops for an interval of ten days, and then occupies five days more. The Saturday before the Monday on which the five days begin, an alphabetical list is published of those who have been approved in the work of the first three days, (1) as deserving Mathematical Honors, or (2) as deserving an ordinary B. A. degree, or (3) as deserving to be excused from the General Examination for the ordinary B. A. degree. Those whose names do not appear in this list are rejected candidates, or in common University language *plucked men;* those who are declared to have acquitted themselves so as to deserve Mathematical Honors are subjected to the further examination of the five days in the more advanced parts of Mathematical

* The phrase 'Tripos' or 'Tripos Paper,' as used at Cambridge even in official documents, denotes the list of names to whom the University assigns honorable distinction after a public trial. It was first affixed to the list of Mathematical Honors, and was afterwards extended to the list of Classical Honors. It is derived by some from the three-legged stool (*tripod*) formerly used in the examination hall, and by others from the three brackets used to group the successful candidates; and by Dr. Whewell from the designation *Torva Filius*, signed by the writer of the Latin verses which were formerly written on the back of the List of the successful Questionists.

Science. These now include Heat, Electricity and Magnetism (both the elementary and the advanced parts), in addition to those which were formerly recognized in the examination for the Mathematical Tripos. The marks gained in the whole nine days are afterwards added up, and the final list is published on the day before that appointed for the conferring of the degrees, *i. e.*, the last Saturday in January. In this list the names are arranged according to merit, but no one whose name appeared on the former list is excluded from the latter. The names are distributed into three classes, which are headed Wranglers, Senior Optimes, and Junior Optimes; the highest Wrangler is commonly called the Senior Wrangler.*

Classical Tripos.

The Classical Tripos is much less ancient. It was founded in 1824, and the first list contained only seventeen names, while the Mathematical Tripos of the same year contained sixty-six. It did not then confer a right to the degree. The average number of the names in the Classical Tripos lists for the last seven years is seventy, while in the Mathematical lists it is a hundred and nine. The examination commences on the fourth Monday after the last Saturday in January; it continues for eight days, in the course of which it is intermitted for two afternoons. On the mornings of four days, papers are set containing passages from English writers in Prose and Verse, to be turned into Latin Prose and Verse and Greek Prose and Verse respectively. There are also set a paper on Ancient History; a paper on Classical Philology; six papers containing passages for translation from Greek and Latin authors, together with questions arising out of such passages; and two additional papers containing (A) passages for translation from set works; these are specified in a list published from time to time, and are selected from (I.) the works of Plato and Aristotle; (II.) the Philosophical and Rhetorical Treatises of Cicero, Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* Quintilian's *Institutione Oratoria;* (B) questions on the subject matter of such passages, and of the entire works from which such passages are taken.

Moral and Natural Science Tripos

Of the Honor Examinations through which the degree in Arts may be obtained, the two examinations in the Moral and Natural Sciences next claim our attention. The former of these begins on the last Monday in November, and continues through the whole week, *i. e.*, from nine to twelve in the morning, and from one to four in the afternoon of each day. Thus the whole number of papers set is twelve. The subjects of examination are Moral and Political Philosophy, Mental Philosophy, Logic and Political Economy. Lists of authors and books are published, which are intended to mark the general course which the examination is to take in the several subjects, and in each department of the examination some questions are set of a special kind, having reference to the books on these lists; but by other questions or theses proposed for essays, opportunity is given to candidates to show a more general knowledge of the same subjects, and of the works in which they have been treated with different views. The names of the students who pass the examination with credit are placed according to merit

* The phrase 'Wrangler' belongs to the old period of scholastic disputations, and was associated with 'Senior' for the first time in 1739. In 1753 began the present division of 'Senior Optimes' and 'Junior Optimes.' Formerly the custom prevailed of challenging the bracket, and thus, before the examination closed, the challenger might force his way through his opponents to the head of the List. The Senior Wrangler is obliged to hold his own in the competition for the 'Smith's Prizes,' given since 1768 to the best proficients in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. He is occasionally beaten in this contest.

in three classes, marks of distinction being affixed to the names of those who have shown eminent proficiency in particular subjects. In order to induce men to make their studies rather deep than multifarious, it is announced that a student bringing up two subjects only may be admitted into the first class; no credit is assigned to a student in any subject, even to raise his aggregate, unless he has shown a competent knowledge of that subject.

The Honor Examination in Natural Science begins on the first Monday in December. The subjects of examination are, (1) Chemistry and certain other branches of Physics, (2) Botany, including Vegetable Anatomy and Physiology, (3) Geology and Palæontology, (4) Mineralogy, (5) Comparative Anatomy, Physiology and Zoölogy. This examination extends over eight days; during the first three and the last three twelve papers are set, which are so arranged, that each contains one or more questions, in each of the five departments above mentioned; the last six papers take a wider range than the first six, and in particular they contain some questions having reference to the Philosophy and History of the several subjects. The examination is conducted *viâ voce* as well as by printed papers. The two days in the middle of the time occupied by the examination are reserved for examinations in practical work. The list is similar to that of the Moral Sciences, but no candidate is placed in the First Class who has not shown considerable proficiency in some one at least of the four subjects numbered (1), (2), (3), (4), or in two at least of the three divisions of number (5).

If a student fail to obtain Honors in the Moral or Natural Science Tripos, he falls back upon the Ordinary Degree. As this would otherwise involve the loss of a year, the examiners are empowered to declare such unsuccessful candidates to have acquitted themselves so as to deserve an Ordinary Degree, or to be excused from the first of the two examinations required for the Ordinary Degree. In the latter case the delay is reduced to six months.

Law Tripos.

The Law Tripos Examination and the Historical Tripos Examination were first held according to new Regulations in 1875. That for the Law Tripos commenced on the second Monday in December. Students who gain honors in it are entitled to the degree of Bachelor of Arts or to that of Bachelor of Laws at their option. Papers are allotted to (1) General and Comparative Jurisprudence, (2) Passages for Translation, taken from the sources of Roman Law, (3) Questions on Roman Law and its History, (4) the English Law of Personal Property, (5) the English Law of Real Property, (6) English Criminal Law, (7) the Legal and Constitutional History of England, (8) Public International Law, (9) Essays on Problems on the subjects of examination. A list of books will from time to time be recommended to candidates for examination. The names of those who deserve Honors will be arranged in three classes in order of merit; and unsuccessful candidates may be allowed the Ordinary B. A. degree, or be excused the earlier of the two examinations for it, provided that no such student is to be allowed the Ordinary B. A., unless he satisfies the examiners in at least four papers.

Historical Tripos.

The examination for the Historical Tripos, (Honors in which will entitle to the B. A. degree,) will commence on the first Monday in December. Papers are allotted to (1) English History; (2), (3), (4), special subjects, to be selected, generally speaking, from Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern History, requiring some knowledge of the chief original sources: one of these special subjects to be always taken from English History; (5) Principles of Political Philosophy and of General Jurisprudence; (6) Constitutional Law and Con-

stitutional History; (7) Political Economy and Economic History; (8) Public International Law in connection with selected Treaties; (9) Subjects for Essays. Lists of books recommended may from time to time be published, books in other languages than English not being excluded. The names of the candidates who deserve Honors are to be arranged in three classes in order of merit; and unsuccessful candidates for Honors may be allowed the Ordinary B. A. degree, or be excused the earlier of the two examinations for it.

Theological Tripos.

Honors in the Theological Tripos entitle to admission to the B. A. degree. The examination for this Tripos begins on the Friday next after the commencement of the examination for the Mathematical Tripos. It lasts six days, and embraces general papers on the Old Testament and Greek New Testament, special papers on selected books (partly fixed, partly variable,) of the Hebrew Scriptures, of the Septuagint, and of the Greek Testament, selected works of Greek and Latin Ecclesiastical writers and modern Theological writers, Liturgiology, the ancient Creeds, and the Confessions of the Sixteenth Century with special reference to the Articles of the Church of England, Ecclesiastical History of the first Six Centuries, and of other selected periods; special attention being paid to the History of Doctrine during the periods. In the papers on the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures questions of Criticism and Introduction relating to the different Scriptures and of Jewish History are included, as well as passages testing the Candidate's knowledge of Hebrew and Greek. The names of those who pass with credit are placed in three classes, the names in each class being in alphabetical order.

Semitic and Indian Languages.

There remain two other Triposes, Honors in which are a title to the B. A. degree, viz., that for Semitic Languages, and that for Indian Languages. Special facilities are given to students who have already obtained Honors in another Tripos, and wish to present themselves as candidates for either of these, a longer interval being allowed to intervene than between any two of the other Triposes. The examinations in the Semitic Languages and Indian Languages were first held in 1875. That for the Semitic Languages Tripos will begin on the Wednesday next after the general B. A. admission in January. It will extend over seven days. In Arabic, Hebrew (biblical and post-biblical), Syriac, and Biblical Chaldee, selected books and parts of books are proposed as special subjects of examination; but in the first three of these languages translation from unspecified books and composition are also included. Papers are also set in the Comparative Grammar and the Literary History of the Semitic Languages with special reference to a list of books published from time to time. The names of those who gain Honors will be placed in three classes, with alphabetical order in each class. No student will be placed in the first class who has not exhibited a competent knowledge of two of the three languages, Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac, and also of the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages.

The Indian Languages Tripos Examination will begin on the Thursday next but one succeeding the general B. A. admission in January. It will extend over seven days. In Sanskrit, Persian, and Hindustani selected books and parts of books are proposed as special subjects; but in each language translation from unspecified books and composition are included; and, besides papers on Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic Grammar, the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European languages is the subject of a separate paper. Finally, there is a paper on the History of the Indian Languages, Literature, and Philosophy. The names of those who gain Honors will be placed in three Classes, those in each class being arranged alphabetically.

So much then of the examinations by which Degrees in Arts may be obtained. But it is to be understood that many of the Honor Examinations are frequently undergone solely for honor, and by students who have already graduated. Most of the Colleges in filling up vacant Fellowships are principally guided in the choice of men by the distinctions they have won. This is in many cases a main inducement to graduate in the Triposes, especially those in Mathematics and Classics. The other Triposes win their way gradually to such recognition on the part of Colleges. Each has its importance also with persons outside the University. Many men who do not aim at a fellowship are glad to win some distinction and a degree together, and therefore avail themselves of these Triposes in preference to the Poll examinations.

UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS AND EXHIBITIONS.

We have not yet exhausted the examinations held by the University. It adjudges every year a large number of Prizes and Scholarships which have been founded by private munificence. Of University Scholarships and Exhibitions there are fourteen foundations, which are as follows:

SCHOLARSHIPS.—*Classics.*—Craven's, six, value £90 per annum; Battles', one, value £80, £35 per annum; Browne's, one, value £31 per annum; Davies's, one, value £30 per annum; Pitt, one, value £45 per annum; Porson, one, £70 per annum; Waddington, one, value £90 per annum.

Classics and Mathematics.—Bell's, eight, value £67 per annum; Barnes's, one, value £60 per annum; Abbott, two, value £60 per annum.

Hebrew.—Tyrwhitt's, six, value £30, £20 per annum.

Theology.—Crosse's, three, value £30 per annum.

International Law.—Whewell's, eight, value £100, £50 per annum.

History (especially Ecclesiastical).—Lightfoot's, three, value nearly £70 per annum.

EXHIBITIONS.—*Astronomy.*—Sheepshanks's, one, value £50 per annum; Lumley's, five, value, £15 per annum.

Of the Classical Scholarships one at least is adjudged every year, and as they are open to Undergraduates of every College, and of no College, and most of them to Undergraduates of every year, there is a great gathering of Classical men to this contest. Even those who have little hope of winning the prize may distinguish themselves so much as to attract notice, and the rest are glad to accustom themselves to examination, and to see how much they can do. The regulations affecting these Scholarships differ in minor points, for which the *Calendar* or the *Ordinationes* must be consulted. It is peculiar to the Porson Scholarship that no student is eligible for it who has resided more than five terms. The papers set do not differ widely from most of those of the Classical Tripos; but it is commonly supposed that greater value is attached in the election to brilliancy and elegance of scholarship than in the latter. The examination comes on at the end of January.

Of the Bell Scholarships two are annually adjudged. They are confined to students in their first year, and to the sons of clergymen, unless none such present themselves. In case of equality the poorer candidate is preferred. The scholar binds himself to take the degree of B. A. in the usual manner. The examination commences on the Monday next after the Second Sunday in Lent, and the election takes place on the Friday after Mid-Lent Sunday.

For the Thomas Barnes Scholarship candidates must be Undergraduates in the first year, and must have been educated on the Foundation of Christ's Hospital, St. Paul's School, or the Merchant Tailors' School in the City of London, and have come to the University from one of those Schools. In the absence of fit candidates with this qualification, other Undergraduates in their first year are to be admitted to the competition for that turn only. The scholar binds himself to take the B. A. degree in the regular manner.

Candidates for the Abbott Scholarships must be Undergraduates in their first year, and among them sons or orphans of Clergymen of the Church of England who stand in need of assistance to enable them to obtain the benefit of University Education are to be chosen, if there be any sufficiently de-

serving; if not, sons of Laymen, being Undergraduates who stand in need of assistance, may be chosen. Other things being equal, candidates born in West Riding of the County of York are to have the preference. The Examination commences on the Monday next after the Second Sunday in Lent. Neither of these Scholarships is tenable with a Bell Scholarship or with the Barnes Scholarship.

The Tyrwhitt Scholarships for Hebrew are open only to Graduates. Except the Crosse Scholarship, which includes Hebrew, the Hebrew prize, and a few prizes at particular Colleges, this is the only reward of a pecuniary kind offered at Cambridge for Oriental Studies. The examination commences annually on the second Wednesday in May; persons intending to be candidates are to send in their names to the Vice-Chancellor on or before May 1st.

The Crosse Scholarships for Divinity are also confined to Graduates. The Examination takes place annually after the division of the Michaelmas Term.

The Whewell Scholarships for International Law are open to all persons under twenty-five years of age. Every person elected is entitled, and, if not already a member of some College in Cambridge, is required to become a member of Trinity College. Each Scholar must reside, unless he hold a diplomatic or consular appointment under the Crown, or have obtained express leave of non-residence from the Master and Seniors of Trinity College.

Candidates for the Lightfoot Scholarships must have resided at least one year at the University, must be still in residence or have taken their first degree, and must be under twenty-five years of age. The Examination consists of three parts: (*a*) a selected portion of History, studied, as far as possible, from original sources; (*b*) subjects for essays; (*c*) questions taken from or suggested by certain specified books. For details the *Calendar* must be consulted. Besides the name of the successful candidate, the Examiners may make honorable mention of others.

The Sheepshanks Astronomical Exhibition binds the student who wins it to become a member of Trinity College. It is tenable for three years on condition of residence or permission obtained to be absent. It has been awarded six times in fifteen years. This Exhibition, the two Smith Prizes, and the Adams and Sedgwick Prizes are the only pecuniary rewards offered by the University for Science of any kind, but some of the Colleges award Scholarships and Fellowships for Science.

The Lumley Exhibitions are for Scholars of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, educated in the school founded by Elizabeth, Viscountess Lumley, at Thornton, in the County of York, or in default of such, to others, not exceeding five in number, who should be nominated by the respective Convocations of the said Universities.

If the competition in the Mathematical Honor Examination be still somewhat keener than in the Classical, on the other hand the Classical men have more opportunities of competing for University distinctions, as marked by the following

UNIVERSITY PRIZES AND MEDALS.

The Chancellor's two gold Classical Medals, value fifteen guineas each, are awarded each year to two students qualified to be candidates for the Classical Tripos in that year. The Examination takes place after the Classical Honor Examination, and is similar in kind. In addition to the names of the two Medallists, the Examiners may publish a list of highly distinguished candidates.

The Members' Latin Essay Prize, of thirty guineas, is open annually for competition to all members of the University who are not of sufficient standing to be created Masters of Arts or Law, or who, being Students of Medicine,

are of not more than seven years' standing from Matriculation. No student who has gained this prize can be elected again to the same. The subject is given out at the end of the Lent Term, and the exercises are to be sent in to the Vice-Chancellor privately on or before the tenth day of November in the following manner, which is also to be observed in the case of all similar compositions. A motto is to be prefixed to the Essay, and it is to be accompanied by a sealed paper, bearing the same motto on the outside, and enclosing another paper folded and having the candidate's name and College written within. All these papers, except the one containing the name of the winner, are destroyed unopened. The candidate must send in nothing written in his own handwriting. The Prize Essay is printed at the expense of the University.

Sir W. Browne's three gold Medals, of the value of five guineas each, are awarded annually to three Undergraduates in the following manner: the first for the best Greek Ode in imitation of Sappho, the second for the best Latin Ode in imitation of Horace, the third for the best Greek and Latin Epigrams, the former after the manner of the Anthologia, the latter after the model of Martial. The subjects are given out at the end of the Michaelmas Term; the exercises are to be sent in, as above, before the 30th of April. The Greek Ode is not to exceed twenty-five, nor the Latin Ode thirty stanzas.

The Porson Prize, of one or more Greek books, is annually awarded for the best translation into Greek Verse, made by a resident Undergraduate, of a proposed passage in any standard English poet. The exercises, distinctly written and accentuated, and accompanied by a literal Latin Prose version of the Greek, must be sent in, as above, to the Vice-Chancellor on or before March 31st. If the passage be from a tragedy, the metre of the translation must be the ordinary Iambic Trimeter or Trochaic Tetrameter, as used by the Greek Tragedians; if from a Comedy, the metre of Aristophanes.

The Powis Gold Medal is adjudged annually for the best poem not exceeding one hundred lines in Latin hexameter verse, written by an Undergraduate, who shall be on the day on which the exercises must be sent in, *i. e.*, on the 31st of March, at least in the course of his second term of residence.

The Hare Prize is awarded for an English dissertation on a subject taken from ancient Greek or Roman History, political or literary, or from the history of Greek or Roman Philosophy. The candidates are to be Graduates of not more than ten years' standing. The prize is adjudged once in four years. The subject is announced in the Easter Term, and the Essays are required to be sent in by the Easter Term succeeding. The successful candidate receives £60, and prints his essay.

The Harness Prize is adjudged once in three years to an Undergraduate, or Graduate of not more than three years' standing from his first degree, who shall compose the best English Essay upon some subject connected with Shakespearian literature. The subject is to be given out before the division of the Easter Term, and the exercises sent in on or before the 31st day of January next following. The prize is £45, and the winner prints his essay.

The Le Bas Prize is awarded annually for an English Essay on a subject of General Literature, such subject to be occasionally chosen with reference to the history, institutions and probable destinies and prospects of the Anglo-Indian Empire. The candidates must be Graduates of the University, who are not of more than three years' standing from their first degree. The subject is to be announced before the division of the Michaelmas Term, and the Essays to be sent in to the Vice-Chancellor before the end of the next ensuing Easter Term. The successful essay is to be printed at the expense of the author, who receives £60 as the value of the prize.

The Members' English Essay Prize is of the same value, and given under the same conditions as their Latin Essay Prize. The subject proposed for the English Essay must be one connected with British History or Literature.

For the encouragement of English Poetry we have the Chancellor's English Medal, a gold medal annually adjudged for the best English Ode or Poem in heroic verse, composed by a resident Undergraduate. The exercises are not to exceed 200 lines, and are to be sent in to the Vice-Chancellor on or before the 31st of March. The compositions by which this Prize, the Porson Prize, the Browne Medals, and the Powis Medal have been won, are recited in the Senate House by their respective authors on a day appointed for the purpose.

The Seatonian Prize, for the best English poem on a sacred subject, is only open to Masters of Arts.

The Carus Greek Testament Prizes, two in number, are open, the one to all Graduates in Arts or Law who are not of sufficient standing to proceed to the degree of Master, and to students in Medicine who shall have passed the examinations for the degree of Bachelor in Medicine, and are not of more than seven years' standing from matriculation; the other to all Undergraduates or Bachelors-designate in Arts or Law who are not of sufficient standing to be admitted by inauguration to the degree of Bachelor in Arts or Law. The examination for the former takes place early in October, that for the latter on the Thursday after the division of the Michaelmas Term. Each examination lasts a single day, two papers being set with translation and questions on the criticism and interpretation of the Greek Testament. No successful candidate can compete a second time.

The Scholefield Prize is given for the best knowledge of the Greek Testament and Septuagint. It is open to Bachelors who have gained a place in the first class of the Theological Tripos for that year.

Dr. Jeremie's Septuagint Prizes, two in number, are open for competition to all members of the University, who, having commenced residence, are not of more than three years' standing from their first degree. The examination is concluded in one day. Due notice is given of the day, which is always in the latter half of the Michaelmas Term. Special subjects for examination in each year are announced in the previous year, and are taken from the Old Testament in the Septuagint version, the Apocryphal books, the works of Philo and Josephus, and other Hellenistic writings The examination is directed mainly, though not exclusively, to the selected books. It embraces translations and questions on the history, criticism and interpretation of the books, on the relation of the Septuagint version to the Hebrew original, and on the fragments of the other Greek versions.

The Hebrew Prize is given for the best knowledge of Hebrew. Immediately after the Theological Tripos Examination, a paper is set to those candidates for Honors in the Theological Tripos who may wish to go in for it, but marks obtained in it are not taken into account in determining the places in the Tripos. This paper contains grammatical questions in Hebrew, and pieces for pointing and for translation into Hebrew. The best competitor in this paper who has also gained a place in the first class in the Theological Tripos receives the Hebrew Prize. Besides awarding the Prize, the Examiners also publish a list of those who have passed satisfactorily in Hebrew.

The Evans Prize is given annually to that student among the candidates for Honors in the Theological Tripos, who, being in the first class in the Tripos, is judged by the Examiners to stand first in the papers on Ecclesiastical History and the Greek and Latin Fathers.

The Norrisian Prize is adjudged once in five years for the best Prose Essay on a sacred subject. The subject is announced on or before December 1st.

and the exercises must be sent in to the Vice-Chancellor on or before the 30th of April following, with a Greek or Latin motto, in the manner described above. The candidates are Graduates of not more than thirteen years' standing from admission to their degrees. The Essays must contain nothing contrary to the Liturgy, Articles and Homilies of the Church of England. The successful one is printed and published. The value of the prize is £60.

The Hulsean Prize, value £80, is adjudged annually for the best English Dissertation on Christian Evidences written by a member of the University under the degree or standing of M. A. The subject is announced on New Year's Day, and the dissertations are to be sent in to the Vice-Chancellor, or to the Master of Trinity or St. John's, on or before the 20th of the ensuing October. The successful essay is to be printed at the expense of the author. The prize cannot be won twice by the same man.

The Kaye Prize, value £60, is adjudged once in four years for the best English Dissertation upon some subject relating to Ecclesiastical History, or to the Canon of Scripture, or important points of Biblical Criticism. The competition is open to Graduates of not more than ten years' standing from their first degree. The subject is announced in December, and the exercises must be sent in on or before the 31st of the following October. The successful essay is printed at the expense of the author.

The Maitland Prize is adjudged once in three years for the best Essay on some subject connected with Missions and the Propagation of the Gospel. It is open to Graduates of not more than ten years' standing from their first degrees. The subject is announced in the Michaelmas Term, and exercises must be sent in on or before the 10th day of the following November. The successful competitor receives £90, and pays the cost of printing.

The Burney Prize is awarded annually for the best Essay "on some moral or metaphysical subject, on the Existence, Nature, and Attributes of God, or on the Truth and Evidence of the Christian Religion." The successful candidate receives about £110, and is required to print his essay.

This may be the place to mention the Winchester Reading Prizes, two in each year, awarded to students who have resided not less than eight Terms, nor more than fourteen, and have fulfilled certain other conditions, for the best reading in public of passages of English books, some of which are announced beforehand. The English Bible and the Liturgy are always included in the special list of books from which passages may be chosen.

The Smith's Prizes, value £23 each, adjudged annually to two commencing Bachelors of Arts, the best proficients in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. The examination takes place soon after the appearance of the Mathematical Honor List, and frequently helps to adjust the doubtful results.

The Adams Prize, awarded every two years, during the Michaelmas Term, to the author of the best Essay on some subject of Pure Mathematics, Astronomy, or other branch of Natural Philosophy. It is open to all persons who have at any time been admitted to a degree in the University. The subject is announced in the Lent Term, and the Essays are required to be sent in on or before the 16th day of December of the year next following, in the same form as that prescribed above for other compositions.

The Sedgwick Prize is given every third year for the best Essay on some subject in Geology or the kindred sciences. The course of proceedings is thus illustrated. In the Lent Term, 1874, the subject for the next Essay was given out; the exercises must be sent in to the Registrary on or before October 1st, 1876, in the usual form and manner, and the Prize is awarded in the Lent Term of 1877; at the same time the subject for the next Essay must

be given out; and so on, every third year. Each candidate must be a Graduate of the University and have resided sixty days during the twelve months ending at the time the essay is sent in. The prize is about £280.

For Law, a gold medal is given annually by the Chancellor, the examination commencing on the third Monday after the last Saturday in January. Such persons may become candidates as have passed the examinations necessary for the Bachelor's degree in Arts or Law, and are not of sufficient standing to become Masters, and to all students of Medicine of not more than seven years' standing from matriculation, who have passed both the examinations for the degree of Bachelor of Medicine. This medal cannot be won twice. Books to be studied for the examination are assigned and announced in the first week of the Lent Term of the year preceding.

The reader has now before him a complete list of the rewards, pecuniary and tangible, which are bestowed by the University. He is not, however, to consider this synonymous with the rewards which may be obtained *at* the University. The Scholarships, Exhibitions and Prizes bestowed by the separate Colleges are very far more numerous; and no one of the prizes enumerated above, though the honor of winning them is great because the competition is generally large, is in pecuniary value at all equal to an ordinary College Fellowship.

COLLEGE RESOURCES TO ENCOURAGE AND REWARD SCHOLARSHIP.

The following summary view is drawn up from the "Report of the Commis ioners to inquire into the Property and Income of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Colleges and Halls therein," submitted to Parliament in 1874, and from the official University Calendar for that year. From these it appears that the different Colleges in Cambridge possess:

358 Fellowships—Senior and Junior, ranging from 9 in the smallest to 56 in the largest and richest College, with a total cash income of £102,976. Each Fellowship receives from £250 to £300 a year, besides chambers, and income from various offices of examination and instruction open to the resident incumbents.

19 College Headships, which are all in the gift of the Fellows, and are among the prospective rewards of College Scholarship, with an aggregate income of £20,415.

550 Scholarships and Exhibitions, tenable from 2 to 5 years, and yielding from £20 to £80 a year, or a total sum of over £24,308.

500 Prizes in Money, Books, or Medals, to the cash value of over £2,000.

60 College Tutorships, Assistants, and Lectureships, deriving from the tuition fees paid by 1,726 Undergraduates (and trust funds for this purpose,) more than £32,000.

30 Private Tutors, in no way recognized by College or University statutes, but for whose training not less than £40,000 are paid annually by Undergraduates.

311 Church Benefices, all in the gift of the College authorities, and to all of which Cambridge men and Fellows are sure to succeed, with the annual value of £135,000.

To these may be added the Mastership and Teacherships of a large number of Grammar and Preparatory Schools, as well as positions of private and family tutorship, which are traditionally the inheritance of Cambridge Graduates in Honors.

The policy of loading particular studies with such inducements for their prosecution, and of attaching such large pecuniary and life-long rewards to the highest success in certain examinations, is at war with the great principle of University study as he'd in Germany—liberty of instruction to student and teacher, and operates disastrously on both.

The University of Cambridge contains 17 Colleges and Halls, each governed by its own regulations, subject to general University laws, and all furnishing members for the government of the University.

COLLEGES AND HALLS.

CAIUS, OR GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, founded originally in 1348 under the name of Gonville Hall, which was changed to that of Caius, after Dr. Caius, who in 1558 obtained for it a royal charter and refounded it. It possesses 30 Fellowships, 12 Senior and 18 Junior, which are awarded among the College Graduates, and are generally tenable for 10 years, marriage notwithstanding. It has 36 Scholarships (tenable until the scholar is of sufficient standing to take the B.A. degree), consisting of 9 of 60*l.*, 9 of 40*l.*, 6 of 30*l.*, and 12 of 20*l.* per ann., all open. The College has also 4 Studentships in Medicine, called the Tancred Studentships, each of the annual value of 113*l.* 8*s.*, and tenable for 8 years. Caius College has the patronage of 19 benefices. 139 Undergraduates in 1871. *Master:* Edwin Guest, LL.D., F.R.S. *President:* B. H. Drury, M.A. *Tutor:* N M. Ferrers, M.A.

Fees on admission: Fellow-Commoner, 28*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*; Pensioner, 7*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.* Rent, 8*l.* to 10 . per ann.

CLARE COLLEGE was founded in 1326 by a sister of the Earl of Clare. It possesses 17 Fellowships, 8 Senior and 9 Junior, generally tenable for 10 years. Open to B.A.'s and those of higher degree, without restriction as to marriage, and obtainable by election of the Master and Fellows. It has 24 Scholarships, 8 of 60*l.*, 8 of 40*l.*, and 8 of 20*l.* per ann. 74 Undergraduates in 1871. Patronage, 17 benefices. *Master:* Edward Atkinson, D.D., elected in 1856. *Tutor:* W. Raymes, M.A.

Fees on admission: 2*l.*; Rent from 3*l.* to 15*l.* a year; B.A., 3*l.* 10*s.*

CHRIST'S COLLEGE was founded in 1505 upon an old foundation by the mother of Henry VII. It now possesses a Master, 15 Fellows, and 29 Scholars. The Scholarships consist of 12 of 70*l.*, 6 of 50*l.*, 11 of 30*l.* per ann. 16 benefices in gift. 119 Undergraduates in 1871. *Master:* James Cartmell, D.D., elected 1849. *Tutors:* John Peile, M.A., W. J. Jeeling, M.A.

Fees on admission: Fellow-Commoner, 7*l.* 8*s.*; Pensioner, 1*l.*; Sizar, 10*s.*; B.A., 4*l.* Rent, 4*l.* to 18*l.*

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE was founded in 1352, and now consists of a Master, 12 Fellows, and 31 Scholarships; 4 of 60*l.*, 4 of 50*l.*, 4 of 40*l.*, 6 of 30*l.*, 4 of 25*l.*, 9 of 20*l.* per ann. 8 of these Scholarships are awarded annually to the Freshmen most distinguished in the College Examination early in June, and are tenable for 3 years. 11 benefices in gift. 128 Undergraduates in 1871. *Master:* James Pulling, D.D. *Tutor:* E. H. Perowne, B.D.

Fees on admission: Fellow-Commoner, 1*l.* 13*s.*; Pensioner, 16*s.* 6*d.*; B.A., 5*l.* 1*s.* Rent, 6*l.* to 18*l.*

DOWNING COLLEGE, founded in 1800 under Sir G. Downing's will, consists of a Master, 2 Professors, and at least 8 Fellows, besides Foundation and Minor Scholarships of the value of 50*l.* and 40*l.* per ann. At present there are only 4 Fellowships and 2 benefices in gift. 34 Undergraduates in 1871. *Master:* T. Worsley, D.D., elected 1836. *Professor of Laws:* William Lloyd Birkbeck, M.A. *Tutors:* W. B. Pike, M.A., John Perkins, M.A. Rent, 4*l.* to 8*l.* per Term.

EMMANUEL COLLEGE, founded in 1584 by Sir W. Mildmay, possesses 12 open Fellowships, and 2 on a special foundation by Sir W. Dixie. It has 12 Scholarships of 60*l.*, 10 of 30*l.* per ann., and others of smaller sums, besides Exhibitions and Prizes. 21 benefices, etc., in gift. 108 Undergraduates in 1871. *Master:* S. G. Phear, B.D., elected 1871. *Tutor:* J. B. Pearson, M.A.

Fees on admission: Fellow-Commoner, 6*l.* 10*s.*; Pensioner, 1*l.* 15*s.*; B.A., 4*l.* 11*s.* Rent, 16*l.* to 24*l.* a year.

JESUS COLLEGE, founded by John Alcock, Bishop of Ely, in 1496, possesses 16 foundation open Fellowships and nearly 40 Scholarships, varying from 50*l.* to 16*l.* per ann., besides several valuable Prizes to deserving students. 15 benefices in gift. 91 Undergraduates in 1871. *Master:* G. E. Corrie, D.D. *Tutor:* H. A. Morgan, M.A., and 7 Lecturers (2 in Classics, 2 in Mathematics, 2 in Divinity, and 1 in Hebrew).

Fees on admission: 7*s.* 6*d.*; B.A., 3*l.* 1*s.* Rent, 9*l.* to 15*l.*

KING'S COLLEGE, founded by Henry VI. in 1441, will consist of a Provost, 46 Fellows, and 48 Scholars. 24 of the Scholarships (of £80 each, with free tuition,) belong to Eton School, and 24 will be open. There are several valuable Prizes and Exhibitions (of £80 and £50 each). 39 benefices, etc., in gift. 43 Undergraduates in 1871. *Provost:* Richard Okes, D.D. *Vice-Provost:* Andrew Long, M.A. *Tutor:* A. A. Leigh, M.A., and 5 Lecturers.

MAGDALENE COLLEGE, founded in 1519 by Thomas Lord Audley, possesses 8 open Fellowships, 12 Scholarships varying from 60*l.* to 20*l.* per annum, 14 Exhibitions (70*l.* each) and Prizes. 7 benefices, etc. 60 Undergraduates in 1871. *Master:* The Hon. Latimer Neville, M.A., appointed in 1853. *Tutors:* Mynors Bright, M.A., *President.* F. Pattrick, M.A., and 3 Lecturers.

Fees on admission: Fellow-Commoner, 6*l.*; Pensioner, 3*l.*; Sizar, 1*l.* 10*s.* Rent, 6*l.* to 24*l.*; B.A., 5*l.* 1*s.*

PEMBROKE COLLEGE, founded in 1347 by the widow of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, possesses 14 Foundation open Fellowships, 2 bye-Fellowships, and 24 Scholarships. 12 benefices in gift. 50 Undergraduates in 1871. *Master:* J. Power, M.A., elected 1870. *Tutor:* C. E. Searle, M.A., and 5 Lecturers.

Fees on admission; 3*l.*; B.A., 4*l.* 1*s.* Rent, 6*l.* to 10*l.* a year.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, founded in 1448 by the queen of Henry VI., and refounded by the consort of Edward IV., consists of a President and 14 Foundation Fellows. It has 20 Scholarships, ranging from 50*l.* to 30*l.* per ann., besides 5 Exhibitions of value. 10 benefices in gift. 60 Undergraduates in 1871. *President:* George Phillips, D.D, elected 1857. *Tutor:* W. M. Campion, B D, and 3 Lecturers.

Fees on admission: Fellow-Commoner, 1*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*; Pensioner, 11*s.* 1*d.*; B. A., 5*l* 9*s.* 6*d* Rent, 9*l* to 16*l.* a year.

SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE, founded in 1598, consists of a Master and at least 10 Fellowships, all open. It has 18 Foundation Scholarships of 40*l.* per ann, and 20 others varying from 50*l.* to 10*l* per ann, besides 8 Exhibitions and several Prizes. 7 benefices in gift. 59 Undergraduates in 1871. *Master:* Robert Phelps, D.D, elected 1843. *Tutor:* J C. W. Ellis, M.A, and 7 Lecturers.

Fees on admission: Fellow-Commoner, 3*l.* 3*s.*; Pensioner, 2*l.* 2*s*; Sizar, 1*l.* 10*s.*; B.A, 3*l.* 15*s.* Rent, from 7*l.* to 16*l* a year.

S. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE, founded in 1473 by Dr. R Wodelarke, Chancellor of the University, consists of a Master and 9 Fellows It possesses 24 open Scholarships, varying from 50*l.* to 25*l.* per ann, with rooms free. Patronage of 5 appointments. 63 Undergraduates in 1871. *Master:* C. K. Robinson, D.D., elected in 1861. *President and Tutor:* E. T. S. Carr, M.A., and 3 Assistants.

Fees on admission: Fellow-Commoner, 1*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*; Pensioner, 13*s.* 6*d.*; Sizar, 7*s.* 6*d.*; B.A., 4*l.* 2*s.* Rents, 7*l.* to 12*l.*

S. JOHN'S COLLEGE, founded in 1511 by Margaret, mother of Henry VII., foundress of Christ's, consists of a Master, 56 Fellows, 60 Foundation Scholars, 50*l.* per ann., and 8 Minor Scholars, 40*l.* per ann., both Fellowships and Scholarships being open to all British subjects. It has also Law and Divin-

ity Studentships, 2 of the former worth 150*l.* per ann., tenable 4 years; a Hebrew Scholarship of 32*l.* per ann., tenable 3 years, and several valuable Exhibitions. 51 benefices in gift and several Schools. 333 Undergraduates in 1871. *Master:* W. H. Bateson, D.D., elected 1857. *President:* Stephen Parkinson, B.D. *Tutors:* F. G. Bonney, B.D., S. Parkinson, D.D., J. E. Sandys, M.A., F. C. Wall, M.A.; 6 Lecturers in Mathematics, 5 in Classics, 2 in Natural Science, and 5 in other studies.

Fees on admission: Fellow-Commoner, 5*l.* 3*s.*; Pensioner, 2*l.* 3*s.*; Sizar, 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*; B.A., 5*l.* 2*s.* Rent, from 10*l.* to 22*l.* a year.

S. PETER'S COLLEGE, founded in 1257 by Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, will consist of a Master, 14 Fellows, 23 Scholars, and an open Scholarship Fund for deserving students. 12 benefices in gift. 50 Undergraduates in 1871. *Master:* H. W. Cookson, D.D. *Tutor:* J. Porter, M.A., and two assistants.

Fees on admission: Fellow-Commoner, 13*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.*; Pensioner, 2*l.* 12*s.*; B.A., 5*l.* Rent, from 6*l.* to 26*l.* a year.

TRINITY COLLEGE, founded in 1546, endowed by Henry VIII., consists of a Master, 60 Fellows, 74 Scholars, and 6 Minor Scholars on the Foundation. It has numerous Exhibitions from Westminster, S. Paul's, Shrewsbury, and Warwick Schools, and 16 Sizarships worth 16*l.* per ann. each, besides sub-Sizarships and many Prizes. 65 benefices in gift. 571 Undergraduates in 1871. *Master:* William H. Thomson, D.D. *Vice-Master:* H. J. Hotham, M.A. *Tutors:* E W. Blore, M.A., R C. Jebb, M.A., J. Prior, M.A., C. Trotter, M.A., and ten assistant tutors, and 9 Lecturers in as many subjects.

Fees on admission: Fellow-Commoner, 12*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*; Pensioner, 5*l.*; Sizar, 2*l.* 15*s.*; B.A., 1*l.* 12*s.* Rent, from 9*l.* to 30*l.* a year.

TRINITY HALL, founded in 1350, for the study of Law, by Bishop Bateman, possesses 13 Fellowships, 10 of which are lay (not vacated by marriage), 16 Scholarships, 4 Law Studentships of 50 per ann., tenable for 3 years, 2 Exhibitions, and many Prizes. 9 benefices in gift 95 Undergraduates in 1871. *Master:* Thomas C. Geldart, LL.D. *Vice-Master:* Henry Latham, M.A. *Tutor:* E. Carpenter, and 3 Lecturers (2 in Classics and 1 in Law).

Fees on admission: Fellow-Commoner, 4*l.*; Pensioner, 3*l.*; B.A., 3*l.* Rent, from 12*l.* to 24*l.* a year.

NON-COLLEGIATE STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Previously to the year 1858 no Student could be admitted a Member of the University who was not entered on the Boards of a College. In that year Statutes were confirmed providing for the establishment and regulation of Hostels for the reception of Students who should be matriculated and admitted to all the privileges of the University without being of necessity entered as a member of any College. No such Hostel, however, is now in existence.

In the year 1869 a Statute was confirmed in accordance with which Students may be admitted Members of the University without being Members of any College or Hostel. Such Students keep Terms by residing in Cambridge with their parents or in lodgings duly licensed, and are entitled to be matriculated, examined and admitted to degrees in the same manner and with the same status and privileges as Students who are Members of Colleges. They are under the jurisdiction of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, and are required to pay due obedience to all academical regulations.

CAUTION MONEY AND COLLEGE FEES.

Every student pays on admission to any College caution money—50*l.* if a Nobleman, 25*l.* as Fellow-Commoner, 15*l.* as Pensioner, and 10*l.* as Sizar; besides an admission fee to the College, a matriculation fee for the registering on the above scale of 15*l.*, 10, 5, 0, besides the terminal payments for tuition of 13*l.*, 10, 6, 2.

Each person who takes his degree pays (1) a fee to the University, (2) a fee to the College, and (3) a fee to the Prælector; and (4) those who proceed to a Degree of Arts, without taking Honors, must pay an additional fee of £3 3s. for one course of University Professorial Lectures.

University and College Fees for Different Degrees.

The College Fees vary from £1 1½s. to £4 12s., and the fee to the Prælector is generally £1 1s. The University Fees are:

	£	s.	d.
On admission to the degree of B.A or L.B. at general admission	7	0	0
On admission to the degree of B.A. or L.B. at any other time	10	10	0
On admission to the degree of M.A. or L.M. whether a Fellow or not	12	0	0
On admission to the degree of S.T B., M.B., or Mus. B.	8	0	0
On admission to the degree of M.B. when a Bachelor of Arts	2	0	0
On admission *ad practicandum in medicina*	2	0	0
On admission to the degree of S.T.P. or L.D.	20	0	0
On admission to the degree of M.D., whether a B.M. or a M.A.	10	0	0
On admission to the degree of Mus. D., when Candidate is Mus. B.	10	0	0
On admission to the degree of Mus. D., when Candidate has no degree	15	0	0

The following summary of the necessary Outfit and Fees applies to a *Pensioner* (one who *pays* for the board and instruction he receives); a *Fellow-Commoner* pays from £24 to £50 a year more; a *Scholar's* expenses will be reduced by the exemptions of the foundation, and a *Sizar* will pay less in every particular.

	Lowest Cost. £	s.	Average. £	s.	Higher. £	s.
Summary of Outlay, Independent of Annual Expenses:						
Admission Fee	0	0	3	0	5	0
Matriculation Fee	5	0	5	0	5	0
Previous Ex. Fee	2	10	2	10	2	10
General Examination Fee	1	5	1	5	1	5
Professor's Lectures			3	3	3	3
Degree Fee	7	0	7	0	7	0
Outfit:						
Cap, Gown, and Surplice	3	0	4	0	5	0
Outfit, Crockery, &c.	3	0	6	0	10	0
Furniture (half the cost as representing ultimate loss).	7	10	16	0	25	0
	28	2	46	13	62	18

The annual expenditures may be set down as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Annual College Expense for Tuition, Board, and Washing:			
Tuition	18	0	0
Rooms, Rent	10	0	0
Attendance, Assessed Taxes, &c.	6	5	0
Coals	6	0	0
College Payments	5	7	4
Cost of Living:			
Bread, Butter, and Milk, for Breakfast, and Tea, and Dinner at £1 2s. a week, for 25 weeks, making the average 3 Terms' residence in year	27	10	0
Laundress	5	8	0
Amount	78	10	4

The following is a *low average* of the necessary expenses of a University education to a member of a College at Cambridge:

	Lowest. £	Average. £	Higher. £
College Bills	80	105	150
Grocers' and Booksellers' bills	12	15	20
Traveling Expenses (to and from Cambridge)	6	6	10
Pocket Money for spending in the University	10	30	45
Tradesmen's bills for Personal Expenses and Entertainments	30	46	70
	138	202	295

The necessary expenditure of a Non-Collegiate Student is less, not because he is in receipt of eleemosynary aid, but because he requires less or allows himself less of the comforts which money may buy. He foregoes the advantages of common meals and other collegiate institutions, that he may be free to provide for his own wants without reference to the frugality or luxury of others. Exact statements show that a student of Arts of this class can keep the usual residence in each term for £50, on the average of three years, and that £70 is a liberal allowance.

MEDICAL EDUCATION—COST AND VALUE.

[By Professor G. M. Humphry, Professor of Anatomy.]

A residence during nine terms—*i. e.*, the greater part of each of three years—is by statute a requisite to obtain any degree in Arts, Medicine, or any other subject. The actual cost of this to a student who keeps his terms by residence in a College, living comfortably, enjoying the society of his friends, and participating as much as he should do in the amusements and recreations of the place, is about £200 a year. This includes all payments to the University and the College, all fees, as well as clothes, pocket-money, and travelling expenses, and a residence during the Long Vacation (July and August) as well as through the three terms. Any sum beyond this is likely to be productive of evil, and any curtailment of this is likely to be attended with the loss of some advantage. There are not a few collegiate students who spend less than this, being good managers and thrifty, or denying themselves some of the pleasures and amusements which may be regarded as legitimate and beneficial elements in a student's life; and there are some who, for various reasons, spend more. My experience, ranging over nearly five-and-thirty years, tells me that the latter constitute a steadily decreasing proportion, which, in the face of increasing luxury and expenditure in our various households, is probably in part due to the fact that the ranks of the University are recruited from a wider area than they used to be, and not, as so commonly supposed, from the rich only. At any rate, it speaks well for the University. I am often struck by the economy, caution, and good sense in this respect which the students show, and which they certainly, to some extent, acquire here and carry away with them. The question is, whether this expenditure (£200 annually) can be reduced without detracting from the social and educational advantages which many parents desire that their sons should enjoy at the University. I believe it might be diminished somewhat in a direction which I need not here indicate, but it is obvious that it cannot be lessened much. I do not take into account the numerous scholarships, exhibitions, and sizarships which go towards defraying the cost of a University career in the case of those who obtain them, because they are out of the reach of the majority of students, though they may enter into the aspirations of a large number.

Let it, however, be borne in mind that the above estimate includes the collegiate as well as the University advantages. The latter may be obtained at a considerably less cost by those who do not enter the Colleges—*i. e.*, by the non-collegiate students, who are an increasing body. They have simply the University fees, which are very small, to pay. They lodge and board as they like, and have no further demands made upon them. Their expenses, therefore, are entirely in their own hands. They may live as cheaply here as elsewhere, and many of them do live at very little cost. Any one who can command the means of providing the bare necessaries of a student's life may enter as a non-collegiate student, may obtain all the educational advantages of the University, and take his degree in Medicine or other subjects, provided he shows the requisite knowledge. Now, in making comparisons between Cambridge and the German Universities, this class of students only must be taken into account, forasmuch as in Germany all the students are non-collegiate. There are no Colleges there, no collegiate payments to be made, and no collegiate advantages to be gained. Is this a better state of things? Many who are well acquainted with the two systems tell me that it is not, and that those who are so fond of holding up the German Universities as a pattern do not sufficiently appreciate the beneficial influence of our collegiate system upon the habits and character of our University students. I may observe that this good influence radiates upon our non-collegiate students, who are, to some

extent, under discipline similar to that of the Colleges, who associate with the College students, and who can look to their Censor, or officer appointed by the University for the purpose, as their friend and adviser in lieu of the College tutor, and who are therefore in this respect on a different, and many will think better, footing than the students in the German Universities.

It will not, therefore, be thought that I would speak disparagingly of the non-collegiate system. I have always advocated it, and took a part in its institution, being anxious that, for some students at any rate, all unnecessary expenditure should be swept away, and that the University degrees should be open to every one of the very humblest means compatible with a student's life. This is not the case; and the expenses of a University career need no longer be a bar to the obtaining a degree in Medicine or in any other faculty.

Then with regard to the time required to obtain a medical degree. There need be no loss of time in consequence of the residence, which must take place during three years in the University. The arrangements are now such that the requisite test of general education (the Previous Examination) may be passed in the first term of entrance at the University, or even before entrance, through the Oxford and Cambridge School Board examinations, the certificate of that Board being adopted in lieu of the Previous Examination, so that the student who is well grounded in school work, who, in short, is fit to commence a professional course, may do so immediately upon his coming up to Cambridge, and may devote his whole University period to it; and there are ample opportunities in the way of lectures and practical work in the various departments of medical study to enable him to do this with advantage in the University. The well grounded student coming to Cambridge may do one of three things: He may devote the whole or any part of his time in the University to the further prosecution of literature and mathematics, and so acquire a higher amount of that culture and mental training which are the glory of our University and the real basis of the special reputation of its members, and which give so much advantage to those who have availed themselves of this course before entering upon a professional career; or he may devote the whole or any part of his time in the University to the study of his professional subjects in such a way as to gain him a place in the Natural Sciences tripos and a degree in Arts, with honors; or, thirdly, he may devote the whole, or any part, of his time in the University to the study of his professional subjects in such a way as to prepare him more especially for the examinations which admit to medical and surgical degrees. There is, therefore, the greatest freedom open to him as to the choice of study and as to the manner in which he shall pursue it; and the fact is that the intelligent, industrious student, who has had a good school training and who employs his time well in the University, may obtain a degree in medicine here with little more expenditure of time and money than would be necessary to obtain the more usually sought qualifications to practise the medical profession, or than would be necessary to obtain a degree at any new University that may be founded.

[On the above communication the editorial columns of the London *Times* for August 18, 1876, comments as follows:]

It is possible, Professor Humphry shows, to pass three years at Cambridge with no greater expense than would be necessarily incurred elsewhere. Of this time the whole may be devoted to purely professional studies, and, as the case now stands, the student who so employs it will be qualifying himself at once for a so-called Degree in Arts and for a license to practise Medicine. Thus far, Professor Humphry's point is made out with great clearness. What is not so well shown is the kind of inducement which Cambridge has to offer to the class of students the Professor is seeking to attract. The disadvantages

under which they would labor are certain and obvious. The Professor's letter gives us, it must be remembered, a somewhat novel view of the functions of our old Universities. These, it used to be understood, were general, and not professional. Recent changes have, no doubt, done much at both Universities to bring the course of studies into closer relation with the practical wants of life, but they have as yet scarcely been in force long enough or gone far enough to prove the feasibility of Professor Humphry's suggestions. The field of labor either at Oxford or Cambridge is so far limited as not to allow very readily of the necessary sub-division of studies which a general departure from the older theory would imply. But Oxford or Cambridge as a training school for the medical profession would have, besides, most special and serious faults. We will not insist only on the possible defects and failings of individual teachers. These may be found anywhere, but, though they would be neutralized, and therefore harmless, in the broader life of the London Hospitals, they would be wellnigh fatal in the more restricted field which Oxford or Cambridge would surrender to them. A still graver matter is the more narrow experience which Oxford or Cambridge could at best supply, and the want of that professional tradition among the students themselves which is scarcely less valuable than formal lectures, and is much less easily to be furnished. When Professor Humphry tells us that Cambridge is in many points superior to the German Universities, and that the good influence of the Colleges radiates even upon the non-collegiate students, we do not feel called upon to question the correctness of his remarks; but when he goes on to say that the study of Medicine could, therefore, be pursued advantageously at Cambridge, and could be begun and ended there without assistance from the great outer world, the conclusion is surely more than the premises can support. Our medical students, if they followed Professor Humphry's advice, would, no doubt, gain in culture and refinement; they would be under better moral supervision than at present, and at a most critical period of life would be sheltered from the full force of temptations to which unaided human nature is only too likely to succumb; but all this, admirable as it is, could not make up for the want of strictly professional training. The great system, complete in all its parts, which has come into existence in London, might, of course, find, in due time, its imperfect and far off copy at Cambridge; but several generations would be sacrificed before even this degree of development had been secured.

If Professor Humphry had maintained only that a Cambridge training might be made an excellent preparation for a more precise course of professional study afterwards, we should have had nothing to object to in his letter. What we do object to is the view that, as regards medical education, Cambridge can take the place and discharge the functions of Edinburgh or London. It is right enough that our surgeons and physicians should be men of cultivated minds and refined manners; but we should like some assurance that they were a good deal more than this before we intrusted ourselves to their care. The medical profession needs to combine many and various excellences. The position of its members is the most confidential to which man can be admitted. The medical attendant, besides what falls quite strictly and exclusively within his own province, often learns general family secrets of which the lawyer and the clergyman know nothing. It is seldom, indeed, that we find this confidence has been abused; but what an abuse of it would be possible if the medical profession did not consist of men of honor! Nor does the profession make slender calls upon the intellectual qualities of its members. The art of Medicine, difficult as it is to acquire, is not a subject that can be learnt once for all, and applied as occasion may demand. The personal experience of its practitioners must be always growing as new cases throw new light upon old rules,

while at the same time the whole art of Medicine is, in all its branches, progressive, and what has been learnt in youth must, therefore, be constantly supplemented and corrected in manhood and in advanced age. For a profession so honorable and so difficult a thorough University training ought to be found of great service. So, indeed, it has been, and this not unfrequently; but can Professor Humphry supply instances in which a University training has been found sufficient by itself?

[In a subsequent communication (*Times*, Aug. 23), Professor Humphry denies any intention on his part of holding up the medical education given in Cambridge as better than, or a substitute for, the purely professional training of the Medical Schools of London or Edinburgh, and then adds:]

The real state of the case is as follows: There is a growing desire that a large number of those who are intended for the medical profession should have the opportunity of enjoying the advantages of University education and University association. There is, further, a growing feeling that certain departments of medical study are worthy subjects to be admitted into the area of University teaching as educational media, as media, that is, of strengthening and improving the mental faculties irrespective of a distinctly professional relation, and that those subjects, such as botany, physics, chemistry, human and comparative anatomy and physiology, may be, and ought to be, better taught in the Universities, even to those in whose case they form parts of their medical studies, than they are, or are likely to be, in the metropolitan schools of Medicine. This opinion is held by many whose relations are rather with the metropolitan schools than with the Universities. In accordance with these views the University of Cambridge—and the same is, I believe, true of Oxford—has much expanded its teaching in these subjects, and permits those students, whether medical or not, who prove themselves to be possessed of a certain standard of general knowledge, who are well grounded, that is, in school work, to devote the whole or any part of their time in the University to the pursuit of these studies. It encourages them to do this up to the standard of the Natural Sciences Tripos, whereby the degree in Arts with honors is obtained. It enables them to do this up to the standard of the medical examinations which are the preliminaries to a medical degree. Surely the first three years of medical study cannot be better spent than in the scientific training in these subjects in a University. Every stimulus should be given to the University to make its training in these subjects of the very best kind, and every encouragement should be given to medical students to avail themselves of it. Much beyond this, beyond the training, that is, in the subjects for the first two or three examinations for M.B., the University does not go, and I have no desire that it should attempt much more. It should, I think, concentrate its chief force upon these, and leave nothing to be desired in this direction. It does not, however, quite stop here There is a good pathological museum, and associated with the University is Addenbrooke's Hospital, of no mean reputation, in which clinical teaching is very carefully conducted, so that the student may, during his three years of Cambridge reading, be initiated in this not to be ignored part of his medical education, and where he has an opportunity of quietly observing all the varieties of medical and surgical diseases better, perhaps, than he can in the metropolitan hospitals, where the number of special institutions limits the variety to be found in any one. Valuable as this initiation may be, it is, however, but an initiation into the practical study of the profession, which should undoubtedly be continued—one can scarcely say completed—in the larger fields of the metropolitan hospitals. I never knew a Cambridge student who did not take this course; and to dissuade the students from it would be, to my mind, a fatal error.

COLLEGE DOMESTIC ECONOMY.*

An undergraduate pays for his board not by a fixed payment to the college including all charges, but that he has an account at the butteries and kitchens and with the college porter, which form items in the college bill; in these accounts he pays not only for board, &c., but for services as well.

A staff of servants is kept in the college establishment solely on account of the undergraduates; some render personal services, as bedmakers, shoe-cleaners, &c., for which a specific sum is charged to each student; while others, such as the cook, porter, and their assistants, render services no less essential to each resident, but not distinctly personal: they are kept for the general use of members of the college. The steward who superintends the household management is paid by the college.

The Butteries.

The college butler as such does nothing for the Fellows of the college (the combination-room butler is their servant, and is paid by them): he keeps a staff of persons to serve out portions of provisions, to draw and carry beer, to keep the accounts of the undergraduates, which are supplied to them every week, to register the days they 'keep' toward their University term, to pay to the University certain small dues charged every quarter *per capita* on each of its members, and the like. Now, if a college gave up taking undergraduates,—and many colleges would be financially better off if they did not take them,—no college butler would be required, and the college lands are no more chargeable with the expense of his maintenance than they are with keeping the 'gyp,' or bedmaker, of an undergraduate. As a matter of fact, the college usually does contribute—sometimes in the way of salary, sometimes in other ways—so as to pay amply for any advantages the body corporate derive from the buttery staff. In a college of 100 men, the whole cost of the buttery would be near £300 per annum. The portion left for the undergraduates to pay would be about £225. If the college paid this there must be one fellowship the less. This give £2 5*s.* for each undergraduate to pay, and it would have to be raised during the undergraduate period of annual residence, which averages 180 days. This gives exactly 3*d.* a day to be paid, somehow or other, by each man. This sum, then, may be raised by a daily or annual charge, and provisions sold at cost price. To this apparently simple and just plan there are two objections. It is impossible to adjust the prices to an exceedingly variable quantity, always small; besides, an undergraduate who sends only for his daily bread, would pay out of proportion to those who are served frequently and for various articles. Hence servants are paid by different modes of indirect taxation.

The old system universally was to let the butler and cook act as tradesmen, finding their own capital and serving out their provisions at a specified rate of profit. This had some advantages; it was said to make the college servants obliging and attentive, because they looked on those whom they supplied as customers, and it got rid of the difficulty of overlooking the household and preventing waste, a difficulty which gives rise to additional expense in the way of management. But the objection to this plan is that it is very difficult to revise the scale of profit, and that in every attempt to reduce expenses, the reformer is met by a vested interest. Even under this plan, students generally were at liberty to get their bread and butter from the town if they chose; by so doing they gained a little in price, but were at the inconvenience of having to buy a larger quantity of a commodity than they wanted for immediate use.

The plan which has been lately adopted in many cases is for the college to pay

* *Students' Guide to the University of Cambridge.* 1876.

the butler a fixed salary, to find him assistants, coals, candles, and all that he requires, and to raise a fair proportion of this outlay by profits on the articles supplied. In this way the rate of profit can be adjusted from time to time; if the buttery account shows a profit, the price of bread, beer, or butter can be lowered at once, and the students may always be left at liberty to take just what they want, or to supply themselves from the town if they think fit, without any one having a right to complain.

Great trust must be placed in the butler, and he must not only be honest and careful, but a good manager, and his services command a good salary.

The Kitchens.

One difficulty in adjusting the expense of the kitchen department arises from the fact, that owing to the vacations a year's wages and a year's interest on capital have to be realized out of six months of business; *e.g.*, in the case of the butteries, we showed that a resident undergraduate would have to pay 3*d.* a day for the services of the buttery staff; this sounds rather large; if he resided the whole year, he would have to pay 1½*d.* a day, which would seem moderate enough. The same cause operates in the price of lodgings; and the two together make the Cambridge market both high and variable. Not only does the population of Cambridge vary by 2,000 persons between term and vacation time, but these 2,000 are all of one class, and consume prime joints, together with poultry and other delicacies, which at times are both high and scarce, and the ruling price is as high as in London.

The business of the kitchen department in college is two-fold—the dinner in hall has to be provided and cooked, and the undergraduates are also supplied with dishes in their rooms under certain regulations.

The mode of providing the hall-dinner varies a little at different colleges, but is generally as follows.

Some functionary, as the head porter or hall butler or caterer, receives daily a statement of the number of students 'in commons,' he then orders from the butcher the proper quantity of meat at the fixed rate, usually 1¼ lbs. per head, he, or he and the cook together, select the particular joints and distribute them to the several tables according to the numbers, sometimes the remains of the meat go to this head porter or other functionary, who often provides the waiting from the proceeds, and sometimes it remains the property of the college, and reappears cold, or in made dishes. The object of this arrangement is to provide a security for the proper quantity of meat being placed on the table; as the functionary who orders it has the remains, it is his interest to see that the quality is of the best description, and that the cook sends all that he ordered into hall. The bills are usually paid by the steward at the end of the current quarter: this is about three months before the money is got from the student by the tutor, even supposing that all the bills are regularly paid, meanwhile the steward is out of the money. The same is the case with the bills to the baker, brewer, and other tradesmen; this requires that the stewards should have a certain capital to carry on the victualing department business of the college, and the interest on this capital should be, strictly, a charge on the returns.

The arrangements with regard to any additions to the dinner in the way of soup, fish, or pastry, vary exceedingly; sometimes the meat and vegetables alone form the regular dinner, and those who like may obtain something more called 'sizings,'* or else another course is provided regularly, and from 4*d.* to 6*d.* charged for it—this may be soup or fish, or sweets and pastry, but rarely if ever *both* in addition to the meat.

* The word seems to mean portions at a fixed price; we hear of certain officers 'fixing the *assize* of bread.'

The daily cost of the dinner then stands thus:—

Cost price of 1½ lbs of meat (sometimes 1¾ lbs.)	
For vegetables	2*d.* or 2½*d.*
To cook for firing and payment of wages	1*d.* or 1½*d.*

Hence it is seen that the cost of an undergraduate's maintenance is much increased by a rise in the price of meat.

Persons who judge by the consumption of a family may think 1½ lbs. of meat a large allowance, but a leg of mutton weighing 9 lbs. and a surloin of beef weighing 12 lbs. is not an excessive dinner for 14 young men; some waste arises from the bad carving of the undergraduates themselves, and the plan of having servants to carve either in the hall or in the kitchen has been tried, but this requires an increase of staff, which causes further expense, otherwise delay is occasioned, which is a source of complaint, for patience is not a virtue of undergraduates.

The private business of the cook consists in supplying, subject to some sumptuary rules, dishes to undergraduates in their rooms, the prices are regulated by the steward; they should be fixed so as to yield a profit which, together with the profit from the hall, should pay so much of the expense of the kitchen staff as arises from the presence of undergraduates.

The old system of allowing the cook to be a tradesman on his own account is still very generally retained, owing to the great difficulty which attends the supervision of the kitchen department.

In some cases the cook acts merely as an agent for the college, and receives a fixed salary. The financial success of this plan depends entirely on the goodness of the management; a considerable sum may be lost even in a term by negligence and wastefulness, but with regard to discipline and the prevention of extravagance, it is more advantageous for the cook to be the servant of the college than a tradesman whose interest lies in obtaining a large amount of undergraduate custom.

The College Porter.

The duties of the college porter vary in different colleges; in all cases he has to keep the gate, he has to be ready to be called up at any time of the night in case of illness or any emergency, to see to the carrying of luggage, and to fetch and carry the letters to and from the post-office, and to see to the lighting of the courts and staircases. Many other functions connected with the work of discipline or the college, such as the marking in lectures and hall, and keeping an account of the exits and redits so as to determine the number of days that an undergraduate has kept, the care of the courts, &c., the cleaning of the knives, and the superintendence of the waiting in hall, as described above, generally devolve on the porter or his assistants, but in the larger colleges some of these offices are performed by the clerks of the buttery or other servants. The funds for paying the porter and his assistants, so far as they are derived from the undergraduates, are raised by a payment varying from 5*s.* to 10*s.* per term, and a charge of one halfpenny for each letter delivered by the porter. The work particularly answering to the latter payment is the fetching and carrying of the letters on the arrival and for the departure of the mails, that is five times a day.

The direct tax is supposed to be on account of the conveniences which all obtain from the services of the porter; it is sometimes levied in more items than one, while the indirect tax on letters received throws an additional payment on those who reside in college, and who therefore get a greater share of the porter's services in the way of his taking letters and the like. It may be mentioned that students in lodgings should always have their letters addressed to their lodgings, otherwise they incur this charge of one halfpenny per letter.

Expenses for Servants and General Charges at Oxford.

The following examples of the rate of charges for college servants, kitchen, buttery, &c., are taken from the *Student's Handbook for Oxford* for 1876.

At BALLIOL, (1) residents in college pay the following annual charges:—College servants and general expenses, £12; bedmakers, £4; building fund, £3; name, 8*s.*; chapel, logic lectures, land tax, parish priest, 19*s.* In addition to the above, a gratuity of £1 10*s.* per term to the bedmaker is recognized by the college. (2) Residents out of college (including those who have gone into lodgings after twelve terms' residence in college) pay annually 8*s.* The average room-rent is about £13 17*s.* annually, and ranges from £8 upward. The furniture of all the rooms is owned by the college; a charge of 5 per cent. per annum is made for its use, in addition to which every outgoing tenant pays for the depreciation of the furniture as ascertained by valuation at the end of his term of occupancy. The total average cost of furnished rooms, including the payments for interest and depreciation, is about £20 annually, or about 15*s.* 6*d.* a week for the 27 weeks of residence. Accounts are paid three times a year. There is a fixed limit of expenditure: no tuition or other college fees are charged to non-residents.

At EXETER, the following charges are payable annually:—College dues: (1) Until the term, inclusive, of taking the degree of B.A., £9 9*s.*; (2) From that time until the twenty-seventh term, £5 5*s.*; (3) After taking the degree of M.A., 12*s.* Establishment charges (i.e., college servants, except those in the kitchen and buttery, delivery of coals and letters, shoe-cleaning, chimney-sweeping, warming and lighting the chapel, hall, and staircase, choir fund, &c.), (*a*) for residents in college, £4 10*s.*; (*b*) for residents out of college, £2 10*s.* In addition to the above, a per centage of £25 per cent. is charged upon all articles supplied out of the kitchen and buttery, which is intended to cover the necessary working expenses of those departments: and a payment to the bedmaker of £1 for Lent term, £1 for Easter term, and £1 10*s.* for Michaelmas term, is recognized by the college. The room-rent varies from £10 10*s.* to £16 16*s.* annually: some rooms in the new buildings are let at £18 per annum. Furniture can not be hired from the college. The amount of valuation is not allowed to exceed £60 in any one set of rooms. Accounts are paid three times a year. Any member of the college who resides in Oxford for four or more nights in any term, will be liable to *half* the fixed charges of that term, and any member who resides for twenty-one nights will be liable to the whole. Groceries and dessert may be obtained in college from the common-room man. There is a fixed limit of expenditure.

At QUEEN'S, (1) residents in college pay the following annual charges:—establishment (including salaries of cooks, hall waiters, porters, shoe and knife cleaning, delivery of letters, hall fire, gas, &c.,) £9 18*s.*; choir fund, 10*s.*; servants, including all payments sanctioned by the college (except those to the messenger, who is paid by the message), £6 10*s.* 6*d.* College dues: for all members of the college below the degree of Master of Arts, £1; for Masters of Arts, 14*s.* In addition to the above, a small terminal charge is made for cleaning rooms. (2) Residents out of college pay annually, establishment, £4 19*s.*; choir fund, and college dues, as above. Poor and local rates are charged upon occupants of college rooms according to a scale fixed by official valuation. The rates levied upon the public buildings of the college are divided equally among all residents, as is the excise duty payable on the college servants. Those who dine in hall ordinarily pay a fixed charge, but in any term at the beginning of which not less than 24 persons give notice to the Bursar or Manciple of their wish to dine off commons, and so to reserve to themselves the power of regulating still further the cost of their dinner, tables are set apart for them.

At ST. JOHN'S, (1) residents in college pay annually a sum of about £9 for college dues and miscellaneous charges; a per centage is charged upon all articles which are supplied from the kitchen or buttery, to cover the wear and tear of plate, &c.; a terminal payment of £1 to the bedmaker, 10*s.* to the under-servant, and 10*s.* to the porter, is recognized by the college, provided that the attendance and conduct of the servants have been satisfactory: washing is covered (with the exception of certain extras) by a terminal charge of £2. (2) For residents out of college, the college dues and miscellaneous charges are about half the sum mentioned above. The room-rent varies from £4 4*s.* to £8 8*s.* annually. Furniture can not be hired from the college: the valuation amounts on an average to about £25. Accounts are paid three times a year. There is no fixed limit to expenditure, but a check is imposed as far as possible upon extravagance: the weekly battels (kitchen and buttery) need not exceed £1 4*s.*

At KEBLE, there is a fixed annual charge of £81, which is payable in advance in three equal installments, one at the beginning of every term, and which includes all ordinary battels, i.e., the rent of furnished rooms, board, college dues, servants, and tuition, but not washing, lights, or beer at luncheon and dinner; extras are provided according to a fixed tariff, but can not exceed £3 per term.

DAILY COLLEGE DUTIES AND ACADEMIC LIFE.

The duties commonly exacted by a College from its students are attendance at Chapel and at lectures, and at the dinner in the College Hall. In some Colleges the rules about attendance at Chapel have been lately relaxed, or exceptions have been readily allowed, so that it is hardly possible to make a general statement of the amount of attendance required. The morning service on week days begins at seven or half-past seven o'clock, and so constitutes an ordeal by which the steadiness of a man's character and industry may be tested. The less regular and resolute prefer the evening service, the time of which varies considerably in different Colleges and at different seasons of the year. At some Colleges those who do not attend Chapel regularly will receive warnings from the Dean, and after repeated warnings will be in danger of punishment, such as being confined to gates, *i. e.*, being deprived of the liberty of passing the College gates or the outer door of the lodgings during some hours before they are closed for the rest of the students. The surplice must be worn in Chapel on Sundays, Saints' days, and at the evening service of the day before both. At most Colleges it is the duty of the Scholars in turn to read the lessons, two Scholars being appointed for each week, during which week they wear the surplice at every service.

Lectures lasting an hour each are delivered daily in most Colleges between the hours of 9 A.M. and 12. As the students are in various stages of advancement, and engaged in various studies, they are divided into a multitude of classes, and it is not to be supposed that each student is engaged at lecture during three hours every day. Perhaps two hours a day may be the average time exacted of a student by the lecturers. Nor is it to be imagined that by a lecture is meant a formal and continuous discourse delivered by the lecturer. A College lecture at Cambridge is very often much the same thing as a lesson at school, it being of course understood that the lectured are not subject to the restraints and discipline of schoolboys. If the subject be classical, an author is read, the students translating in turns, while the lecturer interposes his comments as he sees fit. If it be mathematical, the students are often occupied during the whole hour in writing answers to written questions, or in solving problems. When the audience is large, the lecture often becomes more formal in character.

There is a public dinner in the hall of each College every day. In the largest Colleges there is a choice of hours offered, and in the Easter Term most Colleges adopt an earlier hour than usual for at least one daily dinner.

But few men in Colleges study between 2 P.M. and the ordinary dinner hour; this time is given by the most industrious to open air exercise and recreation. The students are English youths, and a large proportion of men have grown up in the great public schools. Athletic sports accordingly are pursued with ardor. In the boat-clubs of the several Colleges the science of rowing is studied by as many men with as much ambition, and perhaps even with as much seriousness, as are shown in the study of the subjects of the Honor Triposes. The Riflemen of Cambridge University have not been undistinguished. In the spring term, Fenner's Ground and the separate Grounds of many College Clubs are alive with Cricket, and the annual boat-race at Putney and the match at Lord's between the Universities are known to the public. More intellectual recreations are to be procured. There is the Union Debating Club, with reading-rooms and library attached, Musical Societies, Shakespeare Clubs, &c., &c. Hardly less numerous are the organizations for religious purposes.

Blackwood's *Magazine* for May, 1849, contains

COLLEGE LIFE—A SKETCH IN VERSE.

Soon as the clouds divide, and dawning day
Tints the quadrangle with its earliest ray,
The porter, wearied with the watchings late,
Half opes his eyelids and the wicket gate;
And many a yawning gyp comes slipshod in,
To wake his master ere the bells begin.
Round yon gray walls, enchained by slumber's spell,
Each son of learning snores within his cell.
For though long vigils the pale student keep,
E'en learning's self, we know, must sometimes sleep—
So morn shall see him, with a brightened face,
Fresh as a giant, to resume his race.
But hark! the chimes of yonder chapel-tower
Sound the arrival of the unwelcome hour.
Now drowsy Lentulus his head half rears,
To mumble curses on the Dean he fears.
What though his gyp exhort him, ere too late,
To seek the chapel and avert his fate?
Who, when secure his downy sheets between,
Recks of the threatenings of an angry Dean?
Slow rolling round he bids his mentor go
And bear his warnings to the shades below.
Soon shall he, summoned to the well-known room,
Repent his recklessness and learn his doom,
Within the walls a dull constraint to know,
And many a midnight jollity forego.
Far happier he, to whom the harsh-tongued bell
Sounds, as it should, his murdered slumber's knell.
Cold he contemns, and, shuffling on his clothes,
Boldly stalks forth, nor heeds his redd'ning nose.
Straight o'er the grass-plot cuts his dewy line
In mad defiance of the College fine;
Breathless with hurry gains the closing grate,
And thanks his stars he was not just too late.
His name prick'd off upon the marker's roll,
No twinge of conscience racks his easy soul,
While tutor's wines and Dean's soft smiles repay
His prompt submission to the College sway.
The service o'er, by Cam's dull bank of sedge
He strides, while hunger gains a keener edge;
(Though fasting walks I cannot loathe too much,
Since such my custom, my advice be such.)
For him who straight returns, what horrors wait!
How chill and comfortless his chamber's state.
The crackling fuel only serves too well
To show the cold it vainly strives to quell;
While the grim bed-maker provokes the dust,
And soot-born atoms, which his tomes encrust:
Awhile suspended high in air they soar,
Then, sinking, seek the shelves on which they slept before.
Down bolt his commons and his scalding tea,
Then off to lectures in pedantic glee.
He notes each artifice and master-stroke—
Each musty parallel and mustier joke;
Snaps up the driblets to his share consigned,
And as he cram'd his body crams his mind;
Then seeks at home digestion for his lore,
And slams in Folly's face the twice-barred door.

This hour, perchance, sees Lentulus descend
To seek the chamber of some jovial friend—
Yawn o'er the topics of the passing day,
Or damn the losses of his last night's play;
While well he augurs from the clattering plates,
The glad intelligence that breakfast waits.
From Memory's store the sportive muse may glean
The charms that gild awhile the careless scene—
The song, the anecdote, the bet, the joke,
The steaming viands, and the circling smoke—
The racy cider-cup, or brisk champagne,
Long prompt the merriment and rouse the strain;
Till Pleasure, sated of the loaded board,
Seeks what amusement fresher scenes afford.
Some prove their skill in fence—some love to box-
Some thirst for vengeance on the dastard fox;
Each by his fav'rite sport's enchanting power,
Cheats of its tediousness the flying hour.
Now the dull court a short siesta takes,
For scarce a footstep her still echo wakes,
Save where the prowling duns their victim scout,
And seize the spendthrift wretch that dares steal out.
Come, let us wander to the river's bank,
And learn what charm collects yon breathless rank,
The hope or horror pictured in each face
Marks the excitement of the coming race.
Hark! o'er the waters booms the sound of strife;
Now the hush'd voices leap at once to life;
Now to their toil the striving oarsmen bend;
Now their gay hues the flaunting banners blend;
Now leap the wavedrops from the flashing oar;
Now the woods echo in the madd'ning roar;
Now hot th' enthusiastic crowd pursue,
And scream hoarse praises on the unflinching crew;
Now in one last wild chance each arm is strained;
One panting struggle more—the goal is gained.
A scene like this, what stream can boast beside?
Scarce rival Isis on her fairer tide.
But think not thus could live the rower's power,
Save long privation steeled him for the hour.
The couch relinquished at the voice of morn,
The toilsome exercise, the cup foresworn,
The frugal dinner, and scarce-tasted wine—
Are these no sacrifice at glory's shrine?
Thus with new trophies shall his walls be graced—
Each limb new strengthened, and each nerve new braced.
Some idlers to the pavements keep their feet,
And strut and ogle all the passing street.
And if 'tis Sunday's noon, on King's Parade,
See the smug tradesman too and leering maid;
See the trim shop-boy cast his envious eye
On Topling's waistcoat and on Sprightly's tie,
Bravely resolved to hoard his labor's fruit,
And ape their fancies in his next new suit.
But now the sounding clocks in haste recall
Each hungry straggler to his College hall;
For Alma Mater well her nursling rears,
Nor cheats his gullet, while she fills his ears.
Heavens! what a clatter rends the steam-fraught air—
How waiters jostle, and how Freshmen stare!
One thought here strikes me—and the thought is sad—
The carving for the most part is but bad.

See the torn turkey and the mangled goose!
See the hack'd sirloin and the spattered juice!
Ah! can the College well her charge fulfil,
Who thus neglects the petit-maitre's skill?
The tutor proves each pupil on the books—
Why not give equal license to the cooks?
As the grave lecturer, with scrupulous care,
Tries how his class picks up its learned fare—
From Wisdom's banquet makes the dullard fast—
Denied admittance till his trial's past—
So the slow Freshman on a crust should starve,
Till practice taught him nobler food to carve.
High on the dais, and more richly stored,
Well has old custom placed the Fellows' board:
Thus shall the student feel his fire increased
By brave ambition for the well-graced feast—
Mark the sleek merriment of rev'rend Dons,
And learn how science well rewards her sons.
But spare, my muse, to pierce the sacred gloom
That veils the mysteries of the Fellows' room;
Nor hint how Dons, their untasked hours to pass,
Like Cato, warm their virtues with the glass.
Once more, at sound of chapel chime repairs
The surpliced scholar to his vesper prayers;
For discipline this tribute at his hands,
First and last duty of the day, demands.
Then each, as diligence or mirth invite,
Careless improves or thriftless wastes the night.
Stand in the midst, and with observant eye
Each chamber's tenant at his task descry.
Here the harsh mandate of the Dean enthrals
Some prayerless pris'ner to the College walls,
Who in the novel's pages seeks to find
A brief oblivion for his angry mind.
Haply the smoke-wreathed meerschaum shall supply
An evenness of soul which they deny.
Charm! that alike can soothing pleasure bring
To sage or savage, mendicant or king;
Sov'reign to blunt the pangs of torturing pain,
Or clear the mazes of the student's brain!
Swift at thy word, amidst the soul's misrule,
Content resumes her sway, and rage grows cool.
Here pores the student, till his aching sight
No more can brook the glimmering taper's light;
Then Slumber's links their nerveless captive bind,
While Fancy's magic mocks his fevered mind;
Then a dim train of years unborn swept by
In glorious vision on his raptured eye:
See Fortune's statelliest sons in homage bow,
And fling vain lustre o'er his toilworn brow!
Away, ye drivellers! dare ye speak to him
Of cheek grown bloodless, or of eye grown dim?
Who heeds the sunken cheek, or wasted frame,
While Hope shouts "Onward! to undying fame."
Glance further, if thine eye can pierce the mist
Raised round the votaries of Loo and Whist;
Scarce such kind Venus round her offspring flung
To bear him viewless through the Punic throng;
Scarce such floats round old Skiddaw's crown of snow,
And veils its grimness from the plains below.
Here, too, gay Lentulus conspicuous sits,

Chief light and oracle of circling wits.
Who with such careless grace the trick can take,
Or fling with such untrembling hand his stake?
But though with well-feigned ease his glass he sips,
And puffs the balmy cloud from smiling lips,
Care broods within—his soul alone regards
His ebbing pocket and the varying cards;
While one resolve his saddened spirit fills—
The diminution of his next term's bills.

Lamp after lamp expires as night grows late,
And feet less frequent rattle at the gate.
The wearied student now rakes out his fire—
The host grows dull, and yawning guests retire—
Till, all its labors and its follies o'er,
The silent College sinks to sleep once more.

Thus roll the hours, thus roll the weeks away,
Till terms expiring bring the long-feared day,
When rake and student equal terror know—
That lest he's plucked, this lest he pass too low.
Though different epochs mark their wide careers,
And serve for reck'ning points through fleeting years—
To this a tripos or a Senate's grace,
To that a fox-hunt, ball, or steeple-chase,—
When three short years of toil or sloth are past,
This common bugbear scares them all at last.

The doors flung wide, the boards and benches set,
The nervous candidates for fame are met.
See yon poor wretch, just shivering from his bed,
Gnaw at his nails and scratch his empty head;
With lengthened visage o'er each question pore,
And ransack all his memory for its store.
This Euclid argued, or this Newton taught—
Thus Butler reasoned, or thus Paley thought;
With many a weapon of the learned strife,
Prized for an hour, then flung aside for life.
Ah! what avails him now his vaunted art,
To stride the steed, or guide the tandem-cart?
His loved ecarte, or his gainful whist?
What snobs he pommelled, or what maidens kissed?
His ball-room elegance, his modish air,
And easy impudence, that charmed the fair?
Ah! what avails him that to Fashion's fame
Admiring boudoirs echoed forth his name?
All would he yield, if all could buy one look,
Though but a moment's, o'er the once-scorned book.
—Enough, enough, once let the scene suffice;
Bid me not, Fancy, brave its horrors twice.
The wrangler's glory in his well-earned fame,
The prizeman's triumph, and the pluck'd man's shame,
With all fair Learning's well-bestowed rewards,
Are they not fitting themes for nobler bards?
Poor Lentulus, twice plucked, some happy day
Just shuffles through, and dubs himself B. A.;
Thanks heaven, flings by his cap and gown, and shuns
A place made odious by remorseless duns.
Not so the wrangler,—him the Fellow's room
Shall boast its ornament for years to come;
Till some snug rectory to his lot may fall,
Or e'en (his fondest wish) a prebend's stall;
Then burst triumphant on the admiring town
The full fledged honors of his Doctor's gown.

MANNERS AND DISCIPLINE.

The early statutes of the several Colleges, the classification, costume, and etiquette enforced on all the members of the University, were framed in the spirit of reverence, and for the purposes of sound discipline, good manners, and pure morals. The following preamble and provision of an ancient ordinance of Trinity College throw light on the manners and discipline of the time:

"Whereas there is nothing which more adorns men of letters than modesty and purity of manners; we therefore decree and ordain that all inferiors behave themselves towards their superiors in a submissive and reverent manner—the scholar towards the Bachelor, the Bachelors towards the Masters of Arts, these towards the Bachelors and Doctors of Divinity, and all towards the Masters, as the supreme governors, and also towards the eight seniors, as fathers and leaders. Let none of the Bachelors or scholars go into the town without taking some one with him to be, as it were, the witness of his proper conduct: let no one in the hall, in the court, or elsewhere within the college, neglect to take off his cap in the presence of the Master of Arts, or one of higher degree. Let the authors of domestic sedition, detraction, disunion, or wrangle, for the first offense lose a month's commons; for the second three months'; for the third, let them, as we have said, be expelled from the college. We also decree, ordain, and exhort, that the Masters, Fellows, scholars, and other residents in the college, do in their utmost endeavor to nourish, cherish, and preserve concord, unity, peace, and mutual charity; and avoid in word and deed, scurrility, ribaldry, scoffs, whisperings, reproaches, and scandals. Let no one keep dogs, ferrets, hawks, or singing birds, in the college; nor be immoderately given to hunting or hawking; and if any one transgress let him be punished. We will and decree that each person conduct himself with propriety in his own chamber; and do not by immoderate clamour, or loud laughter, or singing, or noise, or dancing, or musical instruments, keep his neighbors from sleep, quiet, or study; and also that he abstains from late revels and from potations."

In 1728 it was ordered upon interpretation of part of the Statute *De modestia et urbanitate morum*, that if any scholar shall at any time resort to any Tavern or other public house otherwise than the Statutes do allow [an LL.B., M.B., Mus. B., M.A.; or a pupil accompanying his tutor, or invited to see a parent or friend, who has come into the town as a guest; but only to dinner or supper; or with the exception of the last-mentioned case (an undergraduate or B.B.) at other times with the leave of the master], he shall forfeit 1*s.* 8*d.* If after the statutable time of locking the gates [8 p.m.; or from Lady-day to Michaelmas 9], 3*s.* 4*d.* If at a more unseasonable hour, or disorder'd in liquor, he shall, besides the other penalties, be admonished by the vice-chancellor, which Admonition shall be entered in a book kept for that purpose; and after three admonitions be expelled. 'That if any number of Scholars, under pretense of being of the same year, School, or County, or otherwise, shall be found assembling together at any public house, they shall, upon conviction thereof, beside the former penalty of 3*s.* 4*d.*, be suspended from taking any Degree until one whole year after the usual time of taking the same.'

The following extracts from Mr. Everett's Lecture '*On the Cam*,' continue our pictures of the daily routine of University Life at Cambridge:

Present Means of Discipline.

The means of discipline are elaborate and peculiar. A certain amount of attendance at chapel and lecture is required; and, if not complied with, a graduated series of scoldings, rising from a simple printed notice, filled up with a name, as follows: "Everett, Junior Soph., irregular in his attendance at chapel, admonished by the Senior Dean";—I did get one such notice once,—up through personal interviews with the Deans, Tutor, Master, and Body of Fellows. By this time, an undergraduate so persistently irregular will probably have brought matters to a crisis by some other more flagrant act, and be obliged to leave the college—rusticated, or silently withdrawn. Repeated absence from lecture is

generally punished by "gating," that is, confining a student to the inside of the gate of his college, or street door of his lodging-house, at an earlier hour than usual. At 10 P.M. the gates are locked, and no one can get in without ringing. I should add that, once in, no one can get out after ten, without a special order from a Fellow. Furthermore, no undergraduate can pass a night out of Cambridge or out of his own rooms without special permission from his tutor; and in all these cases the situation of the porter, bedmaker, or lodging-house keeper is made much too valuable, and the watch kept upon them much too strict, to permit more than a very rare infringement indeed of these rules. Any college windows that may look on the street are barred in the two lower stories, to prevent egress, and every college is surrounded with high walls, ditches, or iron fences bristling with a most dreadful array of spikes. I have often stood at some of these and contemplated the possibility of getting out, and have been forced to acknowledge that it is out of the question.

Pecuniary fines, of small amount, are also very much resorted to; they are, in most cases, rather matters of course, than penalties—such as for absence from morning chapel—and go to increase the pay of the servants. In some cases, neglect, or infringement of discipline, is punished by "losing the week"; that is, if the student has already resided seven weeks, some misdemeanor will cause the seven to count only six, which would compel him to stay at Cambridge another, to make up the requisite number enjoined in the course of a term.

SUNDAY LIFE OF AN UNDERGRADUATE.

At Cambridge there is a great deal of church-going. All the college chapels have two, and some three services a day. At some, there is a sermon; at others not. It is, of course, at all of them the service of the Church of England. The whole University is supposed to go at two o'clock to the sermon in Great St. Mary's Church. It does not all go by any means. The reverend Master of Trinity has a weakness for ordering such of his own subjects as he meets about the hour, to go. This service is peculiar in many respects. The floor of the church, which, aside from its being the church of the University, has its own parish, is filled with graduates, the gallery with undergraduates. The clerk of the church gives out a portion of Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms; this is sung by one of the college choirs in attendance. This is followed by the preacher, who is appointed for every Sunday and holy-day, at the beginning of the year, and is always a man of note; he rises and reads the bidding prayer. This is not a prayer at all, but an exhortation to pray for "the whole state of the Catholic Church." From this pretty general exordium, it proceeds, by virtue of a series of especiallys and particularlys, to commend to the prayers of the congregation all the persons in England in any way distinguished in the Church or the State. Gradually working his way to the two Universities, the clergyman continues: "And herein for his Grace, William, Duke of Devonshire, our Chancellor; for the Right Worshipful the Vice-Chancellor; for the professors, proctors, and all that bear authority therein. For all particular colleges; and, as in private duty bound, I ask your prayers for the royal and religious foundation of Trinity College; for the reverend and learned the Master, the fellows, scholars, and all students in the same," and so on; till, at last, a call to pray for all the Commons of the Realm, and also to praise God for all his mercies, concludes this long introduction, to which is simply added the words of the Lord's Prayer; and at once every University man in the congregation, who are all standing, raises his cap to his face, which is a sight described as very imposing; whoever saw it, must have neglected to raise his own cap, in order

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to notice those of others. The sermon, and the ordinary concluding prayer of the English Church follow, the sermon being always intensely learned, rather than interesting.

Sunday is a great day at Cambridge for very long walks, often of three or four hours' duration. The boating men in particular, who are steadily engaged on the river every other day, vary their exercise always by a hard walk on Sunday. On Sunday afternoon and evening, if it is fine, the whole town, University or not, turns out into the walks behind the Colleges, making a very gay sight. Sunday is also a great day for early and long-protracted tea parties and social talks.

ATHLETIC SPORTS—CRICKET.

I know nothing of cricket. I used to see my friends wearing caps and scarves of all imaginable patterns, and was told that they were badges of the "Perambulators" or "Quidnuncs." I saw them start at unearthly hours in the morning, dressed principally in flannel, and come back pretty late in the afternoon, and heard that the Pifflers had been playing Royston. I have moreover been to one or two cricket-matches, and seen some splendid catches at long-off. But of the mysteries of cricket and cricket clubs I know very little. They are very numerous; cricket players associating together for all possible and impossible reasons, and the best players belonging to several clubs at once. They are working hard all summer long, and rather tire one with their utter absorption in their favorite sport, which to an outsider is truly unintelligible. But it only lasts a few months in the year, and the rest of the time they can talk and act rationally.

ROWING—BOAT RACES.

Rowing is also carried at Cambridge to great perfection. It is a natural offshoot from the maritime character of the English. The best amateur rowing is at the two Universities, and their annual match in April, in which I regret to say Oxford has now won three years successively, is a splendid exhibition of river rowing and pretty rough rowing, too. But as eyewitness is always better than description, I will ask you to walk down with me to the last boat race of the season at Cambridge, and contemplate what is perhaps the noblest of athletic sports in its highest perfection.

The principal University boat races at Cambridge take place in the month of May, and surely if the Argonauts themselves were to select a time and place for the display of their strength, they could not choose better than the Cambridge May term. Mr. Warren Burton says that the wit of his district school described the fun of the winter school term as one long Thanksgiving Day, minus the sermon, the music and the dinner. One might describe the Cambridge May term as one long Class Day, minus the literary exercises, the dancing and the cheering. An army of amazons take Cambridge by storm in the month of May, and gray old Alma Mater puts on her best dress, and sets her best parlor in order to receive her guests. But of all the attractions of that happy season, there is none more universally appreciated than the boat races. We will suppose ourselves walking down to the last one of the season.

It begins at seven o'clock, just in the calm, clear, English twilight. We need not fear that it is too soon after dinner, for the authorities fully respect the value of exercise, and accommodate the boat races by instituting an early dinner at two o'clock at this season. We put on our checkered straw hats with their dark-blue ribbon, to show that we belong to the First Trinity boat club; stroll out of the great gate, past the church where is the monument of poor Kirke White, erected by our late distinguished countryman, Dr. Boott; past the gate of St. John's and the Templars' round church, and through a few narrow lanes to a broad common, the pasture-ground of a

hundred broken-down horses. Our path has been accompanied by crowds of men in boating rig, broad flannel trousers, heavy tanned leather low-heeled shoes, pea-jacket, and club-hat or cap, making eagerly for the boat-houses. These soon heave in sight on the farther bank of the poor little narrow river. All along the strand below them are the long, narrow, sharp club-boats, of which a new one is manned every instant. From the windows of the rooms occupied by the St. John's boat-club we can see the red flag waving, emblazoned with the arms of Lady Margaret Somerset, foundress of St. John's and Christ's Colleges. This flag being displayed shows that St. John's is at present head of the river. We stroll along the banks, now muddy and now sandy, watching the coal-barges trailing slowly up from Lynn and Wisbeach, and the light club-boats, bearing down crews of inferior oarsmen to witness the contests of the champions, and darting between the barges like flies in a cow-pasture. We are in plenty of time, for the gray old church of Chesterton, across the water, is ringing out a quarter of seven in its sweet chimes. But what is this that encounters us, breaking in rudely on all the pastoral and soothing thoughts of chimes and evening and what not? A boy, or a monkey? A boy, and a very dirty one, with a broom still dirtier than himself. With this he assiduously sweeps the coal-dust and mud left by the colliers right under our feet, and then calls upon us in an uncommonly cheerful voice, to "Give me a copper, sir, just one, sir, I've got no father, sir." Spurning him, his broom, and the ashes of his father, we press on, our path every moment getting more and more crowded with eager spectators. We soon arrive at a ferry, where are three or four very dingy craft, soliciting passengers, but getting none. No, we will wait till the regular boatman comes back from his last load with his clean blue boat, and his hat showing the ribbon of the head of the river. He is at once saluted as "Charon" by a dozen voices, and imploring us to "step steady, gentlemen," soon puts us over on the verge of foundering. A few moments more, and we are at the railway bridge. Here all spectators who have come down in boats disembark, and leave their boats to walk on to the racing-ground.

This extends for about a mile and three-quarters from the railway bridge. In the great University races the boats take their stations at the further end of it and row up towards Cambridge, ending at the railway bridge. The river turns and winds a good deal in this distance, giving scope for the most careful steering, as it is scarcely ever over twenty yards wide. At about the middle of the course is the Plough Inn, which can be reached by a very pretty drive, and is generally the rendezvous of those who do not like the idea of a run on the bank. We ourselves are on the towing-path the other side from the Plough. Just watch the crowd on the bank, oarsmen in their club flannels, Athenæum men with their faultless London garments, tutors and proctors in their clerical garb, and some very hard student, a prospective senior wrangler, who has accidentally come down for an evening stroll, and looks round bewildered, for he never heard of a boat race, and can't conceive why he never met such a crowd here before. There—you can see the racing boats begin to come up the river—not the best, however—those before us will take their places at the end of the division. Each boat will row down to nearly the end, then turn so as to bring up against its proper post, with its head up the river. There it will be moored, and the crew step out. This is soon made apparent, as we see walking up to us the crews of the boats that just shot past us. There—men are beginning to gaze eagerly on that next boat—as the dark-blue uniform flashes into sight, "I. Trinity Second," is the cry from the bank. There are three clubs in Trinity, of which the first is the largest and it generally can muster three boats among the first twenty.

At present, its second boat stands ninth on the river. You will understand that all members of the college, irrespective of seniority, join the boat-clubs; the control and management being in the hands of the older members. These are very assiduous in practising the Freshmen and new-comers generally, and selecting the good oarsmen from them for the high boats. I. Trinity Second has passed, and the next is a curious uniform of gray and blue, which proclaims it to be Christ's. The next is the maroon-color of Corpus, the next the rich rose-color of Emmanuel, and the next the royal purple of Jesus.

As fast as each boat turns, rows up to its post and stops, it is surrounded by a crowd of admirers from its own college, and some sarcastic outsiders, who exchange remarks of all kinds with each other on the event, and countless bets are made. The crews begin to feel cold, and start on a stroll,—gradually the crowds melt together, and the whole bank becomes alive with a thousand University men of every type of face, mind, and particular costume.

Hush; there is a boat sweeping down, evidently far better than any that have gone before it. Its oarsmen wear black hats, with a black and white ribbon round them. They are a wiry, vicious-looking lot, and though a series of misfortunes has brought them down to fourth, yet no one dares speak slightingly of Trinity Hall. They soon attract a great crowd, for Trinity Hall, besides its own peculiar fame, is the champion in general of the smaller colleges. But still greater excitement is manifested, as a plain gray uniform comes into view, and all eyes are turned to watch the most noted club of the University. It is III. Trinity, composed exclusively of members of Trinity College, who have previously been at Eton or Westminster schools, which, being situated on the Thames, are far ahead of all other schools in rowing. And now the tale of boats is nearly complete. The dark blue of I. Trinity swings into the second place, and just as its adherents are eagerly pressing the question—"Shall you do it?" "O shall you do it?" some one else shouts, "There they are—there's the pigs." This coarse, but well-known name, calls all eyes to the St. John's oarsmen, in their scarlet uniform, proudly rowing to the first place. Night after night they have baffled Trinity in all attempts to bump them, and assume the head place. You will understand, that the Cam being wholly too narrow to permit of rowing abreast, it is the practice in all great races to draw the boats up in a line, with a boat's length between each, and the object is then to row over the distance so as to touch the stern of the first with the bow of the second boat. If this is effected, the first changes places with the second in the next race, or is dropped altogether, according to the terms of the match. Notice in many of the other boats oarsmen with the sky-blue cap, that marks a University oarsman, one who has been chosen to row against Oxford; but not in the Trinity boat. They have University oars, more than one, but not to-night. No; to-night all shall wear the dark-blue alike, for the honor of their dear old college. The St. John's men, who have at last won the head place, and held it triumphantly night after night, shall they be defrauded of the laurel on their very brows, and in one night be condemned to hold the second place for a whole year? Ah, but the Trinity men have been working together night after night; every race has put new vigor and unity into their stroke. Steadily have they worked up above all other rivals, and last night they pursued the Johnians, pressing hard up to the course's end. Well did Virgil know—and what did he not know?—the passions that stir in the breasts of oarsmen—

> "These burn with shame to lose their hard-earned crown,
> And life would freely barter for renown;
> But those, with rising hope, their triumphs scan,
> For they can conquer who believe they can."

Such are the contending thoughts in the minds of the countless admirers of either side that are strolling up and down the banks; when, suddenly, they are recalled to their senses by a sudden bang. The first gun; and the crews all make rapidly to their boats, and begin to embark. Eagerly the coxswain looks over his crew. "Now then, who's number 4? O, Wright; well, where is he? Here, Wright, Wright. He'll be late, to a dead certainty." No; there comes that hard, compact figure, and that generous face breaking through the crowd of gray jackets, for he has been exchanging a last defiance with the crew of the III. Trinity, who are insinuating, audacious mortals, that not only will First not catch John's, but will get bumped themselves. "Now then, 4, get in. Are you all ready?" "No, no, not yet; my stretcher's wrong." The dark-blue jackets are torn off, and thrown to the men on shore. "Now; Sturge times us, doesn't he?" "Ay, all right"; and you see by every boat some sympathizing friend with a stop-watch. Bang! the second gun. The last arrangements are hurriedly made. All along the banks eager partisans are just ready to begin their race with their favorite. "Push out," is the cry; and slowly, steadily, the oars are raised, and the boat gently fended off. "Quarter of a minute gone"; and all down the bank comes up the refrain from every boat—"Quarter gone." The last settlement in the seats, the last jacket pitched ashore, the last firm grasp of the oar, never to be let go. "Half a minute gone"; now the boats are all in the middle of the stream. "Back a stroke, 2; easy backing; pull, bow and 3"; for the oars are numbered, beginning at the bow; not, as with us, at the stroke. "Fifteen seconds left." All eyes along the bank are fixed on the watchmen, as their timing now comes more frequently. "Ten, nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three, two, one—gun"—bang!——splash. "Well started, well started," cry the partisans on the bank. "Well rowed, well rowed"; for First Trinity has leapt ahead with a bound, as if she were on wings; and all the hope of Third Trinity to bump her, with that headlong spurt so characteristic of Etonians, is nipped in the bud. "Well rowed, Trinity; well rowed, John's. Now then, take her along." See the headlong rush upon the bank. A thousand men, in every sort of dress or undress, tearing along at the rate of a mile in three minutes; now stumbling and falling, now shouting and pushing, now silent, with their lips burning, and their eyes starting, but all on fire with excitement. . . . But still, all the real interest is with the head boats. As the tortuous track winds by Grassy Corner, a broad green peninsula, covered with spectators, the excitement is fearful. "Well rowed, well rowed, Trinity. Well rowed, 4," as Wright's broad back comes leaping forward and springing back, like a three-ton trip-hammer. "Well steered; O, well steered, Trinity," as the little spectacled coxswain, well known all over England, swings up his boat close to the corner, gaining several feet at once. "Well rowed, well rowed; half a length more." "You're safe, John's, you're safe; they'll never do it." There, the Plough Inn is coming in sight; pass that corner, and it's all a straight reach—no more room for picking up there; no more fine steering. But see, the Trinity stroke bounds forward with an effort to which all his former exertions were child's play; and the dark-blue oars leap in their sockets till their blades seem like a single broad flash of light along the gunwale, and the shout rings like a volley of musketry; "Well rowed, well rowed, Trinity"; and, as they swirl round Ditton Corner, once more that deft pull on the strings, and the sharp bow comes flashing up into the stern of the Johnians: and, like a peal of thunder, bursts forth the thrice re-echoing, "Hurrah for First; well rowed, First, well rowed." "Quick; here, bring the flag," and the grand old standard, the Golden Lion with his three crowns, is raised by the coxswain.

THE RACKS.

Dropping down the river,
Down the glancing river,
Through the fleet of shallops,
Through the fairy fleet,
Underneath the bridges,
Carvéd stone and oaken,
Crowned with sphere and pillar,
Linking lawn with lawn,
Sloping swards of garden,
Flowering bank to bank;
Midst the golden noontide,
'Neath the stately trees,
Reaching out their laden
Arms to overshade us;
Midst the summer evens,
Whilst the winds were heavy
With the blossom-odors,
Whilst the birds were singing
From their sleepless nests.
Dropping down the river,
Down the branchéd river,
Through the hidden outlet
Of some happy stream,
Lifting up the leafy
Curtain that o'erhung it,
Fold on fold of foliage
Not proof against the stars.
Drinking ruby claret
From the silvered 'Pewter,'
Spoil of ancient battle
On the '*ready*' Cam,
Ne'er to be forgotten
Pleasant friendly faces
Mistily discerning
Through the glass below.
Ah! the balmy fragrance
Of the mild Havanna!
Down amidst the purple
Of our railway wrappers,
Solemn-thoughted, glorious
On the verge of June.
Musical the rippling
Of the tardy current,
Musical the murmur
Of the wind-swept trees,
Musical the cadence
Of the friendly voices
Laden with the sweetness
Of the songs of old.

James Payn.

Walks—Constitutional and otherwise.

The 'constitutional' walk, now quite an institution at Oxford and Cambridge, is a practice of modern growth. We find Daniel Wilson writing to his father, to communicate the news that few days passed without his walking for an hour. In the earlier part of the last century we read of a few students going into Scotland and a few into Germany. Wordsworth and a friend took a walking tour in France, carrying their knapsacks on their oaken staffs. In our own days we have heard of undergraduates making most of the journey to Rome on foot with a ten-pound note. In the beginning of the century, Watson, the non-resident Bishop of Llandaff, complained of the influx of 'Lakers or Tourists into Westmoreland.' The Cambridge men first led the way there, and afterward the Oxford men came. The simple countrymen called the Oxonians, the 'Oxford Cantabs.'

A. H. Clough's poem of *Bothie of Tober na Vuolich* describes the humors of a Long Vacation party. One of the characters is made to say, in language familiar enough to University men:

> Kiteat, a Trinity *Coach*, has a party at Drumnadrochet,
> Up on the side of Loch Ness, in the beautiful valley of Urquhart;
> Mainwaring says they will lodge us and feed us, and give us a lift too;
> Only they talk ere long to remove to Glenmorison. Then at
> Castleton, high in Braemar, strange home, with his earliest party,
> Harrison, fresh from the schools, has James and Jones and Lauder,
> Thirdly, a Cambridge man, I know, Smith, a senior wrangler,
> With a mathematical score hangs out at Inverary.

In the reading parties, the reading is by no means an invariable rule. We are told of the young men:

> How they had been to Iona, to Staffa, to Skye, to Culloden,
> Seen Loch Awe, Loch Tay, Loch Fyne, Loch Ness, Loch Arkaig,
> Been up Ben-Nevis, Ben-More, Ben-Cruachan, Ben-Muick-Dhas.

With that should be compared the picture of the Tutor:

> The grave man, nicknamed Adam,
> White-tied, clerical, silent, with antique square-cut waistcoat
> Formal, unchanged, of black cloth, but with sense and feeling beneath it,
> Skillful in Ethics and Logic, in Pindar and Poets unrivaled,
> *Shady* in Latin, said Lindsay, but *topping* in Plays and in Aldrich.

And the story relates how sometimes pupils on their excursions turn restless and abandon their books and papers for the lakes and mountains.*

Any man who wishes to do justice to himself and his University must give up the bulk of his long vacation to hard, methodical study. It is remarkable that there are no reading parties at Oxford during the long vacations, as is so constantly the case at Cambridge; and, generally speaking, residence out of term time is not at all encouraged for undergraduates. Relaxation in vacations may be, and to a very large extent is, absolutely necessary; but to spend the whole of the long vacation in idleness, as is too often done, must in every point of view be injurious. A great number of men form themselves into reading parties, and choose out some choice locality by sea or mountain, lake or river, where they can combine regular work with healthful amusement. Each pays his share of the expense; and, in general, gives a fee of £30 to the private tutor, or 'coach.'

* It is notorious matter of tradition and experience that not one in a hundred of those who go on reading-parties makes a profitable use of his time—nay, that scapegraces who wish to 'do their governors' and delude them into the belief that they are 'reading' while doing any thing but read, adopt this very plan as the most efficient—nevertheless it happens every year that some hard-working and well-disposed youths wander off in these parties. Perhaps the unfortunate has stayed two whole Longs at Cambridge already, and finds the prospect of a third summer there too dreary, or he thinks a change of air may do him good before the struggle of the last term, or some nice Bachelor friend of his is making up a nice party and wants to bring him into it; so, though he knows that the majority of men who join in such excursions do very little reading, he hopes to be one of the minority who form the exceptions.—Bristed's *Five Years in an English University.*

*Choice of a University and College.**

It often becomes a question of great interest and importance as to which University and which college a young man should enter. In a great number of instances no perplexity arises. In many families Christ Church follows Eton in natural progression, or New college follows Winchester, or a Merchant-Taylers' man goes to St. John's, or a Welshman to Jesus college. Still, with numbers of the public and grammar schoolmen the choice of the University, or, at least, the choice of a college, is a matter of some embarrassment.

The present writer, having experience of both Oxford and Cambridge, may be permitted to offer some observations on what appear the main differences between them. Oxford is considerably the more expensive of the two. The difference may be set down as being at least one-third greater. Where the Cambridge tutor ordinarily charges seven pounds, the Oxford tutor charges ten guineas. Where the caution money in the one case is fifteen pounds, in the other case it averages thirty pounds. There is hardly any difference in the commons. The rent of college rooms is, on the whole, lower at Oxford than at Cambridge, and very frequently the rooms are much better. It is much more usual at Oxford than at Cambridge to find an undergraduate with two handsome sitting-rooms. The general style of living and expense involves a rather larger outlay at Oxford than at Cambridge. As a counterbalance to the increased expensiveness of Oxford, it is to be said that the competition for academical prizes is more limited there than at Cambridge. For instance, the Goldsmiths' Company give a set of Exhibitions both at Oxford and Cambridge, which are competed for by examination. But the number of candidates for prizes of equal value is twice or three times as large at Cambridge as at Oxford. It is also to be said that the amount of real work done at Cambridge for the most part exceeds that at Oxford. The reading men at Oxford constitute a minority. But at Cambridge the reading men and the non-reading men are, speaking roughly, very much on a numerical par.

In making choice of a University for a young man of high promise, very careful regard ought to be paid to his intellectual character. It would be a mistake to send a young man of great mathematical ability to Oxford; and this is said with the full knowledge that Oxford has possessed mathematical teachers whose attainments can hardly be surpassed. But the value of a Cambridge mathematical degree is fully understood, while that of Oxford mathematical honors is by no means equally well defined. An Oxford man may have sufficient knowledge and abilities to be a senior wrangler, or within the first six, yet all he can hope for is a name in an alphabetical first class, which is very different in the eyes of the world, and in matters of distinction and reward, from the highest

* From Oxford and Cambridge: *Their Colleges, Memories, and Associations.* By Rev. Frederick Arnold, B.A., late of Christ Church, Oxford. With engravings by Whymper. London: Religious Tract Society, 56 Paternoster Row.

mathematical distinctions at Cambridge. In classics, matters are more easily balanced, but with a great difference. An Oxford first class, in the final examination, is a surer distinction, and on the whole has probably a higher value, than the Cambridge first class, except as regards the first few places in the Cambridge classical tripos. Yet perhaps the Cambridge man is both the more extensive and the more elegant scholar. Greater attention is now paid to pure scholarship at Cambridge than at Oxford. As an example, Oxford, whether wisely or unwisely, has to some extent discarded the accomplishment of versification in the dead languages. She sets it in examination, and amply rewards it when well done; but it is quite possible that a man should obtain the highest classical honors and yet not write a single line of iambics or hexameters. The University, in fact, deals with the great mass of pure scholarship, not in the final schools, but in her first public examinations, or Moderations. Thus Moderations answer more exactly to the Cambridge classical tripos; and, as the men spend a shorter time in preparation, and the examination is less severe, Moderations represent, as a rule, (although many Oxford men will be slow to admit it,) a lower degree of classical attainments than the parallel Cambridge examinations. But, after this examination in scholarship, Oxford presses on her best scholars to the second public or final examination, to which Cambridge offers hardly any exact parallel, and where the greater difficulties are attested by the smaller number of candidates, and the scantier amount of distinction awarded. She assumes that the dead languages are mastered, of course providing abundant tests to ascertain both acquirements and deficiencies, and then examines into the subject-matter of the authors brought up, exacting both a very wide and deep acquaintance with all ancient history and philosophy, and with mental science generally. For the highest places there must be a knowledge of the best writers of logic and philosophy in modern literature, both in this country and on the continent. To obtain the highest honors, a man must be intimately acquainted with Aristotle and Plato, Bacon and Butler, and the history of speculation as connected with them. It will thus be perceived that the Oxford final school in classics, the flower and crown of her system, is essentially *sui generis*, and not very easily understood out of Oxford itself. It would perhaps be not unfair to say that Cambridge rather instructs and Oxford educates; that the one chiefly develops and encourages industry, accuracy, information; while the other rather demands great mental powers, originality, and the natural qualities which tend to make a man think. If she obtains thus much, Oxford will readily forgive false quantities, which with Cambridge form an impenetrable barrier against academical success.

The choice of a University, then, is of much greater importance than that of a college. Still, this point deserves careful discrimination and should not be settled simply because a friend has gone to such a college, or a man's father was there before him. The general character which a college maintains at the time is an item of consideration, and this char-

acter is fugitive, and may alter its complexion several times in the course of a generation. Migration from one college to another is much more common at Oxford than at Cambridge. At Cambridge, as a rule, though exceptions are not uncommon, a college Fellow is elected from his own college, but at Oxford the fellowships are now generally open to universal competition. At Oxford it is not at all infrequent to find a man who, having entered at one college, has gone to a second by obtaining a scholarship, and to a third by obtaining a fellowship.

University Life of an Undergraduate.

The University and the college being settled, the next great question that arises is, whether an undergraduate is to be a reading or a non-reading man; whether he is to go in for a pass or class. Now only one answer can be admitted to such an inquiry. Every undergraduate ought to make up his mind to go in for a class of some kind. This fact can not be too strongly insisted on. It has been well said by a competent authority, that 'the mere pass can never be considered justifiable for any man of commonly good abilities, commonly good health, and commonly good education.' The University now offers ample scope for every kind of knowledge and ability. She gives classes for Natural Sciences, for Law, History, and Theology. It would be difficult to name a single department of human knowledge where she does not offer encouragement and substantial prizes. The amount of knowledge necessary simply to pass an examination and procure a degree is comparatively small, and is not sufficient fairly to tax the energies of men during their term of residence at the University. By reading regularly for only a few hours every day, there is no one who need despair of obtaining a respectable place in some class or other. A resolution to decline competing for honors is one of the greatest mistakes which any undergraduate can make, as it encourages him in habits of idleness and expense, and keeps him off from fair avenues to future distinction.

It is often necessary to make the choice of a college at a very early date. To secure admission at a great college, it is necessary, just as at the London clubs, to put down one's name several years before the room can actually be found. In many cases, however, there is no practical difficulty in getting admission at a short notice; especially at the Halls. It is also necessary that the forthcoming student should be properly introduced. A letter from any Master of Arts is sufficient; but a man naturally desires the most favorable auspices he can obtain.

The undergraduate commences his future experience of examinations by being examined for his matriculation. As a rule this examination is not very difficult; Alma Mater hopes that if she does not find him very bright, she will turn him out something good in the long-run. Generally speaking, the standard for matriculation is very low. At Balliol, however, the matriculation examination is severe, and such as often, perhaps, might obtain a scholarship at a smaller college.

The undergraduate now settles down into his rooms, which his scout

THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM.

INTRODUCTION.

THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM was opened in October, 1832, under authority granted by Act of Parliament for the purposes of meeting the demand for higher education in the North of England more conveniently and at a lower rate than at Oxford and Cambridge. It received a Royal Charter on June 1st, 1837, by virtue of which its first Degrees were conferred on June 8th in the same year. In 1841 an Order in Council provided that the Wardenship should be permanently annexed to the Deanery of Durham, that a Canonry in Durham Cathedral should be annexed to each of its Divinity and Greek Professorships, and that other Professorships should be founded in Hebrew and other Oriental languages.* The Castle of Durham and its precincts had been previously (Aug. 8, 1837) granted by the Queen in Council to be held in trust by the Bishop for the benefit of the University, and the College was thus provided with a chapel, hall, and convenient rooms for students.

The Government of the University is intrusted to the Warden, Senate, and Convocation. The Senate is composed of the chief officers of the University. The Convocation consists of all who have been admitted to the degrees of Master and Doctor in the Faculties of Divinity, Law, Medicine, and Arts, and conform to the regulations.

The period of residence required for the degree of B.A. is two years, and for eight months in each year. The period required for the License in Theology is two years, in each of which the residence extends over six months. No person is admitted as a Student in Theology until he has attained the age of twenty years. Final examinations are held twice in the year, in June and December.

There are two Halls—Bishop Hatfield's Hall, founded in 1846; and Bishop Cosin's Hall, founded in 1851, which provide furnished rooms for students, with special courses of instruction and supervision.

In 1870, a regulation was provided that persons should be admissible as Members of the University, without becoming Members of any College, Hall, or House, on condition that they resided in some house or lodging approved by the Warden and Proctors.

* The Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral were endowed by Henry VIII. with the revenues of the Benedictine Priory at Durham, and with those of Durham College at Oxford connected with the Priory, on the suppression of Monasteries. The Protector Cromwell issued in 1657 a decree founding a College 'within the site of the College Houses, Cathedral Church, and Castle.'

Any Licentiate in Theology can obtain the degree of B.A. after residing one academical year of eight months, and passing the requisite examination. Any person who has passed the final examination for the degree of B.A., or any higher degree at Durham, Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, or any other University, in which the examination is of a similar character to that required at Durham, can obtain the License in Theology after residing one academical year of six months as a Student in Theology, and passing the requisite examination.

No subscription or test is required of any member of the University, with the following exception. No person can become a Licentiate in Theology, or take any degree in Theology, or become a member of Senate or Convocation, unless he has previously declared in writing that he is a bonâ fide member of the Church of England as by law established. The chief Service of the University is that of the Cathedral Church of Durham, but no Student who is not a member of the Church of England is obliged to attend the services of that Church.

A Class of Physical Science was founded in 1838, including pure and applied Mathematics, Chemistry, Geology, Mining, Engineering, and the like. Students in this School, after two years' residence of eight months each, are, on passing the final examination, admissible to the rank of Associates in Physical Science. Terms kept by Students in this School may, with the consent of the Senate, count towards the degree of B.A.

The Foundation Scholarships are five of 50*l.* and seven of 30*l.* a year each, tenable for three years; one University Classical and one University Mathematical Scholarship of 30*l.* a year each, and tenable for one year; the Durham Grammar School Scholarship of 30*l.* a year, and tenable for three years.

The Scholarships and Exhibitions are open to all competitors, and are awarded to the best candidates of positive merit, tested by examination, except in a small number of cases, the particulars of which are specified in the University Calendar.

There are twelve University Fellowships, open to all students who have graduated in Arts, of 120*l.* and 150*l.* a year, tenable for eight or ten years. They are awarded by examination.

The average expenses of a Student at University College, including those of the University as well as the College, are calculated at 80*l.* to 85*l.*; at Bishop Hatfield's Hall, at 70*l.* 10*s.* to 76*l.* 16*s.* for Students in Arts, and at 60*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* to 75*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* for Students in Theology.

The chief expenses of the University may be thus stated :—

University admission fee, 2*l.*; Tuition and other fees, each Term, 6*l.*; Rent, 4*l.* to 7*l.* 7*s.*; Commons or board, &c., 1*l.* 1*s.* a week; Caution money (returnable,) 15*l.* or 20*l.* The fees payable on taking Degrees are, B.A., 3*l.*; License in Medicine, 3*l.*; Civil Engineers, 3*l.*; M.B., 6*l.*; M.A., 6*l.*; License in Theology, 3*l.*; B.C.L., 6*l.*; B.D., 6*l.*; D.C.L., 19*l.*; D.D., 10*l.*; M.D., 6*l.*; Ad Eundem, 5*s.*

COLLEGES IN AFFILIATION.

In affiliation with the University, and receiving their Degrees from the Convocation, are the Durham College of Medicine and the College of Science, both located at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICAL SCIENCE, NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

The College of Physical Science in the University of Durham, is located at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, under the name of the College of Physical Science, and was founded in 1871, through the exertions of Dr. Lake, the Warden of the University, who is also the Dean of Durham. Its present site was chosen because many students would resort to its instruction, from the immediate locality, and because the contributors to its funds must be looked for among the eminent employers of labor in that section. The University contributed 1,000*l.* a year in perpetuity, and sums to the amount of 80,000*l.* were subscribed in Newcastle. The Hancock Memorial Fund amounts to 17,000*l.*, which will provide for the Museum, which has collections to the value of 10,000*l.* The Medical College of Newcastle appropriates 10,000*l.* towards a joint college building, in which there will be lecture rooms for the Medical students.

The College is under the management of 47 Governors, 9 of whom are *ex-officio*, and the 38 are elected for a term of four years by various representative bodies. These Governors elect a Council of 15 members, to which the ordinary administration is left.

The studies and practical exercises have special reference to Engineering, Mining, Manufacturing, and Agriculture.

In 1873–4, there were 78 students under 5 Professors, with Lectureships in Greek and Latin, in English History and Literature, French, German, and Mechanical Drawing.

The fees paid by the students are 1 guinea on admission, 5 guineas a year for each course of lectures, and a special charge for the Laboratory. Four Exhibitions of 15*l.* a year, tenable for two years, are open for public competition every year.

DURHAM COLLEGE OF MEDICINE.

The Durham College of Medicine was founded in 1851, and was admitted into connection with the University in 1852.

The Matriculated Students of this College are eligible to Scholarships in the University.

There are two Sessions: the Winter Session begins Oct. 1, and ends March 1; the Summer Session begins May 1, and ends July 31.

The course of instruction embraces Lectures from the incumbents of 13 Chairs, [Anatomy, Physiology, Dissections, Principles and Practice of Medicine, Surgery and Chemistry, Midwifery and Diseases of Women, Botany and Vegetable Physiology, Medical Jurisprudence, Materia Medica and Therapeutics, and Pathological Anatomy], and the Degrees are received as evidence of thorough professional teaching in the theory and practice of Medicine and Surgery.

NEW FORM OF UNIVERSITY ORGANIZATION.

In 1836, in the Royal Charter granted by William IV., constituting certain individuals—noblemen and gentlemen of England—the Senate of a new University, with the title of the University of London, a new agency was instituted 'for the advancement of religion and morality, and the promotion of useful knowledge among all classes and denominations,' by means of an elaborate system of examinations of all candidates for academical degrees as evidence of their respective proficiency in literature, science and arts, who should present satisfactory credentials of the requisite age, moral character and preparation—no matter where that preparation had been made.

The University of London.

The basis for all subsequent examinations for degrees in the Arts, Science, Law and Medicine, as developed by the Senate of the University of London, is the Matriculation Examination, having no resemblance, except in name, to the Matriculation of the old Universities, but is a thorough examination of all candidates for the lowest degrees in the Arts, as a good test of a complete school education. This examination includes a competent knowledge of the English language with the outlines of History and Geography; the elements of Mathematics—Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry, and a popular knowledge of Natural Philosophy; the most elementary portions of Chemistry, and the leading divisions in Botany and Zoölogy; and the grammar of the Latin language, and correct rendering into idiomatic English of selected passages from the standard authors, with incidental questions on ancient geography and history, and similar work in any two of the following languages—Greek, French, German.

The institution, established in 1826 as a joint stock association, and opened in 1828 in Gower street for the instruction of students, under the title of the University of London, and now known as University College, London, is not the body now designated as the University of London, although the latter had its origin in the movement of the friends of the former for a 'Royal Charter' of incorporation, with power to confer academical degrees, as will be seen in the following chapter.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

THE earliest document touching a University for London was issued in 1615, entitled—'The Third University of England, or a Treatise of the Foundations of all the Colleges, ancient Schools, &c., within and about the famous Citie of London'—dedicated to 'the Right Honorable and the most Reverend and most Learned Judge, Sir Edward Coke, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of England.' The aim of this treatise is to show that London, with its various institutions of learning, is a University, and only needs for its administration a Chancellor, whom it is at the pleasure of his Majesty the King to appoint at any time.

Having observed in diuers writers, as well forayne as English, the cittie of London to be stiled an Universitie, and doubting of it, I tooke occasion thereby to examine uppon what grounds and causes they had so stiled it; and after some search and consideration thereof, I found sufficient cause and reasons to satisfie me: For I saw that not onely those Arts, which are called liberall, but also all or the most part of all other Arts and Sciences proper and fit for ingenuous and liberall persons, were and are in this cittie professed, taught and studied: which is (adding but cum priuilegio) as much as can be sayd, for the name and authoritie of anie Universitie, and which can be rightly sayd of very fewe other Universities of Christendome. For in the Cittie of London be read and taught the Arts of Grammar, of Rhetorike, of Arithmetike, of Musicke, of Geometry, of Astronomy, of Geographie, of Hidrographie: Likewise the other Mathematicall learnings, and Philosophie, Phisicke, and Metaphisicke, the lawes Ecclesiasticall, Muncipall, and Ciuill. As also the Arts of Riding, Gladiatorie, Alchimy, Optica, Memoratica, Geodesie, Poetrie, Heraldrie, Graphice, Characterie, Brachigraphie, and diuers Languages, holy, learned, and strange, and many other free and subtill arts, and sciences are professed, taught, studied, and practised within this cittie, as shall more plainely appeare in the processe of this Treatise. And (that which is most chiefly of all to be observed) the chiefest science, the Science of Sciences, and the key of all knowledge (to wit) the Science and Art of serving of Almightie God (called Theologie and Divinitie) is no where better nor more plentifully taught then in this Cittie; many and dayly lectures being read thereof, not onely in the chiefe and Cathedral Churches of S. Paul, and Saynt Peter, but also in all the parish Churches and Temples: and particularly and academically also in Gresham Colledge. So that these places are nothing els but Schooles of Theologie, and Colledges of Diuines. * * It appeareth hereby to be cleere that vnto London belongeth not onely the stile, and title of Vniversitie; but also of a chiefe and principall vniversitie, hauing no complement thereof wanting but one; and that is the gouernment and protection of an honourable chauncellor, which the King my Master may easily at his Majesties pleasure supply, hauing good choyse of most grave and noble personages, fit for this charge, when it shall please his Majesty.

One hundred years later (in 1698), Daniel Defoe called public attention to sundry projects for enlarging the educational facilities of the metropolis, by the establishment of several academies, and particularly (1728) of an University, with colleges quartered at convenient distances, one at Westminster, a second at St. James, a third near Orrhond street, a fourth in the center of the Inns of Court, and more if occasion should require.

PLAN OF A UNIVERSITY FOR LONDON—1723.

Defoe, in his *Augusta Triumphans* (published in 1728), or 'The Way to make London the most flourishing City in the Universe,' suggests the establishment of 'an University where Gentlemen may have Academical Education under the eye of their friends,' and 'the forming an Academy of Science at Christ's Hospital.'

We have been a brave and learned people, and are insensibly dwindling into an effeminate, superficial race. Our young gentlemen are sent to the universities, it is true, but not under restraint or correction as formerly; not to study, but to drink; not for furniture for the head, but a feather for the cap, merely to say they have been at Oxford or Cambridge, as if the air of those places inspired knowledge without application. It is true we ought to have those places in reverence for the many learned men they have sent us; but why must we go so far for knowledge? Why should a young gentleman be sent raw from the nursery to live on his own hands, to be liable to a thousand temptations, and run the risk of being snapped up by sharping jilts, with which both universities abound, who make our youth of fortune their prey, and have brought misery into too many good families? Not only the hazard of their healths from debauches of both kinds, but the waste of their precious time renders the sending them so far off very hazardous. Why should such a metropolis as London be without an university? Would it not save considerably the expense we are at in sending our young gentlemen so far from London? Would it not add to the lustre of our State, and cultivate politeness among us? What benefits may we not in time expect from so glorious a design? Will not London become the scene of science? And what reason have we but to hope we may vie with any neighboring nations? Not that I would have Oxford or Cambridge neglected, for the good they have done. Besides, there are too many fine endowments to be sunk; we may have universities at these places and at London too, without prejudice. Knowledge will never hurt us, and whoever lives to see an university here, will find it give quite another turn to the genius and spirit of our youth in general.

How many gentlemen pass their lives in a shameful indolence, who might employ themselves to the purpose, were such a design set on foot? Learning would flourish, art revive, and not only those who studied would benefit by it, but the blessing would be conveyed to others by conversation.

And in order to this so laudable design, small expense is required; the sole charge being the hire of a convenient hall or house, which, if they please, they may call a college.* But I see no necessity the pupils have to lie or diet there; that may be done more reasonably and conveniently at home, under the eye of their friends; their only necessary business at college being to attend their tutors at stated hours; and, bed and board excepted, to conform themselves to college laws, and perform the same exercises as if they were actually at Oxford or Cambridge.

Let the best of tutors be provided, and professors in all faculties encouraged; this will do a double good, not only to the instructed, but to the instructors. What a fine provision may here be made for numbers of ingenious gentlemen now unpreferred? And to what a height may even a small beginning grow in time?

As London is so extensive, so its university may be composed of many colleges, quartered at convenient distances; for example, one at Westminster; one at St. James's; one near Ormond street, that part of the town abounding in gentry; one in the centre of the Inns of Court; another near the Royal Exchange, and more if occasion and encouragement permit.

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* Defoe in a postscript at the close of his pamphlet (of 68 pp. 8vo.) adds: "In my scheme for an university in London, I proposed only a hall or public room; on recollection I find it should be a large house or inn, in the nature of a college, with store of convenient rooms for gentlemen, not only to study separately, but wherein to lodge their books, for it would be most inconvenient to lug them backwards and forwards. They may indeed breakfast, sup, and sleep at home, but it will be highly necessary they should dine in commons, or at least near the college; not that I would have cooks, butlers, caterers, manciples, and the whole train of college cannibals retained; but for fear they should stay too long at home, or be hindered from returning to study in due time, some proper place or person might be pitched upon to keep an ordinary, at a prefixed price and hour, and for the students only.

My reasons are these:—

First, A young gentleman may live too far from college.

Second, The college hours for dinner may not agree with those of the family.

Third, Company may drop in and detain him."

Campbell's Efforts in 1824–1825.

In 1824, Thomas Campbell, the poet, at that time the editor of the New Monthly Magazine, urged on the attention of his friends the establishment of a University in London, with special reference to the wants of the metropolis. Francis Place, in a memorandum dated Feb. 12, 1825, writes:

The establishment of a University in London has for a considerable time been a favorite object with my friend Thomas Campbell. It is now more than a year since he first mentioned the project to me. I agreed with him as to the great importance of such an institution; but I did not concur with him in the probability he thought there was of raising money to carry his project into execution. In several subsequent conversations, he developed his plan, which was comprehensive; but I still remained in doubt that money could be raised to carry it into execution. About a month ago, Mr. Campbell told me he was resolved to bring his project before the public, that, at least, it might be known; that he was sanguine of success, from the assistance which making it known would procure for him. . . . On the 31st ult. a gentleman called upon me, said he had dined with several other gentlemen the preceding evening, at Mr. Brougham's; he named the gentlemen who dined there, and among them, Mr. T. Campbell. After dinner, he said, Mr. Campbell talked of his project of a London University, which was countenanced by all who were present. Mr. Campbell, he said, evidently calculated on the assistance of every one present. It was this, I conclude which induced Mr. Campbell to publish his letter to Mr. Brougham, on the 9th inst., in the *Times* newspaper, as a project for a University.

In a conversation which I have just had with Mr. Hume, he informed me that there would be a dinner on Monday next, at Mr. John Smith's; where Mr. Hill, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Campbell, and himself, would be guests; and he hoped something would be done to promote Mr. Campbell's project. I told Mr. Hume that I saw but one obstacle to it, and that was want of money; and this obstacle I did not expect would be removed. Mr. Hume replied, that if a sketch of what Mr. Campbell intended, as well in teaching, as in moral discipline, and expense to students, were drawn up, he doubted not that he could procure subscribers to a large amount, which he named; and this induced me to promise, on the part of Mr. Campbell, that such a paper should at once be drawn up. I objected, however, to Mr. Hume, that the large sum he had named might not be subscribed; and that he might be disappointed. To this he replied—'Get the paper drawn up, and trust to me to make good my promise.'

The paper, referred to in the above memorandum, was proposed by Mr. Campbell, and published as a pamphlet in 1825.* It was made the subject of an elaborate article in the London Quarterly Review, for Dec., 1825, in which the following passages occurs:

The author of the little tract before us, in particular, who may also be considered as the prime author of the design itself, has done himself much credit by the manner in which he has explained the outline of the plan; and, although addressing himself to a political partisan of no ordinary vehemence, by disclaiming and dissuading all connection with politics, and all ideas of comparison with the English Universities, as well as any attempt to censure their proceedings. He assumes only the great advantages that must arise from increase of knowledge; he endeavors to rouse the Londoners to a sense of these advantages; and he points out the means they possess of making them their own, in a much higher degree than any in which they have ever yet enjoyed them.

Mr. Campbell writes April 30, 1825:

At the first meeting [of all the dissenting bodies in London called by Mr. Brougham] it was decided that there should be *Theological* chairs, partly Church of England and partly Presbyterian. I had instructed all friends of the University to resist any attempt to make us a Theological body; but Brougham, Hume,

* *Letter to Mr. Brougham on the Subject of a London University, together with suggestions respecting the Plan.* By Thomas Campbell, Esq. London. 1825

and John Smith, came away from the first meeting, saying:—'We think with you, that the introduction of Divinity will be mischievous; but we must yield to the Dissenters, with Irving at their head. We must have a *theological* college.' I immediately waited on the Church of England men, who had already subscribed to the number of one hundred, and said to them;—You see our paction is broken; I induced you to subscribe, on the faith that no ecclesiastical interest, English or Scotch, should predominate in our scheme; but the Dissenters are rushing in—What do you say?' They—that is, the Church of England friends of the scheme—concerted that I should go, commissioned from them, to say at the conference, that either the Church of England must predominate, or else there must be no church influence. I went with this commission; I debated the matter with the Dissenters. Brougham, Hume, and John Smith, who had before deserted me, changed sides, and came over to me. Irving and his party opposed me; but I succeeded, at last, in gaining a complete victory.

At a later date he writes:

Brougham and Hume have reported their having had a conference with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Liverpool; and that they expressed themselves not unfavorable to the plan of a great college in London. Of course, as ministers had not been asked to pledge themselves to support us, but only to give us a general idea of their disposition, we could only get what we sought, a general answer. But that being so favorable, is much. I was glad also to hear that both Mr. Robinson and Lord Liverpool approved highly of no rival theological chairs having been agreed upon. Mr. R. even differed from Mr. Hume, when the latter said that, of course, getting a charter is not to be thought of. 'I beg your pardon,' said Mr. Robinson, 'I think it might he thought of; and it is by no means an impossible supposition.'

His biographer adds:

The principal difficulties in the undertaking were now surmounted: the course was smooth and open; and in connection with those who had ably supported him in his patriotic views, Campbell had the happiness to feel that the subject became every day more popular. Public meetings were held; patrons multiplied; subscriptions poured in; and, before the end of summer, he had the certain prospect of seeing his expectations realized. The scheme of education which he had proposed, was intended to combine various points in the German method, with whatever appeared more eligible in the systems pursued at home; and thus, out of the elements of British and Foreign Universities, it was resolved to construct a system of academic discipline, that should accord with the advanced state of science and literature, and meet our actual want and wishes.

To test the German system by experiment, to collect various facts and materials connected with the method, and the internal arrangements of the building itself, Campbell made a visit to Berlin; and there, by a careful inspection of the University, ascertained how far it might be safely adopted as a model.

In September, 1825, Campbell writes from Berlin:

I have just been through the University. The building is just such as I would wish for the London one. It was the Palace of Prince Henry—the brother of Frederic the Great—and was the private property of the present King, when he gave it to the noble institution which he had created. The wise liberality of the reigning family of Prussia toward the Universities, and higher learning generally, is not only honorable to its members, but the primary cause of the rank which that government has attained.

Application to the Government and to Parliament for a charter of incorporation having been unsuccessful, the Institution was organized in 1826 as a Joint Stock Company, with a Council of Management, to which the choice of Professors in every department of science and literature, except Theology, was assigned, and the classes were opened for instruction in 1828. As soon as the Institution was established, its relation to the existing state of Academic Education and the old Universities was discussed in a masterly manner by Thomas Babington Macaulay in the Edinburgh Review for Feb., 1826.

The University of London was organized as a joint stock association, with a Council of Management, in 1826, and opened for the purpose of instruction in 1828. In March, 1835, the House of Commons voted an Address to the Crown, praying the King (William IV.) to confer upon the London University a charter of incorporation by which it might be enabled to grant degrees to its students in all the Faculties, except Divinity and Medicine. In reply, the King, having referred the application to the Privy Council, and received a favorable report as to the necessity of the powers asked for, and the conditions on which a grant in aid should be made, by charter, dated Nov. 28, 1836, incorporated the Senate into a new University, entitled the University of London, 'for the advancement of religion and morality and the promotion of useful knowledge to all classes and denominations, without any distinction whatever'; and at the same time University College was incorporated with a teaching faculty.

Its functions were declared to be—'to ascertain, by means of examinations, the persons who have acquired proficiency in literature, science, and art, by the persistent course of regular and liberal education, and reward the same by academical degrees, as evidence of their respective attainments.'

The charter of 1836, granted during the 'royal will and pleasure,' and determinable six months after the death of William IV., was confirmed and extended by his successor, Queen Victoria, in 1837. In 1849 a supplementary charter was granted, confirming the former and extending the power of conferring degrees to candidates in medicine. In 1856 new provisions were engrafted by which graduates of certain academic standing are constituted a Convocation. In 1858 a new charter was obtained by which the Senate, with the consent of one of the principal Secretaries of State, may add to or reduce the list of institutions in affiliation, and authorized to furnish certificates to young men in *statu pupillari* as qualified for examination; and with the same consent to admit all persons, wherever educated, to matriculation, and as candidates for any of the degrees other than medical, on such conditions as shall from time to time be determined on. By a supplementary charter in 1867 the right of holding examinations of women was given, and the present scheme admits them as candidates to any of the degrees.

The Convocation consists of graduates who have paid a required fee, and are doctors of laws, doctors of medicine, and masters of arts, all bachelors of medicine of two years standing, and all bachelors of arts of three years standing. These nominate three persons for every Fellow to be elected by the Senate, and can discuss any matter relating to the University, and declare their opinion, but without any right to interfere with or control its action. Since 1867 they have the right of sending a representative to Parliament—present member, being the Rt. Hon. Robert Lowe.

The expenses of the University—in 1876–7, Salaries, £2,765; Examiners, £5,300; Exhibitions, Prizes, &c., £1,973; Incidental, £520—were met by £4,500 from fees, and £6,000 from annual government grant.

University College has expanded since 1836 into one of the largest educational bodies in the kingdom. In 1876 there were 583 students in the faculties of Arts, Law, and Science, and 340 in the faculty of Medicine—making a total of 927, besides over 700 boys in University College School, and 220 in the Slade School of Art—a total of 1840. The buildings, including the Slade School of Art, the Medical School, and University Hall cost £210,000. The income from tuition in 1875 was £28,000, increased by interest to £30,000.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

The University of London, as a body corporate, consists of a Chancellor, a Vice-Chancellor, Fellows, and Graduates, with the Sovereign as visitor.

The Chancellor is appointed by the Crown, and holds office for life. The Vice-Chancellor is elected annually by the Fellows from their own body. The Fellows consists of such persons as the Crown shall from time to time appoint under the sign manual, and such as shall be appointed by members of the Senate from the graduates of the University presented by the Convocation.

The business of the University is conducted by two courts—the Senate and the Convocation. The Senate consists of the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows, and is invested with the entire management of the affairs and property of the corporation, the appointment of examiners, officers, and servants, and making all by-laws and regulations relating to examinations, subject to the approval of one of the principal Secretaries of State. Convocation consists of graduates, doctors, masters, and bachelors of three years standing.

ORGANIZATION, 1877—THE SENATE.

Chancellor, Earl Granville, K.G., D.C.L., F.R.S.
Vice-Chancellor, Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., D.C.L., F.R.S.
Duke of Devonshire, K.G., LL.D., F.R.S.; Rt. Hon. Earl Derby, D.C.L., F.R.S.; Rt. Hon. Earl of Kimberley, M.A.; Rt. Hon. Viscount Cardwell, D.C.L., M.A.; Lord Overstone, D.C.L., M.A.; Lord Acton; Arch. Billing, M.D., A.M., F.R.S.; The Dean of Lincoln, B.D.; Sir G. Burrows, Bart., D.C.L., M.D., F.R.S.; J. G. Fitch, M.A.; R. N. Fowler, M.A.; Julian Goldsmidt, M.A., M.P.; Rt. Hon. G. J. Goschen, M.P.; Sir P. de M. Grey-Egerton, Bt., M.P., F.R.S.; Sir W. W. Gull, Bart., M.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.; J. Heywood, M.A., F.R.S.; J. D. Hooker, M.D., LL.D., C.B., Pres. R.S.; R. Holt Hutton, M.A.; Sir Wm. Jenner, Bart., K.C.B., M.D.; Rt. Hon. the Master of the Rolls, M.A.; G. Johnson, M.D., F.R.S.; Sir Jn. G. Shaw-Lefevre, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S.; Rt. Hon. Robt. Lowe, D.C.L., M.A., M.P.; Sir Henry Sumner Maine, K.C.S.I.; T. S. Osler, LL.D.; Sir J. Paget, Bt., M.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.; B. Quain, M.D., F.R.S.; Lord Arthur J. E. Russell, M.P.; W. Sharpey, M.D., F.R.S.; W. Smith, LL.D., D.C.L.; Wm. Spottiswoode, LL.D., F.R.S.; Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell, Bart., K.T., M.P., M.A.; J. Storrar, M.D., Alex. W. Williamson, Ph.D., F.R.S.; F. J. Wood, LL.D.

Representative in Parl. Hon. R. Lowe, M. A.
Represent. on Med. Council, J. Storrar, M.D.
Registrar, W. B. Carpenter, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.....£1,000
Assistant do., Arthur Milman, M.A.....£500
Clerk to the Senate, Thos. Donne, B.A....£300
Chairman of Convocation, J. Storrar, M.D.
Clerk of do., H. E. Allen, LL.D., B.A....£200

EXAMINERS.

Anatomy, Geo. W. Callender, F.R.S. Prof. John Curnow, M.D.....each £100
Botany and Vegetable Physiology, Rev. M. J. Berkeley, M.A.; Maxwell T. Masters, M.D. F.R.S.....each £75
Chemistry, J. W. Russell, Esq., Ph.D., F.R.S., and Prof. Roscoe, Ph.D., B.A., F.R.S. .each £175
Classics, F. A. Paley, M.A., and Leo. Schmitz, Ph.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E.....each £200
English Language, Literature, and History, Prof. Brewer, M.A.; C. K. Watson, M.A. each £120
Experimental Philosophy, Prof. A. W. Reinold, M.A.; Prof. Balfour Stewart, LL.D., M.A., F.R.S.....each £100
Forensic Medicine, Prof. A Gamgee, M.D., F.R.S., Prof. Hy. Maudsley, M.D.....each £50
French Language, Rev. F. H. E. Brette, B.D.; Prof. Karcher, LL.B.....each £100
Geology and Palæontology, Edw. Hull, M.A., F.R.S.; Prof. T. Rupert Jones,....each £75
German, Prof. Buchheim, Rev. G. Schoell, Ph.D.....each £30
Hebrew Text of the Old Test., Hebrew Text of the New Test., and Scripture Hist., Rev. J. J. Stewart Perowne, D.D.; W. Aldis Wright, M.A.....each £50
Jurisprudence, Law, and Principles of Legislation, Prof. E. C. Clarke, LL.D.; F. Harrison, M.A.....each £100
Logic and Moral Philosophy, Prof. T. Spencer Baynes, LL.D.; Prof. W. S. Jevons, LL.D., F.R.S.....each £80
Equity and Real Property Law, Edward Fry, B.A., Q.C.; Alex. E. Miller, B.A., Q.C., each £50
Common Law and Evidence, F. Herschell, Q.C., B.A., M.P.; Alfred Wills, Q.C., LL.B., B.A. each £50
Constitutional History of England. Prof. S. Amos, M.A.; Sir E.S. Creasy, M.A., each £25
Materia Medica, &c., Thos. L. Brunton, M.D., D.Sc.; Prof. S. Ringer, M.D.,.....each £75
Mathematics and Nat. Philosophy..each £200 Prof. Henrici, Ph.D., F.R.S.; Prof. Townsend, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.
Medicine, C. Murchison, M.D., Prof. Wilson Fox, M.D., F.R.S.....each £150
Obstetric Medicine, J. Hall Davis, M.D.; Prof. W. S. Playfair, M.D.....each £75
Physiology, Comp. Anatomy, and Zoology, G. J. Allman, M.D., F.R.S.; Prof. W. Rutherford, M.D., F.R.S.E.....each £175
Political Economy, W. Bagehot, M.A.; Prof. Fawcett, M.A., M.P.....each £30
Surgery, Prof. Marshall, F.R.S.; W. S. Savory, M.B., F.R.S.....each £150

Assistant Examiners.

Classics, E. S. Thompson, M. A.; Prof. Wilkins, M.A.....each 50
English, W. H. B. Brewer, M.A.; J. A. H. Murray, LL.D., B.A.....each £50
French, Paul Robin; L. Stievenard...each £50
Mathematics and Nat. Philosophy, Rev. Prof. Newth, M.A.; T. Savage, M.A....each £50
Chemistry, H. E. Armstrong, and Prof. Thorpe, each £30
Experimental Philosophy, O. J. Lodge, B.A.; H. Tomlinson, B.A.....each £25

EXAMINATIONS.

The following are the dates at which the several Examinations annually commence:

Matriculation:—Second Monday in January and last Monday in June.

Bach. of Arts:—First B.A., third Monday in July; Second B.A., fourth Monday in October.

Master of Arts:—Branch I., first Monday in June; Branch II., second Monday in June; Branch III., third Monday in June.

Doctor of Lit:—First D. Lit., first Monday in June; Second D.Lit., second Tuesday in Oct.

Scriptural Exam.:—Tuesday in the fourth week after the conclusion of Second B.A. Exam.

Bach. of Science:—First B.Sc., third Monday in July; Second B.Sc., fourth Monday in Oct.

Doctor of Science:—Within the first twenty one days of June.

Bachelor of Laws:—First LL.B., Second LL.B., within the first fourteen days of January.

Doctor of Laws:—In the week following the LL.B. Pass Examinations.

Bachelor of Medicine:—Preliminary Scientific, third Monday in July; First M.B., last Monday in July; Second M.B., first Monday in November.

Bachelor of Surgery:—Tuesday following the fourth Monday in November.

Master in Surgery:—Fourth Monday in November.

Doctor of Medicine:—Fourth Monday in November.

Examination for Women:—First Monday in May.

SCHOLARSHIPS, EXHIBITIONS, AND PRIZES.

At LL.B. *Degree*:—Law Scholarship of 50*l*. per annum, tenable for 2 years.

At M.B. *Degree*:—Scholarship in Medicine for 50*l*. per annum, in Midwifery of 30*l*. per annum, in Forensic Medicine of 30*l*. per annum, tenable for 2 years each.

At B.A. *Degree*:—Scholarship in Classics of 50*l*. per annum, tenable for 3 years.

At B.S. *Examination*—Scholarship in Surgery of 50*l*. per annum, tenable for 2 years.

At B.Sc. *Degree*:—Scholarship in Botany of 50*l*. per annum, tenable for 3 years; in Chemistry of 50*l*. per annum, tenable for 2 years; in Zoölogy of 50*l*. per annum, tenable for 2 years; in Geology and Palæontology of 50*l*. per annum, tenable for 2 years.

At B.A. and Sc. *Degrees conjointly*:—Scholarship in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy of 50*l*. per annum, in Logic and Moral Philosophy of 50*l*. per annum, tenable for 3 years each.

At First LL.B. *Examination*:—An Exhibition of 40*l*. per annum, tenable for 2 years.

At First M.B. *Examination*:—An Exhibition in Anatomy of 40*l*. per annum, in Physiology, Histology, and Comparative Anatomy of 40*l*. per annum, in Organic Chemistry, Materia Medica, and Pharmaceutical Chemistry of 40*l*. per annum, tenable for 2 years each.

At First B.A. *Examination*:—An Exhibition in Latin of 40*l*. per annum, in English of 30*l*. per annum, tenable for 2 years each.

At First B.A. *and First* B.Sc. *Examination conjointly*:—An Exhibition in Mathematics and Mechanical Philosophy of 40*l*. per annum, tenable for 2 years.

At Preliminary Scientific M.B. *Examination and First* B.Sc. *Examination conjointly*:—An Exhibition in Chemistry and Natural Philosophy of 40*l*. per annum, in Biology of 40*l*. per annum, tenable for 2 years each.

At each Matriculation Examination:—An Exhibition to First Candidate in Honors of 30*l*. per annum, to Second Candidate in Honors of 20*l*. per annum, to Third Candidate in Honors of 15*l*. per annum, tenable for 2 years each.

Numerous Prizes and Gold Medals, varying in value from 30*l*. to 5*l*., are also given.

FEES.—For Matriculation, 2*l*.; for B.A., 10*l*.; for M.A., 10*l*.; for D.Lit., 20*l*.; for B.Sc., 10*l*.; for D.Sc., 10*l*.; for LL.B., 10*l*.; for LL.D., 10*l*.; for M.B., 10*l*.; for B.S., 5*l*.; for M.S., 5*l*.; for M.D., 10*l*.

INSTITUTIONS AFFILIATED AS TO DEGREES IN ARTS AND LAWS.

The Universities of Aberdeen, Cambridge, Dublin, Durham, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Oxford, St. Andrews, Sydney, Toronto.

London—Colleges: University, Kings, Stepney, New, Working Men's.

Bradford—Grammar.
Brecon—Independent.
Breconshire—Trevecca.
Bedford—Grammar School.
Bristol—Baptist.
Bath—Downside.
Birmingham—Spring Hill—Queen's.
Bishop Stortford—Collegiate School.
Belfast—Queen College.
Carmarthen—Presbyterian.
Carlow—St. Patrick's.
Cheshunt—Countess of Huntingdon
Hackney—Theological Seminary.
Huddersfield—College.
Galway—Queen's.
Kilkenny—St. Kyran's.
Lancashire—Independent College.
Liverpool—Queen's.
Manchester—Owen's.
Oscott—St. Mary's.
Plymouth—Western College.
Rotherham—Protestant Dissenters.
Sheffield—Wesley College.
Stonyhurst—College.
Thurles—St. Patrick's College.
Taunton—Dissenters' Proprietary School.
Ushaw—St Cuthbert's.
Wars—St. Edmund's.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE—LONDON.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE was founded in 1826 as London University, and in 1836 was continued under a Royal charter, as University College, London, for instructional purposes, while the title of a University, with power of conferring degrees after examinations, were conferred by Royal charter on a new body styled The University of London. University College has since expanded into one of the largest teaching bodies in Great Britain, and with King's College, Strand, helps to supply the large demand of the immense population of London for secondary and higher education.

ORGANIZATION, 1877.

President, Rt. Hon. Lord Belper, LL.D., F.R.S.
Vice-Pres., Rt. Hon. the Earl of Kimberley, M.A.
Treasurer, Sir F. H. Goldsmid, Bart., Q.C., M.P.

COUNCIL.

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Secretary, Talfourd Ely, M.A.
Auditors, J. E. Mylne, Esq.; J. C. Addyes Scott, M.A.; Arthur Charles, B.A.; M. N. Adler, M.A.

Note.—The asterisks denote the Committee of Management.

SENATE.

President. Sir F. H. Goldsmid, Bart., Q.C., M.P.
Vice-Pres., Jas. Booth, C.B., E. Enfield, Esq.

PROFESSORS.

Faculties of Arts and Laws, and of Science.

Ancient and Mod. Hist, E. S. Beesly, M.A.
Arabic and Persian, Chas. Rieu, Ph.D.
Architecture, T. H. Lewis, F.S.A., F.I.B.A.
Botany, Daniel Oliver, F.L.S., F.R.S.
Chemistry, &c., A. W. Williamson, F.R.S.
Chinese, (vacant).
Comparative Grammar, (vacant).
Constitutional Law and History, J. W. Willis-Bund, M.A., LL.B.
Drawing, Painting, and Sculpture, (Slade).
Engineering, Alexander B. W. Kennedy, C.E.
English Language and Lit., Henry Morley.
French, Charles Cassal, LL.D.
Geology and Mineralogy, J. Morris, F. G. S.
German, F. Althaus, Ph.D.
Greek, Henry Malden, M.A.
Hebrew, Rev. D. W. Marks, *Dean* (Arts and Laws).
Italian, G. Volpe.
Jurisprudence, Sheldon Amos, M.A., *Vice-Dean* (Arts and Laws).
Latin, Robinson Ellis, M.A.
Pure Mathematics, O. Henrici, Ph.D., F.R.S.
Applied Math. and Mechanics, W. K. Clifford, M.A., F.R.S., *Vice-Dean* (Science).
Pali and Buddhist Literature.
Phil. of Mind, &c., G. Croom Robertson, M.A.
Physics, G. C. Foster, B.A., F.R.S., *Dean* (Science).
Political Economy, L. H. Courtney, M.A.
Physiology, including *Practical Physiology*, J. B. Sanderson, M.D., F.R.S.
Roman Law, W. A. Hunter, M.A.
Sanskrit, (vacant).
Telugu, C. P. Brown.
Zoölogy, E. B. Lankester, M.A., F.R.S.

Faculty of Medicine.

Anatomy, Geo. V. Ellis.
Botany, Daniel Oliver, F.L.S., F.R.S.
Chemistry, &c., A. W. Williamson, F.R.S.
Clin. Med., Sir Wm. Jenner, Bt., M.D., F.R.S.
Clin. Med. (*Holme*), Wilson Fox, M.D., F.R.S.
Clinical Surgery (*Holme*), Christopher Heath.
Clinical Surgery, J. E. Erichsen.
Clinical Surgery, M. B. Hill, M.B.
Comp. Anatomy, E. R. Lankester, M.A., F.R.S.
Hyg. and Pub. Health, W. H. Corfield, M.D.
Materia Medica, Sidney Ringer, M.D.
Med. Jurisprudence, Henry Maudsley, M.D.
Med. & Clin. Med., J. M. Reynolds, M.D., F.R.S.
Obstetric Med., Graily Hewett, M.D.
Ophthalmic Med., &c., T. W. Jones, F. R. S.
Pathol. Anat., A. C. Bastian, M.D., F.R.S., *Dean*
Phys. (*Jodrell*), including *Prac. Phys.*, and *Histology*, J. B. Sanderson, M.D., F.R.S.
Surg. and Clin. Surg., John Marshall, F.R.S., *Vice-Dean.*

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE SCHOOL.

Head-Master, H. Weston Eve., M.A.
Vice-Chancellor, E. R. Horton, M.A.
Classics and English, G. J. Hawkes, M.A.; Thos. Miller, M.A.; J. Watson, M.A.; H. C. Levander, M.A.; J. S. Thornton, B.A.; Rev. W. S. Moses, M.A.; H. Chettle, M.A.; Geo. Thompson, M.A.; W. J. Cartmell; S. Walker; J. Cameron; J. R. Walters; Rev. H. F. W. Cowley, B.A.; T. R. Craig; C. R. Potter, M.A.; D. Robertson, M.A. L.L.B.
Mathematics, R. Tucker, M.A.; R. P. Wright; W. Paice, M.A.; W. W. Magee; R. Savory; R. Gerstl.
Physics and Chemistry, J. J. Walker, M.A.; T. A. Orme, F.C.S.; W. Paice, M.A.; R. Gerstl; D. Robertson, M.A., LL.B.
French, Prof. C. Cassal, LL.D.; R. Tapson; V. Cerexhe; J. B. Bocquet, B.A.; C. Bernadet, M.D.; P. F. Le Febvre-Roncier, LL.D; R. Dardelle.
German, L. Goldschild; J. T. Dann, Ph.D. *Hebrew*, Prof. D. W. Marks. *Italian*, Prof. G. Volpe. *Spanish*, Don. V. Carrias.
Writing, C. F. King, B.A.; A. F. West.
Drawing, W. H. Fisk; G. Stephens; R. S. James; L. Walter; T. Ballard; H. H. Canty; H. T. Leftwich; G. Childs; M. W. Webb; G. F. Dodson; P. Wood; J. H. Lewis; A. H. Gear; W. R. Osler; H. Collins; W. E. Hine; T. E. Harrison; T. Andrews; F. L. Pither.
Gymnastics and Fencing, R. Castellote.
Drilling, Sergeant-Major Crick
School Registrar, A. Davis.

KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

KING'S COLLEGE, Strand, was founded in 1828, by Royal Charter, in the heated agitation which followed the movement for a London University—its advocates claiming that the Christian Religion should be distinctly recognized in its organization and instruction. Its instruction is given in four departments—Theological, General Literature, Applied Sciences, Medical; besides classes for evening instruction.

OFFICERS, ADMINISTRATION AND INSTRUCTION, 1877.

Official Governors, Lord Chancellor, Abp. of York; Bp. of London; Lord Chief Justice Queen's Bench: Secretary of State House Department; Speaker of House of Commons; Lord Mayor; Deans of St. Paul and Westminster.
Life Governors, Duke of Cambridge, K.G.; Marquis of Salisbury; Earl of Derby; Earl of Harrowby, K.G; Earl Powis; Lord Hatherley; Sir T. Watson, Bt., M.D.; Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.
The Council, The Governors and Treasurer; Bishop of Winchester; C. Leaf, Esq.; Rev. C. D'Oyly, M.A.; Rev. John G. Lonsdale, M.A.; Rt. Hon. Lord Coleridge; Sir Edmund Beckett, Bart.; R. Hudson; A. Farre, M.D.; W. H. Smith, M.P.; C. Austen-Leigh, Esq.; Rev. G. Currey, D.D.; Colonel Ouseley; A. J. Beresford-Hope, Esq, M.P.; C. Freake, Esq.; Dr. Pitman; Rev. C. J. Vaughan, D.D., B. Shaw, Esq.; Rt Hon. J. G. Hubbard, M.P.; J. F. Bateman, Esq.; Rev. W. Ince, M.A.; Sir R. Wilbraham, K.C.B.
Treasurer, C. B. Scrocold.
Principal of Coll., Rev. Canon A. Barry, D.D.
Chaplain and Censor, Rev. W. H. Watkins, M.A.
Secretary, J. W. Cunningham, Esq.
Librarian, J. Lamb.

PROFESSORS AND LECTURERS.

Divinity, Rev. E. H. Plumptre, M.A.; Rev. Henry Wace, M.A.; Rev. S. Leathes, M.A.; Rev. S. Cheetham, M.A.; Rev. A. L. M'Caul, B.A.
Classical Literature, Rev. J. B. Mayor, M.A.; Rev. J. J. Heywood, M.A.; G. C. W. Warr, M.A.
Eng. Lang. and Mod. Hist., Rev. J. S. Brewer, M. A.; Rev. J. J. Heywood; S. R. Gardiner, M.A.
Math., Rev. W. H. Drew, M.A.; Rev. T. A. Cock, M.A.; and Rev. W. Howse, M.A.
Nat. Philos. and Astronomy, W. G. Adams, M.A.; H. Tomlinson, B.A.
Law and Jurisprudence, John Cutler, Esq.
Mineralogy, James Tennant, Esq.
Zoology, T. Bell, Esq.
Chemistry, } C. L. Bloxam, F.C.S.
Prac. Chemistry, } W. N. Hartley, F.C.S.
Architecture, R. Kerr, Esq.
Hebrew, Rev. S. Leathes, M.A.
Pub. Reading, Rev. A. J. D'Orsey, B.D.
Sanskrit, R. Rost, Ph.D.
Arabic, A. Ameuney.
Hindustani, Thomas Howley, Esq.
Chinese, R. K. Douglas.
Tamil and Telugu, Thomas Howley, Esq.
Bengali, Rev. J. Campbell.
French, MM. Mariette and Stievenard.
German, A. Buchheim, Ph.D.
Italian, V. Pistrucci.
Vocal Music, W. H. Monk, Esq.
Geometrical Drawing, W. J. Glenny, Esq.
Machinery, C. P. B. Shelley, Esq.
Surveying, H. J. Castle, Esq.
Drawing, Ph. De La Motte, Esq.

PROFESSORS, MEDICAL SCHOOL.

Anatomy, Dr. Curnow.
Physiology, Dr. Gerald F. Yeo.
Pathological Anatomy, A. B. Duffin, M.D.
Comparative Anatomy, A. H. Garrod, B.A.
Botany, R. Bentley, Esq., F.L.S.
Chemistry, C. L. Bloxam, F.C.S.; W. N. Hartley, F.C.S.
Materia Medica, E. B. Baxter.
Medicine, Lionel Beale, M.D.
Medicine, Forensic, D. Ferrier. M.D.
Midwifery, W. Playfair, M.D.
Clinical Surgery, George Johnson, M.D.
Librarian, R. H. G. Tritton, Esq.

KING'S COLLEGE SCHOOL.

Head-Master, Rev. G. F. Maclear, D.D.
Vice-Master, Rev. John Twentyman, M.A.
Masters, Rev. W. Hayes, M.A.; Rev. O. Adolphus, M.A.; Rev. B. Jackson, M.A.; Rev. C. W. Kett, M.A.; Rev. H. B. Belcher, M.A.; V. C. R. Rennell, M.A.; Rev. F. B. Proctor, M.A.; W. G. F. Larcher, B.A.; Reginald Geare, B.A.; C. A. Brown, B.A.; E. A. Bade, B.A.; W. K. Willcocks, B.A.; W. F. R. Ellis, B.A.; T. B. Speed, B.A.; J. S. Thomas, B.A.; W. H. Taylor.
Mathematical Masters, E. Brooksmith, M.A.; W. A. Thomas.
Lecturer on Eng. Lit., J. W. Hales, M.A.
Commercial Master, A. Hall.
Writing, T. Green.
French, M. Dupuis, MM. Longuet and Gaborit.
German, G. Reinicke; J. Schneider.
Drawing, Prof. De La Motte, F.S.A.
Geometrical Drawing, Prof. W. J. Glenny.
Science, H. Tomlinson, B.A.
Chemistry, W. N. Hartley, F.C.S.; J. M. Thomson, F.C.S.
Gymnastics, R. Castellotte.

STUDENTS AND BUILDINGS.

In 1875 there were 953 matriculated students in the different departments, besides 447 in the Evening Classes, making a total of 1,400, not including a large attendance of clerks on certain commercial lectures. The college buildings, with equipment and land, cost over £185,000. The professors are paid mainly by the tuition fees, the income from endowment being only £900.

OWENS COLLEGE, MANCHESTER.

OWENS COLLEGE, in Manchester, was founded by the bequest of Mr. John Owens, a merchant of Manchester, who, dying in 1846, bequeathed the larger part of his property, amounting to nearly 100,000*l.*, to "trustees, to found an institution for providing or aiding the means of instructing or improving young persons of the male sex (and being of an age of not less than 14 years) in such branches of learning and science as were then, and might be thereafter usually taught in the English Universities." In addition to this bequest, which yields an income of 3,000*l.* a year, the trustees have received in benefactions of various kinds the sum of 20,000*l.*, which has been applied to scholarships, and to a chemical laboratory. The fees received from students amount to about 2,000*l.* a year, making a total income of 6,000*l.* in 1867.

The College was organized for the reception of students in 1851, the chemical department being the most important, in reference to Manchester being the center of the largest manufactures in which chemistry plays an important part, in the kingdom. To encourage the study of chemistry in its highest branches and applications, several scholarships, (named after the eminent chemist, Dr. Dalton,) to the value of 50*l.* a year, have been instituted. These scholarships are tenable two years, and the main condition upon which success in the examination rests, is the evidence of successful practical work in the laboratory. This scholarship was instituted in 1851, and since then (to 1869) it has been taken 9 times. The successful students at once find employment in the large works, or as teachers of science in other institutions. There is another scholarship, founded by Mrs. E. Shuttleworth, with the sum of 1,250*l.*, to promote the study of political economy. Mr. Whitworth has given to the college seven exhibitions of 25*l.* each for the purpose of encouraging candidates for the examination for his scholarships in mechanical engineering of the value of 100*l.* each. A fund of 10,000*l.* has been raised among the engineers of Manchester, to found the department of civil and mechanical engineering. The sum of 100,000*l.* has been recently raised for a general fund to provide suitable buildings and increase the facilities of scientific and literary instruction.

The attendance on the College in 1868 was about 500, distributed into day and evening classes—the former amounting to 170. These classes are arranged under the Art Course, comprising the usual secondary studies of a classical school, but including chemistry and French or German; or under the Science Course, which fits students for matriculation at the University of London at the end of the second, and for the final degree, at the end of the third year.

Although it is the aim of the Trustees to develop fully the scientific department of the College, they aim also to place the literary section on a broad and substantial basis, by having one or more professorships in each leading branch of knowledge—expecting to find among the people of Manchester the same enlightened appreciation of the value of literature and science which has prompted the people of Glasgow to raise the sum of near $2,000,000 to enlarge and improve the facilities of higher learning in their ancient University.

There are now professorships of Greek and Latin, Hebrew and Arabic, English Language and Literature, French and German, History, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Natural History, Drawing, with the speedy prospect of a chair of applied Geology and Mining, and of Astronomy and Meteorology.

In 1867 a special effort was made to enlarge the accommodations, and at the same time extend the curriculum of the college, by introducing every facility of laboratory practice which the experience of German and other Continental institutions could suggest. The report of President Greenwood and Prof. Roscoe on the scientific side of Higher Education in Germany is very valuable.

The new building, including the site, and chemical laboratory, which can accommodate more than one hundred students, and the improvements on buildings of the Manchester Royal School of Medicine, now united with the college, have cost to date £170,000. The whole sum contributed by bequests and subscriptions down to 1877, under the movement inaugurated in 1867 to erect new buildings and endow new professorships, exceeds £230,000, exclusive of a legacy of Mr. Beyer, which it is expected will yield £100,000 more.

The income from endowments in 1876 was about £9,000, which was increased from students fees to about £16,000, applicable to general expenditures, besides several scholarships and exhibitions, and the fees of medical students. The result of efforts still in progress must place Owen's College among the great educational institutions of Great Britain.

The professorial and teaching force of skilled assistants has extended from 16 in 1867 to 46, in arts, science, law and medicine, in 1876. The professors are paid partly by endowments (about £350 a year), and partly by the fees of students—thus giving at once certainty and the stimulus of augmentation according to success. The employment of skilled assistants secures an infusion of young life and growing attainments into the instruction of the class-room and laboratory.

The number of students in 1876 in all the departments and classes, including those in regular attendance on the evening instruction of the Workingmen's College, now united with Owen's, was over 1,500.

OWEN'S COLLEGE, for the present (1877) affiliated with the University of London in the matter of degrees, has made application to the Government for a Royal Charter covering the usual academic powers and privileges of a University—the Manchester and the large towns immediately adjoining having a population, which could by existing railroad facilities be regarded within convenient attendance on its lectures and class-room instructions, larger than that of London.

PROFESSIONAL STUDIES—LAW.

AMERICAN AUTHORITIES.

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

CHIEF JUSTICE RUTLEDGE* TO HIS BROTHER EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

DEAR EDWARD:—The very first thing with which you should be thoroughly acquainted, is the writing short-hand, which you will find of infinite advantage in your profession, and (which will) give you the means of great superiority over others who do not write it. I need not enlarge on the advantage of it, but say, I think you will find it absolutely necessary; therefore be master of it, as soon as you possibly can learn it, and when you can once write it, take notes of every thing at Court. I would even write down in short-hand, cases you hear which are not worth transcribing fair. Your time may as well be employed in writing as hearing them. If they are not worth transcribing, no time is lost, and the writing it upon every occasion, will soon make you perfect, and able to keep up with the speakers, which is the chief end of writing in this manner. I would take down every public discourse, either at the bar or pulpit, which you hear, for this very purpose. And now I mention the latter, by no means fall into the too common practice of not frequenting a place of worship. This you may do, I think, every Sunday. There is generally a good preacher at the Temple Church, and it will be more to your credit to spend a few hours of that day there, then as it is generally spent in London, especially by the Templars. Be constant in attending the Chancery out of terms, and when there are no sittings at Nisi Prius in London or Westminster;—for I would prefer attending the King's Bench and sittings of the Chief Justice† of that Court at Nisi Prius when they are held, and remember what I hinted to you of attending alternately in the different Courts by agreement between you and some of your intimate fellow students, and then of comparing and ex-

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* John Rutledge, Governor of South Carolina in the Revolutionary period (1776–82), Judge of the State Court of Chancery (1784–87), Associate Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States (1789–91) and Chief Justice of S. Carolina (1791–1800) was born in 1739, a student of the Temple, and commenced practice in Charleston in 1761, was eminent as an orator, and practitioner, and died in 1800. † Lord Mansfield was Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

changing notes every evening: by which means, if you select your proper acquaintance, in whose judgment you can confide, you will have the same advantage as if you attended all the Courts in person. Don't pass too slightly over cases and not note them, because you think they are trifling. Many cases appear so at a cursory overlooking, and indeed, may be not very material, and yet you will find use for them.

But you must not exert yourself to the utmost in being able by some means or other, to attend the House of Commons constantly, or at least whenever any thing of consequence is to come on. There, I believe, you will not be suffered to take notes; however, you will soon know that. You must get introduced to Mr. Garth,* and probably by his means, you may always get in. Don't say that they have come to a resolution not to admit any strangers into the gallery, and by that means you could not get in, as Hugh did. I know it is a common order to clear the galleries, but that people there generally fall back and no notice is taken then of them; for you must at all events get admittance there, and make youself well acquainted with the speakers. Reading lectures upon oratory will never make you an orator. This must be obtained by hearing and observation of those, who are allowed to be good speakers; not of every conceited chap who may pretend to be so. I would also have you attend the House of Lords upon every occasion worth it. You will find you may easily get introduced to some Lord, who will take you in with him, and, by no means, spare a few guineas at Christmas among the door-keepers, &c.; for that, I warrant, will do the business. I would not have this make you a dabbler in politics. What I intend by it is, that you may have opportunities of seeing and hearing the best speakers, and of acquiring a good manner and proper address, and of being able, on occasion, of giving your sentiments, when necessary, upon what you have seen and heard there. I believe Sheridan is the only lecturer in England upon oratory, and I think it would be advisable to attend him, and mark well his observations. He reads with propriety though he is much too stiff, and his voice exceeding bad. I would go a short circuit just before you come out, but it should be to a place where you might have something worth seeing, besides the mode of conducting business there, which is soon understood, *i. e.*, to Oxford or some other place generally visited by travelers. The Circuit Bill†

* The gentleman here referred to (Charles Garth, Esq.), was a member of Parliament and Agent for the colony of South Carolina.

† Until the year 1769, Circuit Courts were not established in the Province of South Carolina, all judicial business, (except that which was committed to justices of the peace,) having been done

goes with Lord Charles, (Montague, Ed.) If it is confirmed at home, (England, Ed.) you should make yourself acquainted from experience of the method of doing business upon the circuit in England. If you stick close to French and converse generally in that language, you will soon be master of it, and I would not have you attempt it, unless you are resolved to speak it as well and as fluently as you do English;—for I have no notion of being such a Frenchman as most of our Carolinians are, who have been taught that language, who can seldom do more than translate it after much difficulty. I think you may, only by attending to it occasionally, make yourself perfectly master of it, and so as to be able to read it or speak it off hand, fluently, and not as if you took your words out of a vocabulary. Whatever you attempt, make yourself completely master of, for nothing makes a person so ridiculous, as to pretend to things he does not understand, and it will not be sufficient for a man in such case to rest satisfied, because he may pass as a complete scholar, amongst those with whom he may have to do in general, who perhaps may know little about the matter;—such a one may meet sometimes with his superiors, and in what situation will he then be? I know nothing more entertaining and likely to give you a graceful manner of speaking, than seeing a good play well acted. Garrick is inimitable; the other actors not worth seeing after him in the same characters. Mark him well.

You must not neglect the Classics, but rather go through them from beginning to end. I think you had better get a private tutor, who will point out their beauties to you, and make you in six months, at your age, better acquainted with them than a boy in school generally is in seven or eight years. Read Latin authors and the best frequently, so as to be as well acquainted with Latin as French. I have often thought, was I to begin the world again, I would do what I am sure would be of after use. Make a book, and in it note down the remarkable expressions and sayings of wise and great men whenever I met with them;—not to serve as Joe Miller's jests or a collection of bon-mots, to make one pass for a merry fellow, or rather a maker of fun at table for a pack of fools; but often to embellish your arguments or writings; indeed amongst wits it would be useful, and show, that a man had not con-

exclusively in the city of Charleston. The Circuit bill here spoken of, was passed by the Provincial Legislature in 1769, and was taken to England, for confirmation by the King in Council, by Lord Charles Greville Montague, who had been Governor of the Province, and was then returning to England. This Circuit bill did not give original jurisdiction to the Courts created by it; and all writs and other civil process issued from, and were returnable to, the Court of Common Pleas in Charleston. In 1791 the Circuit Courts were invested with complete, original, and final jurisdiction.

fined himself entirely to dry law. You see Lord Bacon did not think this beneath him;—read his collection of Apothegms. However, I would not confine this to the sayings of the ancient generals, poets, and heathen philosophers, (though amongst them there are many good things) but bring it down to the present times; and in it, I would insert the beautiful passages I met with, such as were striking, nervous, or pathetic in the different authors I read in the different languages. Horace, Juvenal, and Virgil, would add not a little to this collection. Now is your time to begin, and go through a good deal of this business; when you enter upon the practice of the law, it will be too late to begin this. I would have you read occasionally the purest English authors to acquire an elegant style and expression. What different impressions do the same sentiments make when conveyed in different modes of expression; but for a man who speaks in public, whose business it is, not to be content with barely proving a thing by perhaps a dull argument, after having wearied out his hearers with bad language, and a deal of tautology, and if he has said some good things, has buried them in rubbish; but to engage the constant attention of his hearers, to command it, and to carry immediate conviction along with him. The history of England should be read with great care and attention;—all the different writers of that history, read and compared together, and your own observations made upon them all together, showing wherein they agree, disagree, &c, and in which credit is to be placed. It will be necessary for your own use, to make a compendium of this history which no man can carry in his head.

Don't neglect to learn surveying; that is the principal branch of mathematics which you will have occasion for, and I would be thoroughly acquainted with it;—not only to work a problem upon paper, but with the practical part also. Consult Corbet upon every matter with regard to your studies in which you are in any doubt. And now with regard to particular law books;—Coke's Institutes seem to be almost the foundation of our law. These you must read over and over with the greatest attention, and not quit him, till you understand him *thoroughly*, and have made your own every thing in him which is worth taking out. A good deal of his law is now obsolete and altered by acts of Parliament, however, it is necessary to know what the law was before so altered. Blackstone I think useful. The Reports are too tedious to be all read through, at least whilst you are in England. I would give the preference to the most modern, as there you will find doctrines in the old books often corrected or exploded; and it will be of no use to stock your Common

Place Book, (which I hope to find very copious and well stored,) with what is not law, and perhaps never was. I look upon it, that if you go through all the cases reported since the Revolution, when the Constitution seems to have been reëstablished upon its true and proper principles; and since which time, by the alteration of the Judges' commissions and their increasing independency to what it is at this day, the law has been in its greatest perfection, and not encroaching either upon the people's liberties or the prerogative;—I say, if you do this, you will have a collection of the very best cases. The old ones which either agree with the modern or are contradictory to these, you will see confirmed or exploded, and by always turning to examining and marking them when reading your new cases, you will by this occasional reading them, have read them as effectually, and indeed much more so, than if you had set out with them at first. But I would read every case reported from that time to the present. Distinguish between your readings of law and equity, and don't confound the two matters;—they are kept very distinct in the courts in England, though here blended together very often and very ridiculously. And the same method of reading cases should be followed also with regard to the Equity books. I would have you also read the Statute Laws throughout, to know when a thing is allowed to be law, whether it be by common or statute law, which we are often very ignorant of. The recitals in these laws should be particularly noticed, which are the best authority to know, what the law was before making the Act. Vast numbers of them you will find of no manner of use, except indeed, as matter of history, in which light, they will afford you some assistance, but this thing, I think, in the main, will be of vast service to you. When I say you should read such a book, I do not mean just to run cursorily through it, as you would a newspaper, but to read it carefully, and deliberately, and transcribe what you find useful in it. If this method was taken, one would seldom read any book, without reaping some advantage from it. Stock yourself with a good collection of law maxims, both Latin and English, they are of great use. Don't omit any that you come across, and the authorities for them, which may often be of service in the application of them. Make yourself thoroughly acquainted with all the terms of the law, which you easily may, now when they are so polished and modernized as they are at present, and free from the old Frenchified, uncouth words in which they were formerly couched. However, you must understand the terms, to understand the authors that use them. The little book called *Termes de le Ley*, or terms of the

law, will help you. Doctor and Student, is a good book though a little one, and good authority. Bacon, you know, is my favorite, and where authors seem to differ, I think, he will best reconcile them. Be well acquainted with the Crown law. Hale's, Hankins', Foster's, and other Crown Law Book, read carefully.

You should not confine yourself to the securing men's properties, without regard to their liberties and lives, which are the most preferable. Don't confound these branches of study, for they are distinct. 1. The Common Law which regards civil affairs, and the Statute Law on the same subject. 2. The Crown Law and Statute Law on that head. 3. Matters of Equity. The Ecclesiastical and Marine or Admiralty Law are soon known, so far at least, as will be of use here. But you should go now and then to Doctor's Commons where these courts are held, and get a little insight into the precedents and manner of proceeding there. I believe you will think I have cut out work enough for you while in England, and indeed, though it is a long time to look forward, if you mind your business, you will have not too much time to spare. However, I hope you will not fail to do this; your own reputation is at stake. You must either establish it when young, or it will be very difficult to acquire it. I am persuaded, you need no argument to urge you to it, and should be most heartily vexed, and disappointed, if you do not answer my expectations when you return. One word with regard to your deportment. Let your dress be plain always in the city; and elsewhere, except where it is necessary, it should be otherwise; and your behavior rather grave. Remember the old man's advice to his son; think *twice* before you speak *once*. I have wrote much more than I thought of doing, when I first sat down, and with great freedom. I have no other motive but your welfare, which I sincerely wish; and therefore I would not omit any thing, which there is a chance of being any way useful to you.

P. S.—I have not so high an opinion of Logic, as to think no man can speak well without being a good logician; yet I think it will be of great service. It will enable you to reason closely and with propriety, to establish your principles and deduce the consequences much better, than many, who being unacquainted with it, say many good things which are not to the purpose, and frequently fall off from the point, which occasions tiresome repetitions and is painful to the hearers I would, therefore, recommend to you to get yourself well instructed in Logic by a private tutor.

CHARLESTON, S. C., *July* 30, 1769.

WILLIAM WIRT.

WILLIAM WIRT, Attorney General of the United States from 1817 to 1828, in the Administrations of President Monroe, and John Quincy Adams, and eminent as an advocate in different departments of the profession, took great interest in the younger members of the Bar, and in his Memoirs by John P. Kennedy, are several letters addressed to students on their professional studies.

LETTER TO FRANCIS W. GILMER.

It would do you no harm to study Lord Mansfield's mode of managing nice legal questions. Read Burrows and the last volumes of the Term Reports, as also Cowper and Douglass, with a philosophic eye to the arguments both of the bench and the bar. Direct your chief aim to acquire a reputation for deep and correct thinking, leaving eloquence to shift for itself, and seeking merely to convey your ideas in the most simple, perspicuous, and apposite language. There is a happy specimen of this style of argument in Horne Tooke's defense of himself in the Modern State Trials. It is as simple and clear as water from the rock: the language exactly conveys the thought, without overlapping or falling short a hair's breadth. There is not a word in it that is not very common, and yet the purity and precision create a charm incalculably superior to the cloying luxuriance of Irish oratory. An argument delivered in this style, marked by learned research, vigorous discrimination, wide comprehension, and by strong and correct judgment, will distinguish you at once as a *great man*,—a compliment never paid to the mere man of fancy. Be not in haste to raise the superstructure of your oratory. This was my fault. For want of better advice, *I began my building at the top*, and it will remain a castle in the air till the end of time. The advantage of the training I am pressing on you,—for the fortieth time, I believe,—was strikingly illustrated in the instances of Marshall and Campbell.

From what I have heard of Campbell, I believe that, for mere eloquence, his equal has never been seen in the United States. He and the Chief Justice went to Philadelphia to argue a cause, which turned on the constitutionality of the carriage tax. It was somewhere about 1795 or 1796. They were opposed by Hamilton, Lewis, and others. Campbell played off all his Apollonian airs; but they were lost. Marshall spoke, as he always does, to the judgment merely, and for the simple purpose of convincing. Marshall was justly pronounced one of the greatest men of the country: he

was followed by crowds, looked upon, and courted with every evidence of admiration and respect for the great powers of his mind. Campbell was neglected and slighted, and came home in disgust. Marshall's maxim seems always to have been, 'aim exclusively at *strength*;' and from his eminent success, I say, if I had my life to go over again, I would practice on his maxim with the most rigorous severity, until the character of my mind was established. But I would woo the Graces in secret, all the while, and, at a proper time, come out with that due mixture of reason, imagination, and feeling of which the strongest eloquence consists,—giving always a preponderance to reason, so as never to lose, nor even jeopardize the more firm and durable character I had previously gained.

LETTER TO H. W. MILLER.

If your *spirit* be as stout and pure as your letter indicates, you require little advice beyond that which you will find in the walls of your University.* A brave and pure spirit is more than '*half the battle*,' not only in preparing for life, but in all conflicts. *Take it for granted that there is no excellence without great labor.* No mere aspirations for eminence, however ardent, will do the business. Wishing, and sighing, and imagining, and dreaming of greatness, will never make you great. If you would get to the mountain's top, on which the temple of fame stands, it will not do *to stand still*, looking, admiring, and wishing you were there. You must gird up your loins, and go to work with all the indomitable energy of Hannibal scaling the Alps. Laborious study and diligent observation of the world, are both indispensable to the attainment of eminence. By the former, you must make yourself master of all that is known of science and letters; by the latter you must know *man*, at large and particularly the character and genius of your own countrymen. You must cultivate assiduously the habits of *reading*, *thinking*, and *observing*. Understand your own language grammatically, critically, thoroughly—learn its origin, or rather its various origins, which you may learn from Johnson's and Webster's prefaces to their large dictionaries. Learn all that is delicate and beautiful, as well as strong, in the language, and master all its stores of opulence. You will find a rich mine of instructions in the splendid language of Burke. His diction is frequently magnificent; sometimes too gorgeous, I think, for a chaste and correct taste; but he will show you all the wealth of your language. You must, by ardent study and practice, acquire for yourself a *mastery* of the language, and be able both to

* University of North Carolina, of which he was a student at the date of this letter (1833).

speak and to write it, promptly, easily, elegantly, and with that variety of style which different subjects, different hearers, and different readers are continually requiring. You must have such a command of it as to be able to adapt yourself, with intuitive quickness and ease, to every situation in which you may chance to be placed, and you will find no great difficulty in this, if you have the *copia verborum* and a correct taste. With this study of the language you must take care to unite the habits already mentioned—the diligent observation of all that is passing around you; and *active*, *close*, and *useful thinking*. If you have access to Franklin's works, read them carefully, particularly his third volume, and you will know what I mean by *the habits of observing and thinking*. We can not all be *Franklins*, it is true; but, by imitating his mental habits and unwearied industry, we may reach an eminence we should never otherwise attain. Nor would he have been *the Franklin* he was, if he had permitted himself to be discouraged by the reflection that we can not all be *Newtons*.

It is our business to make the most of our own talents and opportunities, and instead of discouraging ourselves by comparisons and imaginary impossibilities, to believe all things possible,—as, indeed, almost all things are, to a spirit bravely and firmly resolved. Franklin was a fine model of *a practical man*, as contra-distinguished from a *visionary theorist*, as men of genius are very apt to be. He was great in that greatest of all good qualities, *sound*, *strong common sense*.—A mere book-worm is a miserable driveler; and a mere genius, a thing of gossamer fit only for the winds to sport with. Direct your intellectual efforts principally, to the cultivation of the strong masculine qualities of the mind. Learn (I repeat it) *to think deeply*, *comprehensively*, *powerfully*—and learn the simple, nervous language which is appropriate to that kind of thinking.—Read the legal and political arguments of Chief Justice Marshall, and those of Alexander Hamilton, which are coming out. Read them, *study them*; and observe with what an omnipotent sweep of thought they range over the whole field of every subject they take in hand—and that with a scythe so ample and so keen, that not a straw is left standing behind them. Brace yourself up to these great efforts. Strike for this giant character of mind, and leave prettiness and frivolity for triflers. There is nothing in your letter that suggests the necessity of this admonition; I make it merely with reference to that tendency to efflorescence which I have occasionally heard charged to Southern genius. It is perfectly consistent with these herculean

habits of thinking to be a laborious student, and to know all that books can teach.—This extensive acquisition is necessary, not only to teach you how far science has advanced in every direction, and where the *terra incognita* begins, into which genius is to direct its future discoveries, but to teach you also the strength and the weakness of the human intellect,—how far it is permitted us to go, and where the penetration of man is forced, by its own impotence and the nature of the subject, to give up the pursuit;—and when you have mastered all the past conquests of science, you will understand what Socrates meant by saying, that he knew only enough to be sure that *he knew nothing,—nothing, compared with that illimitable tract that lies beyond the reach of our faculties.* You must never be satisfied with the surface of things: probe them to the bottom, and let nothing go till you understand it as thoroughly as your powers will enable you. Seize the moment of excited curiosity on any subject, to solve your doubts; for if you let it pass, the desire may never return, and you may remain in ignorance.

The habits which I have been recommending are not merely for college, but for life. Franklin's habits of constant and deep excogitation clung to him to his latest hour. Form these habits now: learn all that may be learned at your university, and bring all your acquisitions and your habits to the study of the law, which you say is to be your profession; and when you come to this study, come resolved to master it—not to play in its shallows, but to sound all its depths. There is no knowing what a mind greatly and firmly resolved, may achieve in this department of science, as well as every other. Resolve to be the first lawyer of your age, in the depth, extent, variety, and accuracy of your legal learning. Master the science of pleading—master Coke upon Littleton, and Coke's and Plowden's Reports—master Fearne on Contingent Remainders and Executory Devises, till you can sport and play familiarly with its most subtle distinctions. Lay your foundation deep and broad and strong, and you will find the superstructure comparatively light work. It is not by shrinking from the difficult parts of the science, but by courting them, grappling with them, and overcoming them, that a man rises to professional greatness. There is a great deal of law-learning that is dry, dark, cold, revolting—but it is an old feudal castle, in perfect preservation, which the legal architect, who aspires to the first honors of his profession, will delight to explore, and learn all the uses to which its various parts used to be put; and he will the better understand, enjoy, and relish the progressive improvements of the science in

modern times. You must be a master in every branch of the science that belongs to your profession—the law of nature and of nations, the civil law, the law-merchant, the maritime law, &c.; the chart and outline of all which you will see in Blackstone's Commentaries.

Thus covered with the panoply of professional learning, a master of the pleadings, practice, and cases, and at the same time a *great constitutional and philosophic lawyer*, you must keep way, also, with the march of general science. Do you think this requiring too much? Look at Brougham, and see what a man can do if well-armed and well-resolved. With a load of *professional duties* that would, *of themselves*, have been appalling to the most of *our* countrymen, he stood, nevertheless, at the head of his party in the House of Commons, and, at the same time, set in motion and superintended various primary schools and various periodical works, the most instructive and useful that ever issued from the British press; to which he furnished, with his own pen, some of the most masterly contributions, and yet found time not only to keep pace with the progress of the arts and sciences, but to keep at the head of those whose peculiar and exclusive occupations these arts and sciences were. There is a model of industry and usefulness worthy of all your emulation. You must, indeed, be a great lawyer; but it will not do to be a mere lawyer—more especially as you are very properly turning your mind, also, to the political service of your country, and to the study and practice of eloquence. You must, therefore, be a political lawyer and historian; thoroughly versed in the constitution and laws of your country, and fully acquainted with all its statistics, and the history of all the leading measures which have distinguished the several administrations. You must study the debates in Congress, and observe what have been the actual effects upon the country of the various measures that have been most strenuously contested in their origin. You must be a master of the science of political economy, and especially of financiering, of which so few of our young countrymen know any thing. The habit of observing all that is passing, and thinking closely and deeply upon them, demands pre-eminently an attention to the political course of your country. But it is time to close this letter.

You ask for instructions adapted to improvement in eloquence. This is a subject for a treatise, not for a letter. Cicero, however, has summed up the whole art in a few words: it is—'*aptè—distinctè—ornatè—dicere*'—to speak to the purpose—to speak clearly and dis-

tinctly—to speak gracefully. To be able to speak to the purpose, you must understand your subject and all that belongs to it;—and then your thoughts and method must be clear in themselves, and clearly and distinctly enunciated:—and lastly, your voice, style, delivery, and gesture, must be graceful and impressive. In relation to this subject, I would strenuously advise you to two things: Compose much and often, and carefully, with reference to this rule of aptè, distinctè, ornatè; and let your conversation have reference to the same objects. I do not mean that you should be elaborate and formal in your ordinary conversation. Let it be perfectly simple and natural, but always in good time (to speak as the musician,) and well enunciated.

With regard to the style or eloquence you should adopt, that must depend very much on your own taste and genius. You are not disposed, I presume, to be an humble imitator of any man? If you are, you may bid farewell to the hope of eminence in this walk. None are mere imitators to whom nature has given original powers. The ape alone is content with mere imitation. If nature has bestowed such a portion of the spirit of oratory as can advance you to a high rank in this walk, your manner will be your own. In what style of eloquence you are best fitted to excel, you, yourself, if destined to excellence, are the best judge. I can only tell you that the florid and Asiatic style is not the taste of the age. The strong, and even the rugged and abrupt, are far more successful. Bold propositions, boldly and briefly expressed—pithy sentences—nervous common sense—strong phrases—the *felicitè audax* both in language—well compacted periods—sudden and strong masses of light—and apt adage in English or Latin—a keen sarcasm—a merciless personality—a mortal thrust—these are the beauties and deformities that now make a speaker the most interesting. A gentleman and a Christian will conform to the reigning taste only so far as his principles and habits of decorum will permit. The florid and Asiatic was never a good style either for an European or an American taste. We require that a man should speak to the purpose and come to the point;—that he should instruct and convince. To do this, his mind must move with great strength and power: reason should be manifestly his master faculty—argument should predominate throughout; but these great points secured, wit and fancy may cast their lights around his path, provided the wit be courteous as well as brilliant, and the fancy chaste and modest. But they must be kept well in the background, for they are dangerous allies; and a man had bet-

ter be without them, than to show them in front or to show them too often.

LETTER TO S. TRACKLE WALLIS.*

I have been conversing with Edmund Burke in the first volume of his works, which I have found here, and have been much struck with the powerful grasp of his mind, compared with some other modern writers who had just passed through my hands. He is indeed a *masterly thinker*, and I commend him to your acquaintance. I like his essays better than his speeches—for they are *all thought*, without any ambition of ornament, and show the great play of his mental machinery, in the naked majesty of its strength. Such are the models on which I would wish you to form the action of your mind. You must look far above and beyond the living models that meet your daily view. These are, some of them, good examples of energy, pushing industry, and untiring perseverance, and are, so far, highly worthy of imitation. But when you come to the article of *thinking*, with reference to professional preparation, you must look far, very far, beyond and above them. You must take a wider horizon—sweep in larger circles—draw your arguments from greater depths—and learn to fold your adversary in coils of a more *Anaconda* gripe. This pungency and force of thinking, this fertility of resource, this depth and breadth and amplitude of view, is to be learned only by *studying* the greatest master. Take up for example, Butler's Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion, and study it as a specimen of thinking and reasoning. Observe how profoundly and widely he surveys his subject—how carefully and beautifully he evolves his argument—and with what resistless cogency he draws his conclusions.

Bacon's Essay on the Advancement of Science, Locke on the Human Understanding, and on Government, and some of the preliminary chapters of Hooker on Ecclesiastical Polity, are on the same gigantic scale of thinking. These Essays of Burke, and the constitutional opinions of Chief Justice Marshall, belong to the

* Mr. Wallis, now an accomplished member of the Baltimore bar, equally eminent for his literary culture and large comprehensive views of public affairs, was, at the date of this letter, (Aug. 25, 1833) a student under the guidance of Mr. Wirt. The letter was written at the Red Sulphur Springs, where Mr. Wirt was spending his vacation—bathing his spirits in the fine natural scenes. 'I love these green mountains, richly wooded to their summits, with their poetic breadths of lights and shadows at sunrise and sunset;—the rich verdure of the lawns, fields, meadows—the autumnal flowers that are bursting around us—the rains—the lightning—and the thunders reverberating among these mountains and rolling their echoes along the valleys. These are the scenes for great thinking. One can not be frivolous amid so much natural grandeur. The mountains would frown their rebuke upon him, and the starry firmament, sparkling with such unwonted luster, these cold nights, would awe him into solemnity, if they could not raise him to sublimity.'

same great class of intellectual effort, and you ought to become familiar with them.

In composing, think much more of your matter than your manner. To be sure, spirit, grace, and dignity of manner, are of great importance both to the speaker and writer; but of infinitely more importance is the weight and worth of matter.

The fashion of the times is much changed since Thomson wrote his Seasons, and Hervey his Meditations. It will no longer do to fill the ear only with pleasant sounds, or the fancy with fine images. The mind, the understanding, must be filled with solid thought. The age of ornament is over: that of utility has succeeded. The '*pugnæ quam pompæ aptius* is the order of the day, and men fight now with clenched fist, not with the open hand—with logic and not with rhetoric. It is the *rough, abrupt strength* of Webster which has given him his reputation. This roughness and abruptness are natural to him, but I believe it is his policy rather to encourage than to subdue them, since any infusion of softness and grace would conceal that muscularity which is his peculiar boast and pride. I have seen equal strength and greater accuracy in others: but it has been partly veiled by a more graceful and polished manner, and a more creative imagination.

The fashion of the age, therefore, calls upon you to cultivate this great, powerful, and wide-sweeping habit of thinking, and to go for strength and not for beauty. As connected with it, and essential to it, you must begin forthwith and persevere in treasuring up all sorts of useful knowledge. You must be continually awake and alive to all that is passing around you, and let nothing that can be turned to account escape your observation. Mr. Jefferson was only sixteen years of age when he began to keep regular files of newspapers, and to preserve every pamphlet, whether speech or dissertation, on any public subject, whether of politics, arts or science, which issued from the press. Thus he was continually master of all that was passing in his own age, in every quarter of the world. These newspapers and pamphlets he would have assorted and bound in volumes at the end of the year, so as to be always ready for reference. But beside these *collectanea*, which I earnestly recommend to you, there is a great field for personal observation, which must depend on your own sight and memory, and such minutes as you may choose to make of them in your private diary or common-place book. Perhaps there is no property in which men are more strikingly distinguished from each other than in the various degrees in which they possess this

faculty of observation. The great herd of mankind, the *fruges consumere nati*, pass their lives in listless inattention and indifference as to what is going on around them, being perfectly content to satisfy the mere cravings of nature; while those who are destined to distinction have a lynx-eyed vigilance that nothing can escape. You see nothing of the Paul Pry in them; yet they know all that is passing, and keep a perfect reckoning, not only of every interesting passage, but of all the characters of the age who have any concern in them. It is this that makes that large experience which is the great school of wisdom. This is that thorough and wide-extended knowledge of mankind for which all the great men of all ages and countries have been so celebrated, and without which it is impossible that they ever should have been great men.

This is but a meagre sketch of what you have to do if you aspire to a high niche in the temple of Fame. There are all the arrears of past history, ancient and modern, to settle, and all the sciences and arts. Mr. Jefferson was, himself, a living and walking encyclopedia—so is Mr. Madison, and Mr. John Q. Adams;—*vita brevis, ars longa.*

SELF-FORMATION.

Rely upon it that the ancients were right,—*Quisque suæ fortunæ faber:* both in morals and intellect *we* give their final shape to our own characters, and thus become emphatically the architects of our fortunes. How else should it happen that young men, who have had precisely the same opportunities, should be continually presenting us with such different results, and rushing to such opposite destinies? Difference of talent will not solve it, because that difference is very often in favor of the disappointed candidate. You shall see issuing from the walls of the same school—nay, sometimes from the bosom of the same family—two young men, of whom the one shall be admitted to be a genius of high order, the other scarcely above the point of mediocrity; yet you shall see the genius sinking and perishing in poverty, obscurity, and wretchedness; while, on the other hand, you shall observe the *mediocre* plodding his slow but sure way up the hill of life, gaining steadfast footing at every step,

† He was born at Bladensburg, Maryland, November, 8, 1772—his father being a native of Switzerland, and his mother, although a German, was also born in Switzerland. He was employed as counsel in the great trial of Adam Burr for high treason, and filled honorably to himself the Cabinet office of Attorney General in the Administration of Presidents Monroe and Adams, from 1816 to 1828. He was in nomination for the Presidency in 1832, and died Feb. 18, 1834. In moving a resolution in the House of Representatives in reference to his funeral obsequies, John Quincy Adams remarked:—'Mr. Wirt had never been a member of either House of Congress. But if his form in marble, or his portrait upon canvas, were placed within these walls, a suitable inscription for it would be that of the statue of Molière in the Hall of the French Academy—"Nothing was wanting to *his* glory: *he* was wanting to ours."'

and mounting at length to eminence and distinction, an ornament to his family and a blessing to his country. Now, whose work is this? Manifestly, their own. *They* are the architects of their respective fortunes. And of this be assured,—I speak from observation a certain truth,—*There is no excellence without great labor.* It is the *fiat* of Fate, from which no power of genius can absolve you. Genius unexerted is like the poor moth that flutters around a candle till it scorches itself to death. It is the capacity for high and long-continued exertion, the vigorous power of profound and searching investigation, the careering and wide-sweeping comprehension of mind, and those long reaches of thought that

> ——— pluck bright honor from the pale-faced moon,
> Or dive into the bottom of the deep,
> Where fathom-line could never touch the ground,
> And drag up drowned honor by the locks.

This is the prowess and these the hardy achievements which are to enroll your names among the great men of the earth.

But how are you to gain the nerve and the courage for enterprises of this pith and moment? I will tell you. As Milo gained that strength which astounded Greece,—*by your own self-discipline.*

Power of Example.†

Mr. Wirt was a striking example of his own teaching, according to the testimony of competent observers and judges. Daniel Webster, at a meeting of the members of the Bar in the court-room of the Supreme Court of the United States, remarked:—

'William Wirt, one of the oldest, one of the ablest, one of the most distinguished members of this Bar, has this day closed a professional career among the longest and most brilliant which the distinguished members of the profession in the United States have at any time accomplished. Unsullied in every thing which regards professional honor and integrity, patient of labor, and rich in those stores of learning which are the reward of patient labor and patient labor only; and if equaled, yet certainly allowed not to be excelled, in fervent, animated, and persuasive eloquence, he has left an example which those who seek to raise themselves to great heights of professional eminence, will hereafter emulously study. Fortunate, indeed, will be the few who shall imitate it successfully!'

John Quincy Adams, in whose Cabinet he served for four years as Attorney General, on the floor of the House of Representatives, remarked:—

'If a mind stored with all the learning appropriate to the profession of the law, and decorated with all the elegance of classical literature; if the spirit imbued with the sensibilities of a lofty patriotism, and chastened by the meditations of a profound philosopher; if a brilliant imagination, a discerning intellect, a sound judgment, an indefatigable capacity, and vigorous energy of application, vivified with an ease and rapidity of elocution, copious without redundance, and select without affectation:—if all these, united with a sportive vein of humor, an inoffensive temper, and an angelic purity of heart—if all these in their combination are the qualities suitable for an Attorney General of the United States,—in him they were all eminently combined.'

EDWARD GIBBON—LITERARY CULTURE.

BIRTH, HOME, AND SCHOOL EDUCATION.*

[EDWARD GIBBON, the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, was born at Putney, in the County of Surrey, April 27, 1737, O. S., the son of Edward Gibbon and Judith Porten. 'My lot might have been that of a slave, a savage, or a peasant; nor can I reflect without pleasure on the bounty of Nature which cast my birth in a free and civilized country, in an age of science and philosophy, in a family of honorable rank, and decently endowed with the gifts of fortune. From my birth I have enjoyed the right of primogeniture; but I was succeeded by five brothers and one sister, all of whom were snatched away in their infancy.] To the tender and assiduous attentions of his aunt, Miss Catherine Porten, Mr. Gibbon attributes his escape from the perils of infancy. A life of celibacy transferred her vacant affection to her sister's first child: my weakness excited her pity; her attachment was fortified by labor and success: and if there be any, as I trust there are some, who rejoice that I live, to that dear and excellent woman they must hold themselves indebted. Many anxious and solitary days did she consume in the patient trial of every mode of relief and amusement. Many wakeful nights did she sit by my bedside in trembling expectation that each hour would be my last. Of the various and frequent disorders of my childhood my own recollection is dark; nor do I wish to expatiate on so disgusting a topic.

As soon as the use of speech had prepared my infant reason for the admission of knowledge, I was taught the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic. So remote is the date, so vague is the memory of their origin in myself, that, were not the error corrected by analogy, I should be tempted to conceive them as innate. In my childhood I was praised for the readiness with which I could multiply and divide, by memory alone, two sums of several figures: such praise encouraged my growing talent; and had I persevered in this line

* Abridged from *Memoirs of My Life and Writings*.—Begun in 1789, and published by Lord Sheffield in 1795, in an edition of Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works*, one year after his death, which occurred at London, in January, 1794, at the age of 57.

of application, I might have acquired some fame in mathematical studies. At the age of seven I was delivered into the hands of Mr. John Kirkby, who exercised about eighteen months the office of domestic tutor. His lessons enlarged my knowledge of arithmetic, and left me a clear impression of the English and Latin rudiments.

In my ninth year (January, 1746), in a lucid interval of comparative health, my father adopted the convenient and customary mode of English education; and I was sent to Kingston upon Thames, to a school of about seventy boys, which was kept by Dr. Wooddeson and his assistants. Every time I have since passed over Putney Common, I have always noticed the spot where my mother, as we drove along in the coach, admonished me that I was now going into the world, and must learn to think and act for myself. The expression may appear ludicrous; yet there is not, in the course of life, a more remarkable change than the removal of a child from the luxury and freedom of a wealthy house, to the frugal diet and strict subordination of a school; from the tenderness of parents, and the obsequiousness of servants, to the rude familiarity of his equals, the insolent tyranny of his seniors, and the rod, perhaps, of a cruel and capricious pedagogue. Such hardships may steel the mind and body against the injuries of fortune; but my timid reserve was astonished by the crowd and tumult of the school; the want of strength and activity disqualified me for the sports of the play-field; nor have I forgotten how often in the year forty-six I was reviled and buffeted for the sins of my Tory ancestors. By the common methods of discipline, at the expense of many tears and some blood, I purchased the knowledge of the Latin syntax; and not long since I was possessed of the dirty volumes of Phædrus and Cornelius Nepos, which I painfully construed and darkly understood. The choice of these authors is not injudicious. The *lives* of Cornelius Nepos, the friend of Atticus and Cicero, are composed in the style of the purest age: his simplicity is elegant, his brevity copious: he exhibits a series of men and manners; and with such illustrations, as every pedant is not indeed qualified to give, this classic biographer may initiate a young student in the history of Greece and Rome. The use of fables or apologues has been approved in every age from ancient India to modern Europe. They convey in similar images the truths of morality and prudence; and the most childish understanding (I advert to the scruples of Rousseau) will not suppose either that beasts *do* speak, or that men may *lie*. A fable represents the gen-

nine characters of animals; and a skillful master might extract from Pliny and Buffon some pleasing lessons of natural history, a science well adapted to the taste and capacity of children. The Latinity of Phædrus is not exempt from an alloy of the silver age; but his manner is concise, terse, and sententious: the Thracian slave discreetly breathes the spirit of a freeman; and when the text is found, the style is perspicuous. But his fables, after a long oblivion, were first published by Peter Pithou, from a corrupt manuscript. The labors of fifty editors confess the defects of the copy as well as the value of the original; and the school-boy may have been whipped for misapprehending a passage, which Bentley could not restore, and which Burman could not explain.

As far back as I can remember, the house, near Putney bridge and churchyard, of my maternal grandfather, appears in the light of my proper and native home. It was there that I was allowed to spend the greatest part of my time, in sickness or in health, during my school vacations and my parents' residence in London, and finally after my mother's death. Three months after that event, in the spring of 1748, the commercial ruin of her father, Mr. James Porten, was accomplished and declared. He suddenly absconded: but as his effects were not sold, nor the house evacuated, till the Christmas following, I enjoyed during the whole year the society of my aunt, without much consciousness of her impending fate. I feel a melancholy pleasure in repeating my obligations to that excellent woman, Mrs. Catherine Porten, the true mother of my mind as well as of my health. Her natural good sense was improved by the perusal of the best books in the English language; and if her reason was sometimes clouded by prejudice, her sentiments were never disguised by hypocrisy or affectation. Her indulgent tenderness, the frankness of her temper, and my innate rising curiosity, soon removed all distance between us: like friends of an equal age, we freely conversed on every topic, familiar or abstruse; and it was her delight and reward to observe the first shoots of my young ideas. Pain and langor were often soothed by the voice of instruction and amusement; and to her kind lessons I ascribe my early and invincible love of reading, which I would not exchange for the treasures of India. I should perhaps be astonished, were it possible to ascertain the date, at which a favorite tale was engraved, by frequent repetition, in my memory: the Cavern of the Winds; the Palace of Felicity; and the fatal moment, at the end of three months or centuries, when Prince Adolphus is overtaken by Time, who had

worn out so many pair of wings in the pursuit. Before I left Kingston school I was well acquainted with Pope's Homer and the Arabian Nights Entertainments, two books which will always please by the moving picture of human manners and specious miracles: nor was I then capable of discerning that Pope's translation is a portrait endowed with every merit, excepting that of likeness to the original. The verses of Pope accustomed my ear to the sound of poetic harmony: in the death of Hector, and the shipwreck of Ulysses, I tasted the new emotions of terror and pity; and seriously disputed on the vices and virtues of the heroes of the Trojan war. From Pope's Homer to Dryden's Virgil was an easy transition; but I know not how, from some fault in the author, the translator, or the reader, the pious Æneas did not so forcibly seize on my imagination; and I derived more pleasure from Ovid's Metamorphoses, especially in the fall of Phæton and the speeches of Ajax and Ulysses. My grandfather's flight unlocked the door of a tolerable library; and I turned over many English pages of poetry and romance, of history and travels. Where a title attracted my eye, without fear or awe I snatched the volume from the shelf; and Mrs. Porten, who indulged herself in moral and religious speculations, was more prone to encourage than to check a curiosity above the strength of a boy. This year (1748), the twelfth of my age, was the most propitious to the growth of my intellectual stature.

Private and Public School.

The relics of my grandfather's fortune afforded a bare annuity for his own maintenance; and his daughter, my worthy aunt, who had already passed her fortieth year, was left destitute. Her noble spirit scorned a life of obligation and dependence; and after revolving several schemes, she preferred the humble industry of keeping a boarding house for Westminster school, where she laboriously earned a competence for her old age. This singular opportunity of blending the advantages of private and public education, decided my father. After the Christmas holidays in January, 1749, I accompanied Mrs. Porten to her new house on College street; and was immediately entered in the school, of which Dr. John Nicoll was at that time head master. At first I was alone: but my aunt's resolution was praised; her character was esteemed; her friends were numerous and active: in the course of some years she became the mother of forty or fifty boys, for the most part of family and fortune; and as her primitive habitation was too narrow, she built and occupied a spacious mansion in Dean's Yard. I shall alway be ready to

join in the common opinion, that our public schools, which have produced so many eminent characters, are the best adapted to the genius and constitution of the English people. A boy of spirit may acquire a previous and practical experience of the world; and his playfellows may be the future friends of his heart or his interest. In a free intercourse with his equals, the habits of truth, fortitude, and prudence will insensibly be matured. Birth and riches are measured by the standard of personal merit; and the mimic scene of a rebellion has displayed, in their true colors, the ministers and patriots of the rising generation. Our seminaries of learning do not exactly correspond with the precept of a Spartan king, "that the child should be instructed in the arts, which will be useful to the man;" since a finished scholar may emerge from the head of Westminster or Eton, in total ignorance of the business and conversation of English gentlemen in the latter end of the eighteenth century. But these schools may assume the merit of teaching all that they pretend to teach, the Latin and Greek languages: they deposit in the hands of a disciple the keys of two valuable chests; nor can he complain, if they are afterward lost or neglected by his own fault. The necessity of leading in equal ranks so many unequal powers of capacity and application, will prolong to eight or ten years the juvenile studies, which might be dispatched in half that time by the skillful master of a single pupil. Yet even the repetition of exercise and discipline contributes to fix in a vacant mind the verbal science of grammar and prosody: and the private or voluntary student, who possesses the sense and spirit of the classics, may offend, by a false quantity, the scrupulous ear of a well flogged critic. For myself, I must be content with a very small share of the civil and literary fruits of a public school. In the space of two years (1749, 1750), interrupted by danger and debility, I painfully climbed into the third form; and my riper age was left to acquire the beauties of the Latin and the rudiments of the Greek tongue. Instead of audaciously mingling in the sports, the quarrels, and the connections of our little world, I was still cherished at home under the maternal wing of my aunt; and my removal from Westminster long preceded the approach of manhood.

The violence and variety of my complaints, which had excused my frequent absence from Westminster school, at length engaged Mrs. Porten, with the advice of physicians, to conduct me to Bath: at the end of the Michaelmas vacation (1750) she quitted me with reluctance, and I remained several months under the care of a trusty

maid-servant. A strange nervous affection, which alternately contracted my legs, and produced, without any visible symptoms, the most excruciating pain, was ineffectually opposed by the various methods of bathing and pumping. From Bath I was transported to Winchester, to the house of a physician; and after the failure of his medical skill, we had again recourse to the virtues of the Bath waters. During the intervals of these fits, I moved with my father to Buriton and Putney; and a short unsuccessful trial was attempted to renew my attendance at Westminster school. But my infirmities could not be reconciled with the hours and discipline of a public seminary; and instead of a domestic tutor, who might have watched the favorable moments, and gently advanced the progress of my learning, my father was too easily content with such occasional teachers as the different places of my residence could supply. I was never forced, and seldom was I persuaded, to admit these lessons: yet I read with a clergyman at Bath some odes of Horace, and several episodes of Virgil, which gave me an imperfect and transient enjoyment of the Latin poets. It might now be apprehended that I should continue for life an illiterate cripple: but, as I approached my sixteenth year, nature displayed in my favor her mysterious energies; my constitution was fortified and fixed; and my disorders, instead of growing with my growth and strengthening with my strength, most wonderfully vanished. I have never possessed or abused the insolence of health: but since that time few persons have been more exempt from real or imaginary ills; and, till I am admonished by the gout, the reader will no more be troubled with the history of my bodily complaints. My unexpected recovery again encouraged the hope of my education; and I was placed at Esher, in Surrey, in the house of the Reverend Mr. Philip Francis, in a pleasant spot, which promised to unite the various benefits of air, exercise, and study (January, 1752). The translator of Horace might have taught me to relish the Latin poets, had not my friends discovered in a few weeks, that he preferred the pleasures of London to the instruction of his pupils. My father's perplexity at this time, rather than his prudence, was urged to embrace a singular and desperate measure. Without preparation or delay he carried me to Oxford; and I was matriculated in the university as a gentleman commoner of Magdalen College, before I had accomplished the fifteenth year of my age (April 3, 1752).

The three precious years, from my entrance at Westminster to my admission at Oxford, free desultory reading was the employment

and conduct of my solitary hours. At Westminster, my aunt sought only to amuse and indulge me; in my stations at Bath and Winchester, at Buriton and Putney, a false compassion respected my sufferings; and I was allowed, without control or advice, to gratify the wanderings of an unripe taste. My indiscriminate appetite subsided by degrees in the *historic* line: and since philosophy has exploded all innate ideas and natural propensities, I must ascribe this choice to the assiduous perusal of the Universal History, as the octavo volumes successively appeared. This unequal work, and a treatise of Hearne, the *Ductor historicus*, referred and introduced me to the Greek and Roman historians, to as many at least as were accessible to an English reader. All that I could find were greedily devoured, from Littlebury's lame Herodotus, and Spelman's valuable Xenophon, to the pompous folios of Gordon's Tacitus, and a ragged Procopius of the beginning of the last century. The cheap acquisition of so much knowledge confirmed my dislike to the study of languages; and I argued with Mrs. Porten, that, were I master of Greek and Latin, I must interpret to myself in English the thoughts of the original, and that such extemporary versions must be inferior to the elaborate translations of professed scholars; a silly sophism, which could not easily be confuted by a person ignorant of any other language than her own. From the ancient I leaped to the modern world: many crude lumps of Speed, Rapin, Mezeray, Davila, Machiavel, Father Paul, Bower, &c., I devoured like so many novels; and I swallowed with the same voracious appetite the descriptions of India and China, of Mexico and Peru.

My first introduction to the historic scenes, which have since engaged so many years of my life, must be ascribed to an accident. In the summer of 1751, I accompanied my father on a visit to Mr. Hoare's, in Wiltshire; but I was less delighted with the beauties of Stourhead, than with discovering in the library a common book, the Continuation of Echard's Roman History, which is indeed executed with more skill and taste than the previous work. To me the reigns of the successors of Constantine were absolutely new; and I was immersed in the passage of the Goths over the Danube, when the summons of the dinner bell reluctantly dragged me from my intellectual feast. This transient glance served rather to irritate than to appease my curiosity; and as soon as I returned to Bath I procured the second and third volumes of Howell's History of the World, which exhibit the Byzantine period on a larger scale. Mahomet and his Saracens soon fixed my attention; and some instinct

of criticism directed me to the genuine sources. Simon Ockley, an original in every sense, first opened my eyes; and I was led from one book to another, till I had ranged round the circle of oriental history. Before I was sixteen, I had exhausted all that could be learned in English of the Arabs and Persians, the Tartars and Turks; and the same ardor urged me to guess at the French of D'Herbelot, and to construe the barbarous Latin of Pocock's Abulfaragius. Such vague and multifarious reading could not teach me to think, to write, or to act; and the only principle that darted a ray of light into the indigested chaos, was an early and rational application to the order of time and place. The maps of Cellarius and Wells imprinted in my mind the picture of ancient geography: from Stranchius I imbibed the elements of chronology: the Tables of Helvicus and Anderson, the Annals of Usher and Prideaux, distinguished the connection of events, and engraved the multitude of names and dates in a clear and indelible series. But in the discussion of the first ages I overleaped the bounds of modesty and use. In my childish balance I presumed to weigh the systems of Scaliger and Petavius, of Marsham and Newton, which I could seldom study in the originals; and my sleep has been disturbed by the difficulty of reconciling the Septuagint with the Hebrew computation. I arrived at Oxford with a stock of erudition that might have puzzled a doctor, and a degree of ignorance, of which a school-boy would have been ashamed.

At the conclusion of this first period of my life, I am tempted to enter a protest against the trite and lavish praise of the happiness of our boyish years, which is echoed with so much affectation in the world. That happiness I have never known, that time I have never regretted; and were my poor aunt still alive, she would bear testimony to the early and constant uniformity of my sentiments. It will indeed be replied, that *I* am not a competent judge; that pleasure is incompatible with pain; that joy is excluded from sickness; and that the felicity of a school-boy consists in the perpetual motion of thoughtless and playful agility, in which I was never qualified to excel. My name, it is most true, could never be enrolled among the sprightly race, the idle progeny of Eton or Westminister,

> 'Who foremost may delight to cleave,
> With pliant arm, the glassy wave,
> Or urge the flying ball.'

The poet may gaily describe the short hours of recreation; but he forgets the daily tedious labors of the school, which is approached each morning with anxious and reluctant steps.

COLLEGE LIFE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

A traveler, who visits Oxford or Cambridge, is surprised and edified by the apparent order and tranquillity that prevail in the seats of the English muses. In the most celebrated universities of Holland, Germany, and Italy, the students, who swarm from different countries, are loosely dispersed in private lodgings at the houses of the burghers: they dress according to their fancy and fortune; and in the intemperate quarrels of youth and wine, their *swords*, though less frequently than of old, are sometimes stained with each other's blood. The use of arms is banished from our English universities; the uniform habit of the academies, the square cap and black gown, is adapted to the civil and even clerical profession; and from the doctor in divinity to the under-graduate, the degrees of learning and age are externally distinguished. Instead of being scattered in a town, the students of Oxford and Cambridge are united in colleges; their maintenance is provided at their own expense, or that of the founders; and the stated hours of the hall and chapel represent the discipline of a regular, and, as it were, a religious community. The eyes of the traveler are attracted by the size or beauty of the public edifices; and the principal colleges appear to be so many palaces, which a liberal nation has erected and endowed for the habitation of science. My own introduction to the University of Oxford forms a new era in my life; and at the distance of forty years I still remember my first emotions of surprise and satisfaction. In my fifteenth year I felt myself suddenly raised from a boy to a man: the persons, whom I respected as my superiors in age and academical rank, entertained me with every mark of attention and civility; and my vanity was flattered by the velvet cap and silk gown, which distinguish a gentleman commoner from a plebeian student. A decent allowance, more money than a school-boy had ever seen, was at my own disposal; and I might command, among the tradesmen of Oxford, an indefinite and dangerous latitude of credit. A key was delivered into my hands, which gave me the free use of a numerous and learned library; my apartment consisted of three elegant and well-furnished rooms in the new building, a stately pile, of Magdalen College; and the adjacent walks, had they been frequented by Plato's disciples, might have been compared to the Attic shade on the banks of the Ilissus. Such was my entrance (April 3, 1752), into Oxford.

To the University of Oxford *I* acknowledge no obligation; and she will as cheerfully renounce me for a son, as I am willing to disclaim her for a mother. I spent fourteen months at Magdalen College; they proved the fourteen months the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life: the reader will pronounce between the school and the scholar; but I can not affect to believe that Nature had disqualified me for all literary pursuits. The specious and ready excuse of my tender age, imperfect preparation, and hasty departure, may doubtless be alledged; nor do I wish to defraud such excuses of their proper weight. Yet in my sixteenth year I was not devoid of capacity or application; even my childish reading had displayed an early though blind propensity for books; and the shallow flood might have been taught to flow in a deep channel and a clear stream. In the discipline of a well-constituted academy, under the guidance of skillful and vigilant professors, I should gradually have risen from translations to originals, from the Latin to the Greek classics, from dead languages to living science: my hours would have been occupied by useful and agreeable studies, the wanderings of fancy would have been restrained, and I should

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

have escaped the temptations of idleness, which finally precipitated my departure from Oxford.

In all the universities of Europe, excepting our own, the languages and sciences are distributed among a numerous list of effective professors: the students, according to their taste, their calling, and their diligence, apply themselves to the proper masters; and in the annual repetition of public and private lectures, these masters are assiduously employed. Our curiosity may inquire what number of professors has been instituted at Oxford? (for I shall now confine myself to my own university;) by whom are they appointed, and what may be the probable chances of merit or incapacity? how many are stationed to the three faculties, and how many are left for the liberal arts? what is the form, and what the substance of their lessons? But all these questions are silenced by one short and singular answer, 'That in the University of Oxford, the greater part of the public professors have for these many years given up altogether even the pretense of teaching.' Incredible as the fact may appear, I must rest my belief on the positive and impartial evidence of a master of moral and political wisdom, who had himself resided at Oxford. Dr. Adam Smith assigns as the cause of their indolence, that, instead of being paid by voluntary contributions, which would urge them to increase the number, and to deserve the gratitude of their pupils, the Oxford professors are secure in the enjoyment of a fixed stipend, without the necessity of labor, or the apprehension of control. It has indeed been observed, nor is the observation absurd, that, excepting in experimental sciences, which demand a costly apparatus and a dextrous hand, the many valuable treatises, that have been published on every subject of learning, may now supersede the ancient mode of oral instruction. Were this principle true in its utmost latitude, I should only infer that the offices and salaries, which are become useless, ought without delay to be abolished. But there still remains a material difference between a book and a professor; the hour of the lecturer enforces attendance; attention is fixed by the presence, the voice, and the occasional questions of the teacher; the most idle will carry something away; and the more diligent will compare the instructions, which they have heard in the school, with the volumes, which they peruse in their chamber. The advice of a skillful professor will adapt a course of reading to every mind and every situation; his authority will discover, admonish, and at last chastise the negligence of his disciples; and his vigilant inquiries will ascertain the steps of their literary progress. Whatever science he professes he may illustrate in a series of discourses, composed in the leisure of his closet, pronounced on public occasions, and finally delivered to the press.

Our colleges are supposed to be schools of science as well as of education; nor is it unreasonable to expect that a body of literary men, devoted to a life of celibacy, exempt from the care of their own subsistence, and amply provided with books, should devote their leisure to the prosecution of study, and that some effects of their studies should be manifested to the world. The shelves of their library groan under the weight of the Benedictine folios, of the editions of the fathers, and the collections of the middle ages, which have issued from the single abbey of St. Germain des Prés at Paris. A composition of genius must be the offspring of one mind; but such works of industry as may be divided among many hands, and must be continued during many years, are the peculiar province of a laborious community. If I inquire into the manufactures

of the monks of Magdalen, if I extend the inquiry to the other colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, a silent blush, or a scornful frown, will be the only reply. The fellows or monks of my time were decent easy men, who supinely enjoyed the gifts of the founder: their days were filled by a series of uniform employments; the chapel and the hall, the coffee-house and the common room, till they retired, weary and well satisfied, to a long slumber. From the toil of reading, or thinking, or writing, they had absolved their conscience; and the first shoots of learning and ingenuity withered on the ground, without yielding any fruits to the owners or the public. As a gentleman commoner, I was admitted to the society of the fellows, and fondly expected that some questions of literature would be the amusing and instructive topics of their discourse. Their conversation stagnated in a round of college business, Tory politics, personal anecdotes, and private scandal: their dull and deep potations excused the brisk intemperance of youth; and their constitutional toasts were not expressive of the most lively loyalty for the house of Hanover.

The silence of the Oxford professors, which deprives the youth of public instruction, is imperfectly supplied by the tutors, as they are styled, of the several colleges. Instead of confining themselves to a single science, which had satisfied the ambition of Burman or Bernoulli, they teach, or promise to teach, either history or mathematics, or ancient literature, or moral philosophy; and as it is possible that they may be defective in all, it is highly probable that of some they will be ignorant. They are paid, indeed, by private contributions; but their appointment depends on the head of the house: their diligence is voluntary, and will consequently be languid, while the pupils themselves, or their parents, are not indulged in the liberty of choice or change.

The first tutor into whose hands I was resigned was one of the best of the tribe. . . . As soon as he had sounded the insufficiency of his disciple in school learning, he proposed that we should read every morning from ten to eleven the comedies of Terence. The sum of my improvement in the University of Oxford is confined to three or four Latin plays: and even the study of an elegant classic, which might have been illustrated by a comparison of ancient and modern theaters, was reduced to a dry and literal interpretation of the author's text. During the first weeks I constantly attended these lessons in my tutor's room; but as they appeared equally devoid of profit and pleasure, I was once tempted to try the experiment of a formal apology. The apology was accepted with a smile. I repeated the offense with less ceremony; the excuse was admitted with the same indulgence: the slighest motive of laziness or indisposition, the most trifling avocation at home or abroad, was allowed as a worthy impediment; nor did my tutor appear conscious of my absence or neglect. Had the hour of lecture been constantly filled, a single hour was a small portion of my academic lesson. No plan of study was recommended for my use; no exercises were prescribed for his inspection; and, at the most precious season of youth, whole days and weeks were suffered to elapse without labor or amusement, without advice or account. I should have listened to the voice of reason and of my tutor; his mild behavior had gained my confidence. I preferred his society to that of the younger students; and in our evening walks to the top of Heddington Hill, we freely conversed on a variety of subjects. Since the days of Pocock and Hyde, oriental learning has always been the pride of Oxford, and I once expressed an inclination to study Arabic. His prudence

discouraged this childish fancy; but he neglected the fair occasion of directing the ardor of a curious mind.

After the departure of [his first tutor] to a college living, I was transferred with his other pupils, to his academical heir, whose literary character did not command the respect of the college. Dr. —— well remembered that he had a salary to receive, and only forgot that he had a duty to perform. Instead of guiding the studies and watching the behavior of his disciple, I was never summoned to attend even the ceremony of a lecture; and excepting one voluntary visit to his rooms, during the eight months of his titular office, the tutor and pupil lived in the same college as strangers to each other. The want of experience, of advice, and of occupation, soon betrayed me into some improprieties of conduct, ill-chosen company, late hours, and inconsiderate expense. My growing debts might be secret; but my frequent absence was visible and scandalous; and a tour to Bath, a visit into Buckinghamshire, and four excursions to London in the same winter, were costly and dangerous frolics. They were, indeed, without a meaning, as without an excuse. The irksomeness of a cloistered life repeatedly tempted me to wander; but my chief pleasure was that of traveling; and I was too young and bashful to enjoy, like a manly Oxonian in town, the pleasures of London. In all these excursions I eloped from Oxford; I returned to college; in a few days I eloped again, as if I had been an independent stranger in a hired lodging, without once hearing the voice of admonition, without once feeling the hand of control. Yet my time was lost, my expenses were multiplied, my behavior abroad was unknown; folly as well as vice should have awakened the attention of my superiors, and my tender years would have justified a more than ordinary degree of restraint and discipline.

Gibbon's connection with his college and the university was severed by his 'becoming bewildered in the dangerous mazes of religious controversy,' because, as he alledges, 'our venerable mother was often remiss in the spiritual education of her own children. According to the statutes of the university, every student, before he is matriculated, must subscribe his assent to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, which are signed by more than read, and read by more than believe them. My insufficient age excused me, however, from the immediate performance of this legal ceremony; and the vice-chancellor directed me to return, as soon as I should have accomplished my fifteenth year; recommending me, in the mean while, to the instruction of my college. My college forgot to instruct: I forgot to return, and was myself forgotten by the first magistrate of the university. Without a single lecture, either public or private, either Christian or Protestant, without any academical subscription, without any Episcopal confirmation, I was left by the dim light of my catechism to grope my way to the chapel and communion table, where I was admitted, without a question how far, or by what means, I might be qualified to receive the sacrament.' In this condition of things he became a convert to the Roman Catholic faith, and the gates of his college were closed to him.

SUBJECTS AND METHODS AT LAUSANNE.

On the 30th of June, 1753, at the age of sixteen, I was settled at Lausanne under the roof and tuition of Mr. Pavilliard, a Calvinist minister. I had now exchanged my elegant apartment in Magdalen College for a narrow, gloomy street, the most unfrequented of an unhandsome town, for an old inconvenient house, and for a small chamber, ill-contrived and ill-furnished, which, on the approach of winter, instead of a companionable fire, must be warmed by the dull and invisible heat of a stove. From a man I was again degraded to the dependence of a school-boy. Mr. Pavilliard managed my expenses, which had been reduced to a diminutive state: I received a small monthly allowance for my pocket-money; and, helpless and awkward as I have ever been, I no longer enjoyed the indispensable comfort of a servant. My condition seemed as destitute of hope, as it was devoid of pleasure.

But it is the peculiar felicity of youth that the most unpleasing objects and events seldom make a deep or lasting impression; it forgets the past, enjoys the present, and anticipates the future. At the flexible age of sixteen I soon learned to endure, and gradually to adopt, the new forms of arbitrary manners; the real hardships of my situation were alienated by time. Had I been sent abroad in a more splendid style, such as the fortune and bounty of my father might have supplied, I might have returned home with the same stock of language and science, which our countrymen usually import from the Continent. An exile and a prisoner as I was, their example betrayed me into some irregularities of wine, of play, and of idle excursions: but I soon felt the impossibility of associating with them on equal terms; and after the departure of my first acquaintance, I held a cold and civil correspondence with their successors. This seclusion from English society was attended with the most solid benefits. In the Pays de Vaud, the French language is used with less imperfection than in most of the distant provinces of France; in Pavilliard's family, necessity compelled me to listen and to speak; and if I was at first disheartened by the apparent slowness, in a few months I was astonished by the rapidity of my progress. My pronunciation was formed by the constant repetition of the same sounds; the variety of words and idioms, the rules of grammar, and distinctions of genders, were impressed in my memory; ease and freedom were obtained by practice; correctness and elegance by labor; and before I was recalled home, French, in which I spontaneously thought, was more familiar than English to my ear, my tongue, and my pen. The first effect of this opening knowledge was the revival of my love of reading, which had been chilled at Oxford; and I soon turned over, without much choice, almost all the French books in my tutor's library. Even these amusements were productive of real advantage: my taste and judgment were now somewhat riper. I was introduced to a new mode of style and literature: by the comparison of manners and opinions, my views were enlarged, my prejudices were corrected, and a copious voluntary abstract of the Histoire de l'Eglise et de l'Empire, by le Sueur, may be placed in a middle line between my childish and my manly studies. As soon as I was able to converse with the natives, I began to feel some satisfaction in their company: my awkward timidity was polished and emboldened; and I frequented, for the first time, assemblies of men and women. The acquaintance of the Pavilliards prepared me by degrees for more elegant society. I was

received with kindness and indulgence in the best families of Lausanne; and it was in one of these that I formed an intimate and lasting connection with Mr. Deyverdun, a young man of an amiable temper and excellent understanding. In the arts of fencing and dancing, small indeed was my proficiency; and some months were idly wasted in the riding-school. My unfitness to bodily exercise reconciled me to a sedentary life, and the horse, the favorite of my countrymen, never contributed to the pleasures of my youth.

My obligations to the lessons of Mr. Pavilliard, gratitude will not suffer me to forget: he was endowed with a clear head and a warm heart; his innate benevolence had assuaged the spirit of the church; he was rational, because he was moderate: in the course of his studies he had acquired a just though superficial knowledge of most branches of literature; by long practice he was skilled in the arts of teaching; and he labored with assiduous patience to know the character, gain the affection, and open the mind of his English pupil. As soon as we began to understand each other, he gently led me, from a blind and undistinguishing love of reading, into the path of instruction. I consented with pleasure that a portion of the morning hours should be consecrated to a plan of modern history and geography, and to the critical perusal of the French and Latin classics; and at each step I felt myself invigorated by the habits of application and method. His prudence repressed and dissembled some youthful sallies; and as soon as I was confirmed in the habits of industry and temperance, he gave the reins into my own hands. His favorable report of my behavior and progress gradually obtained some latitude of action and expense; and he wished to alleviate the hardships of my lodging and entertainment. The principles of philosophy were associated with the examples of taste; and by a singular chance, the book, as well as the man, which contributed the most effectually to my education, has a stronger claim on my gratitude than on my admiration. Mr. De Crousaz, the adversary of Bayle and Pope, is not distinguished by lively fancy or profound reflection; and even in his own country, at the end of a few years, his name and writings are almost obliterated. But his philosophy has been formed in the school of Locke, his divinity in that of Limborch and Le Clerc; in a long and laborious life, several generations of pupils were taught to think, and even to write; his lessons rescued the academy of Lausanne from Calvinistic prejudice; and he had the rare merit of diffusing a more liberal spirit among the clergy and people of the Pays de Vaud.

My worthy tutor had the good sense and modesty to discern how far he could be useful; as soon as he felt that I advanced beyond his speed and measure, he wisely left me to my genius; and the hours of lesson were soon lost in the voluntary labor of the whole morning, and sometimes of the whole day. The desire of prolonging my time, gradually confirmed the salutary habit of early rising; to which I have always adhered, with some regard to seasons and situations; but it is happy for my eyes and my health, that my temperate ardor has never been seduced to trespass on the hours of the night. During the last three years of my residence at Lausanne, I may assume the merit of serious and solid application; but I am tempted to distinguish the last eight months of the year 1755, as the period of the most extraordinary diligence and rapid progress. In my French and Latin translations I adopted an excellent method, which, from my own success, I would recommend to the imitation of students. I chose some classic writer, such as Cicero and Vertot, the most approved for purity and

elegance of style. I translated, for instance, an epistle of Cicero into French; and after throwing it aside, till the words and phrases were obliterated from my memory, I retranslated my French into such Latin as I could find; and then compared each sentence of my imperfect version, with the ease, the grace, the propriety of the Roman orator. A similar experiment was made on several pages of the Revolutions of Vertot; I turned them into Latin, returned them after a sufficient interval into my own French, and again scrutinized the resemblance or dissimilitude of the copy and the original. By degrees I was less ashamed, by degrees I was more satisfied with myself; and I persevered in the practice of these double translations, which filled several books, till I had acquired the knowledge of both idioms, and the command at least of a correct style. This useful exercise of writing was accompanied and succeeded by the more pleasing occupation of reading the best authors. The perusal of the Roman classics was at once my exercise and reward. Dr. Middleton's History, which I then appreciated above its true value, naturally directed me to the writings of Cicero. I read, with application and pleasure, *all* the epistles, *all* the orations, and the most important treatises of rhetoric and philosophy; and as I read, I applauded the observation of Quintilian, that every student may judge of his own proficiency, by the satisfaction which he receives from the Roman orator. I tasted the beauties of language, I breathed the spirit of freedom, and I imbibed from his precepts and examples the public and private sense of a man. Cicero in Latin, and Xenophon in Greek, are indeed the two ancients whom I would first propose to a liberal scholar; not only for the merit of their style and sentiments, but for the admirable lessons, which may be applied almost to every situation of public and private life. Cicero's Epistles may in particular afford the models of every form of correspondence, from the careless effusions of tenderness and friendship, to the well guarded declaration of discreet and dignified resentment. After finishing this great author, a library of eloquence and reason, I formed a more extensive plan of reviewing the Latin classics, under the four divisions of, 1. Historians, 2. Poets, 3. Orators, and 4. Philosophers, in a chronological series, from the days of Plautus and Sallust, to the decline of the language and empire of Rome; and this plan, in the last twenty-seven months of my residence at Lausanne (January, 1756—April, 1758), I *nearly* accomplished. Nor was this review, however rapid, either hasty or superficial. I indulged myself in a second, and even a third perusal of Terence, Virgil, Horace, Tacitus, &c., and studied to imbibe the sense and spirit most congenial to my own. I never suffered a difficult or corrupt passage to escape, till I had viewed it in every light of which it was susceptible; though often disappointed, I always consulted the most learned or ingenious commentators, Torrentius and Dacier on Horace, Catrou and Servius on Virgil, Lipsius on Tacitus, Mezeriac on Ovid, &c.; and in the ardor of my inquiries, I embraced a large circle of historical and critical erudition. My abstracts of each book were made in the French language: my observations often branched into particular essays; and I can still read, without contempt, a dissertation of eight folio pages on eight lines (287–294) of the fourth Georgic of Virgil. Mr. Deyverdun, my friend, whose name will be frequently repeated, had joined with equal zeal, though not with equal perseverance, in the same undertaking. To him every thought, every composition, was instantly communicated; with him I enjoyed the benefits of a free conversation on the topics of our common studies.

From a blind idea of the usefulness of such abstract science, my father had been desirous, and even pressing, that I should devote some time to the mathematics; nor could I refuse to comply with so reasonable a wish. During two winters I attended the private lectures of Monsieur de Traytorrens, who explained the elements of algebra and geometry, as far as the conic sections of the Marquis de l'Hôpital, and appeared satisfied with my diligence and improvements. But as my childish propensity for numbers and calculations was totally extinct, I was content to receive the passive impression of my professor's lectures, without any active exercise of my own powers. As soon as I understood the principles, I relinquished for ever the pursuit of the mathematics; nor can I lament that I desisted, before my mind was hardened by the habit of rigid demonstration, so destructive of the finer feelings of moral evidence, which must, however, determine the actions and opinions of our lives. I listened with more pleasure to the proposal of studying the Law of Nature and Nations, which was taught at the academy of Lausanne by Mr. Vicat, a professor of some learning and reputation. But, instead of attending his public or private course, I preferred in my closet the lessons of his masters, and my own reason. Without being disgusted by Grotius or Puffendorf, I studied in their writings the duties of a man, the rights of a citizen, the theory of justice (it is, alas! a theory), and the laws of peace and war, which have had some influence on the practice of modern Europe. My fatigues were alleviated by the good sense of their commentator Barbeyrac. Locke's Treatise of Government instructed me in the knowledge of Whig principles, which are rather founded in reason than experience; but my delight was in the frequent perusal of Montesquieu, whose energy of style and boldness of hypothesis were powerful to awaken and stimulate the genius of the age. The logic of De Crousaz had prepared me to engage with his master Locke, and his antagonist Bayle; of whom the former may be used as a bridle, and the latter applied as a spur, to the curiosity of a young philosopher. According to the nature of their respective works, the schools of argument and objection, I carefully went through the Essay on Human Understanding, and occasionally consulted the most interesting articles of the Philosophic Dictionary.

This various reading, which I now conducted with discretion, was digested according to the precept and model of Mr. Locke, into a large common-place book; a practice, however, which I do not strenuously recommend. The action of the pen will doubtless imprint an idea on the mind as well as on the paper; but I much question whether the benefits of this laborious method are adequate to the waste of time; and I agree with Dr. Johnson, (Idler, No. 74,) 'that what is twice read, is commonly better remembered, than what is transcribed.'

Excursions and Travel in Education.

At the end of my third summer, my father consented that I should make the tour of Switzerland with Pavilliard; and our short absence of one month (September 21st—October 20th, 1755,) was a reward and relaxation, of my assiduous studies. The fashion of climbling the mountains and reviewing the glaciers, had not yet been introduced by foreign travelers, who seek the sublime beauties of nature. But the political face of the country is not less diversified by the forms and spirit of so many various republics, from the jealous government of the *few* to the licentious freedom of the *many*. I contemplated with pleasure

the new prospects of men and manners; though my conversation with the natives would have been more free and instructive, had I possessed the German, as well as the French language. We passed through most of the principal towns of Switzerland; Neufchâtel, Bienne, Soleure, Arau, Baden, Zurich, Basle, and Berne. In every place we visited the churches, arsenals, libraries, and all the most eminent persons; and, after my return, I digested my notes in fourteen or fifteen sheets of a French journal, which I dispatched to my father, as a proof that my time and his money had not been misspent. Had I found this journal among his papers, I might be tempted to select some passages: but I will not transcribe the printed accounts, and it may be sufficient to notice a remarkable spot, which left a deep and lasting impression on my memory. From Zurich we proceeded to the Benedictine Abbey of Einfidlen, more commonly styled Our Lady of the Hermits. I was astonished by the profuse ostentation of riches in the poorest corner of Europe; amidst a savage scene of woods and mountains, a palace appears to have been erected by magic; and it was erected by the potent magic of religion.

[Under this date, Sept. 20, 1755, Mr. Gibbon writes to his aunt, Mrs. Porten:]

As my father has given me leave to make a journey round Switzerland, we set out to-morrow. Buy a map of Switzerland, it will cost you but a shilling, and follow me. I go by Iverdun, Neufchâtel, Bienne or Biel, Soleure or Solothurn, Bâle or Basle, Baden, Zurich, Lucerne, and Berne. The voyage will be of about four weeks; so that *I hope to find a letter from you waiting for me.* As my father had given me leave to learn what I had a mind, I have learned to ride, and learned actually to dance and draw. Besides that, I often give ten or twelve hours a day to my studies. I find a great many agreeable people here, see them sometimes, and can say upon the whole, without vanity, that though I am the Englishman here who spends the least money, I am he who is the most generally liked. I told you that my father had promised to send me into France and Italy. I have thanked him for it; but if he would follow my plan, he won't do it yet awhile. I never liked young travelers; they go too raw to make any great remarks, and they lose a time which is (in my opinion) the most precious part of a man's life. My scheme would be, to spend this winter at Lausanne (for though it is a very good place to acquire the air of good company and the French tongue, we have no good professors); to spend, I say, the winter at Lausanne; go into England to see my friends a couple of months, and after that, finish my studies, either at Cambridge (for after what has passed one can not think of Oxford), or at an university in Holland.

Literary Correspondence.

My thirst of improvement, and the languid state of science at Lausanne, soon prompted me to solicit a literary correspondence with several men of learning, whom I had not an opportunity of personally consulting. 1. In the perusal of Livy, (xxx. 44.) I had been stopped by a sentence in a speech of Hannibal, which can not be reconciled by any torture with his character or argument. The commentators dissemble, or confess their perplexity. It occurred to me, that the change of a single letter, by substituting *otio* instead of *odio*, might restore a clear and consistent sense; but I wished to weigh my emendation in scales less partial than my own. I addressed myself to M. Crevier, the successor of Rollin, and a professor in the University of Paris, who had published a

large and valuable edition of Livy. His answer was speedy and polite; he praised my ingenuity, and adopted my conjecture. 2. I maintained a Latin correspondence, at first anonymous, and afterward in my own name, with Professor Breitinger of Zurich, the learned editor of a Septuagint Bible. In our frequent letters we discussed many questions of antiquity, many passages of the Latin classics. I proposed my interpretations and amendments. His censures (for he did not spare my boldness of conjecture) were sharp and strong; and I was encouraged by the consciousness of my strength, when I could stand in free debate against a critic of such eminence and erudition. 3. I corresponded on similar topics with the celebrated Professor Matthew Gesner, of the University of Gottingen; and he accepted, as courteously as the two former, the invitation of an unknown youth. But his abilities might possibly be decayed; his elaborate letters were feeble and prolix; and when I asked his proper direction, the vain old man covered half a sheet of paper with the foolish enumeration of his titles and offices. 4. These professors of Paris, Zurich, and Gottingen, were strangers, whom I presumed to address on the credit of their name; but Mr. Allemand, Minister at Bex, was my personal friend, with whom I maintained a more free and interesting correspondence. He was a master of language, of science, and above all, of dispute; and his acute and flexible logic could support, with equal address, and perhaps with equal indifference, the adverse sides of every possible question. His spirit was active, but his pen had been indolent. Mr. Allemand had exposed himself to much scandal and reproach, by an anonymous letter (1745) to the Protestants of France; in which he labors to persuade them that *public* worship is the exclusive right and duty of the state, and that their numerous assemblies of dissenters and rebels were not authorized by the law or the gospel. His style is animated, his arguments specious; and if a Papist may seem to lurk under the mask of a Protestant, the philosopher is concealed under the disguise of a Papist. After some trials in France and Holland, which were defeated by his fortune or his character, a genius that might have enlightened or deluded the world, was buried in a country living, unknown to fame, and discontented with mankind. *Est sacrificulus in pago, et rusticos decipit.* As often as private or ecclesiastical business called him to Lausanne, I enjoyed the pleasure and benefit of his conversation, and we were mutually flattered by our attention to each other. Our correspondence, in his absence, chiefly turned on Locke's metaphysics, which he attacked, and I defended; the origin of ideas, the principles of evidence, and the doctrine of liberty;

And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.

By fencing with so skillful a master I acquired some dexterity in the use of my philosophic weapons; but I was still the slave of education and prejudice. He had some measures to keep; and I much suspect that he never showed me the true colors of his secret scepticism.

Before I was recalled from Switzerland, I had the satisfaction of seeing the most extraordinary man of the age; a poet, an historian, a philosopher, who has filled thirty quartos, of prose and verse, with his various productions, often excellent, and always entertaining. Need I add the name of Voltaire? After forfeiting, by his own misconduct, the friendship of the first of kings, he retired, at the age of sixty, with a plentiful fortune, to a free and beautiful country, and

resided two winters (1757 and 1758) in the town or neighborhood of Lausanne. My desire of beholding Voltaire, whom I then rated above his real magnitude, was easily gratified. He received me with civility as an English youth; but I can not boast of any peculiar notice or distinction; *Virgilium vidi tantùm.*

Whatsoever has been the fruits of my education, they must be ascribed to the fortunate banishment which placed me at Lausanne. I have sometimes applied to my own fate the verses of Pindar, which remind an Olympic champion that his victory was the consequence of his exile; and that at home, like a domestic fowl, his days might have rolled away inactive or inglorious.

. . . ἤτοι καὶ τέα κεν,
Ἐνδομαχὰς ἀπ' ἀλεκτὼρ,
Συγγονῳ παρ' ἑστιᾳ
Ἀκλεὴς τιμᾶ κατεφυλλοροῆσε ποδῶν.
Εἰ μὴ στάσις ἀντιάνειρα
Κνωσίας ἄμερσε πάτρας.*—*Ολυμπ.* XII.

If my childish revolt against the religion of my country had not stripped me in time of my academic gown, the five important years so liberally improved in the studies and conversation of Lausanne, would have been steeped in port and prejudice among the monks of Oxford. Had the fatigue of idleness compelled me to read, the path of learning would not have been enlightened by a ray of philosophic freedom. I should have grown to manhood ignorant of the life and language of Europe, and my knowledge of the world would have been confined to an English cloister. But my religious error fixed me at Lausanne, in a state of banishment and disgrace. The rigid course of discipline and abstinence to which I was condemned, invigorated the constitution of my mind and body; poverty and pride estranged me from my countrymen. One mischief, however, and in their eyes a serious and irreparable mischief, was derived from the success of my Swiss education: I had ceased to be an Englishman. At the flexible period of youth, from the age of sixteen to twenty-one, my opinions, habits, and sentiments were cast in a foreign mold; the faint and distant remembrance of England was almost obliterated; my native language was grown less familiar; and I should have cheerfully accepted the offer of a moderate independence on the terms of perpetual exile.

[In the spring of the year 1758, Mr. Gibbon, at the expressed desire of his father, returned to England, with a mixture of joy and regret, in the firm resolution of visiting as a man the persons and places which had been so dear to his youth. He traveled post through France and Holland as a companion to two Swiss officers in the Dutch service. The whole time of his first absence from England was seven years, ten months, and fifteen days. Soon after his return he enlisted in the National Militia, and became captain of a battalion of the Hampshire Militia, and as such marched and countermarched, and went through all sorts of military maneuvers for five years—much to the practical knowledge of the language and science of tactics of the future historian of the Fall of the Roman Empire.]

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* Thus like the crested bird of Mars, at home
Engaged in foul domestic jars
And wasted with intestine wars,
Inglorious hadst thou spent thy vig'rous bloom:
Had not sedition's civil broils
Expell'd thee from thy native Crete,
And driv'n thee with more glorious toils
Th' Olympic crown in Pisa's plain to meet.—*West's Pindar.*

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

My love of knowledge was inflamed and gratified by the command of books. From slender beginnings, I have gradually formed a numerous and select library, the foundation of my works, and the best comfort of my life, both at home and abroad. On the receipt of my first quarter, a large share of my allowance was appropriated to my literary wants. I can not forget the joy with which I exchanged a bank note of twenty pounds for the twenty volumes of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions; nor would it have been easy, by any other expenditure of the same sum, to have procured so large and lasting a fund of rational amusement.

After glancing my eye over the design and order of a new book, I suspended the perusal till I had finished the task of self-examination, till I had revolved, in a solitary walk, all that I knew, or believed, or had thought on the subject of the whole work, or of some particular chapter; I was then qualified to discern how much the author had added to my original stock; and I was sometimes satisfied by the agreement, and sometimes aroused by the opposition of our ideas. There are books to be skimmed over, and books to be seriously read. The last I perused with pen in hand to note down my own reflections.

Foreign Travel.

According to the law of custom, and perhaps of reason, foreign travel completes the education of an English gentleman; my father had consented to my wish, but I was detained about four years by my rash engagement in the militia. Two or three years were loosely defined from the term of my absence, and I was left at liberty to spend that time in such places, and in such manner as were most agreeable to my taste and judgment. [Three months were passed in Paris]. In a foreign country curiosity is our business and our pleasure. I devoted many hours of the morning to the circuit of Paris and the neighborhood, to the visit of churches and palaces conspicuous by their architecture, to the royal manufactures, collections of books and pictures, and all the various treasures of art, of learning, and luxury. But the principal end of my journey was to enjoy the society of a polished and amiable people, in whose favor I was strongly prejudiced, and to converse with some authors, whose conversation, as I fondly imagined, must be far more pleasing and instructive than their writings.

[Wherever he resided, he studied diligently the physical geography, the past history, and the actual condition of the country; and sought access to the best society. He concludes this portion of his autobiography as follows:]

After supposing the previous and indispensable requisites of age, judgment, a competent knowledge of men and books, and a freedom from domestic prejudices, I will briefly describe the qualifications which I deem most essential to a traveler. He should be endowed with an active, indefatigable vigor of mind and body, which can seize every mode of conveyance, and support, with a careless smile, every hardship of the road, the weather, or the inn. The benefits of foreign travel will correspond with the degrees of these qualifications; but in this sketch, those to whom I am known will not accuse me of framing my own panegyric. It was at Rome, on the 15th of October, 1764, as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the bare-footed friars were singing vespers in the temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to my mind. But my original plan was circumscribed to the decay of the city rather than of the empire; and, though my reading and reflections began to point toward that object, some years elapsed, and several avocations intervened, before I was seriously engaged in its execution.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

SCHOOL LIFE AND EDUCATIONAL VIEWS.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, who filled the important positions of State Senator and Governor of New York, and United States Senator, and Secretary of State during the administration of President Lincoln, and Andrew Johnson, left behind him an autobiography begun in 1871, at the request of his children, after his return from a journey round the world, and continued down to 1834. From this document we make such extracts as will show the studies and influences in which his school and college life was past.

Autobiography.

I know the fathers of my father and mother only by name and tradition. John Seward, of Morris County, New Jersey, has been described to me as a gentleman of Welsh descent, intelligent, public-spirited, and courteous. He bore, bravely and well, a colonel's commission in the Revolutionary War, and educated a numerous family respectably. He died in 1799. His wife, Mary Swezy, lived until 1816. I remember her as a highly-intellectual woman, pious as well as patriotic, although many of her relations had adhered to the British cause, and consequently found it convenient to seek an asylum, after the war, in Nova Scotia and Canada. Of my maternal grandfather, Isaac Jennings, I know only that he was of English derivation, a well-to-do farmer, who turned out with the militia of Goshen, and, more fortunate than most of his associates, escaped the Indian massacre at the battle of Minisink. His wife, Margaret Jackson, who was of Irish descent, survived him many years. Her peculiarity which I most distinctly remember was, antipathy toward the Roman Catholic religion.

My father, Samuel S. Seward, received such a classic education as the academies of that period furnished, Columbia College, the only one in the colony of New York, being disorganized during the war. He was educated a physician, and during my minority practiced his profession, to which occupation he added those of the farmer, the merchant, and county politician, magistrate, and judge, discharging the functions of all with eminent ability, integrity, and success, and gradually building up what at that day, and in that rural neighborhood, seemed a considerable fortune. He represented Orange County in the State Legislature in 1804, and showed much vigor and ability in debate. My mother, Mary Jennings, enjoyed only the advantages of education in country schools, but improved them. She is remembered by her survivors as a person of excellent sense, gentleness, truthfulness, and candor.

I was the fourth of six children, and the third son, born in 1801, May 16th. A daughter, older than myself, died in infancy; a second daughter and a son

* Autobiography of William H. Seward, from 1801 to 1834.

came after me. I have been told that the tenderness of my health caused me to be early set apart for a collegiate education, then regarded, by every family, as a privilege so high and so costly that not more than one son could expect it.

I remember only one short period when the schoolroom and class emulation were not quite so attractive to me as the hours of recess and recreation. But this devotion was not without its trials. My native village, Florida, then consisted of not more than a dozen dwellings. While the meeting-house was close by, the nearest schoolhouse was half a mile distant. It stood on a rock, over which hung a precipitous wooded cliff. The schoolhouse was one story high; built half of stone and half of wood. It had a low dark attic, which was reached by a ladder. They did say, at the time, that a whole family of witches dwelt in the wooded cliff above the schoolhouse by day, and that they came down from that favorite haunt and took up their lodgings, by night, in the little attic.

One day, before I had reached the age at which I was to take a legitimate place in the school, I went there with my elder brother, without parental permission. While there, and 'all of a sudden,' it grew dark; the light from the windows failing. The larger boys and girls were formed in a circle, round the open door, to recite their customary lessons. I had no doubt that the tyrannical schoolmaster had kept us in school until night, and I expected every moment to see the aërial inhabitants of the hill enter the schoolhouse, and make short work of us all, for obstructing them in their way to their nocturnal abode in the garret. Crying vociferously, I was discharged from the school, and ran for my life homeward. On the way I met what seemed to me a great crowd, some of whom were looking down into a pail of standing water, while others were gazing into the heavens through fragments of smoked glass. In after-years, I came to learn that I had thus been an observer of the total eclipse of the sun which occurred in the year 1806. The phenomenon repeated itself to me, sixty-three long years afterward, under the sixtieth parallel of latitude, in the midst of the Indians of Alaska.

At the age of nine years I was transferred to the Farmers' Hall Academy at Goshen, where my father had been educated. I boarded there with two affectionate cousins, who were nieces of my father, and daughters of the brother-in-law under whom he studied his profession. You have known those ladies well. I need not tell you of the enduring friendship which grew out of that relation. I began then my study of Latin, but my rural training had not prepared me for association with the ambitious youth of the county capital, some of whom insisted that, as I came from a neighboring village, I must establish my right by single combat; and all of whom were disgusted with my refusal to join them in shutting the master out when he required us to attend school on Christmas-day. I cheerfully retired in the spring to studious life at home, where a graduate of a New England college had been employed in a new academy, which, in the mean time, had been erected.

My preparation for college was chiefly made here. I was not long in coming to the discovery that the elaborate education appointed for me had its labors and trials. My daily studies began at five in the morning, and closed at nine at night. The tasks were just the utmost that I could execute, and every day a little more; even the intervals allowed for recreation were utilized. It was my business to drive the cows, morning and evening, to and from distant pas-

tures, to chop and carry in the fuel for the parlor-fire, to take the grain to mill, and fetch the flour, to bring the lime from the kiln, and to do the errands of the family generally; the time of my elder brothers being too precious to permit them to be withdrawn from their labors in the store and on the farm. How happy were the winter evenings, when the visit of a neighbor brought out the apples, nuts, and cider, and I was indulged with a respite from study, and listened to conversation, which generally turned upon politics or religion!

My first schoolmaster in the new academy, whose name I will not mention, must have thought that I had an intuitive knowledge of the art of war, and an aptitude for unraveling the inversions of heathen poetry. He required me, unaided, to translate Cæsar's most terse descriptions of his campaigns, and to render into English prose the most intricate and inverted lines of Virgil. When I failed in these tasks, he brought me upon the floor, with the classic in one hand and the dictionary in the other, to complete the work amid the derision or the pity of my youthful associates. This, although others were served in the same way, was more than I could bear. I contrived, ineffectually, to lose my Latin books in the fields as I passed home; and the schoolmaster, on his part, reported me to my father as too stupid to learn. This brought about the crisis, which was followed by explanations and reform. My father excited my emulation by telling me that I might ultimately become a great lawyer, like Theodore Frelinghuysen and Joseph C. Hornblower, of the neighboring State of New Jersey; and under that influence I readily acquired a double lesson within the time allowed for a single one. The schoolmaster no longer exposed me to disgrace, and I found study thenceforward as attractive as it had before been irksome under his severe administration.

I can now see that surrounding influences early determined me in the bent toward politics. Addison's 'Cato' was presented in one of our school exhibitions; and, although I was too young to take a part in the representation, it made me a hater of military and imperial usurpation for life. I think it a misfortune that that great drama has lost its place on the modern stage.

The opening of an academy at Florida was attended by one of those efforts for local improvement which, too often, prove merely convulsive, as this one did, but which can seldom be injurious. Too much is expected of them, and the failure to realize all brings reaction, followed by ridicule, the most effective weapon of conservatism. The ascent to an academy, from a school which was of the lowest class, never attaining half the stability or character which belongs to the common school, under our present district system, was abrupt, and therefore impossible. Nevertheless teacher, parents, and pupils, were of one consent in trying it. Very ludicrous incidents occurred. The plan embraced four distinct measures, all of which seemed to the pupils of my age, and perhaps even to our rural parents, new inventions. First, we were to learn to 'declaim select pieces.' Second, we were to 'write original compositions.' Third, we were to have a 'debating society.' Fourth, an annual or semi-annual 'dramatic exhibition.'

Charles Jackson, a farmer's son, I think fourteen years old, but large enough for eighteen, dull and awkward, was called up to open the exercises in declamation, with the speech of Romulus on the foundation of Rome. At the first attempt, taking his place in the middle of the schoolroom, with arms hanging straight downward, and eyes dropped to the floor, he spoke the speech in a low

seduced and disgraced; and the third, a boy, followed Zeno in his flight. I regarded all this immorality and wickedness just as inexcusable and ungrateful toward their masters as it would have been in me to bring dishonor upon my parents; nor had I any distinct idea of any difference between the relations of children and slaves. A black woman died in the neighborhood at the age, it was said, of one hundred years. She had been imported when young; and she died asserting a full belief that she was then going back to her native Guinea. How could such a superstition be accounted for? How could the ignorance and vice of these black people, living in the midst of a moral and virtuous community, be accounted for? I early came to the conclusion that something was wrong, and the 'gradual emancipation laws' of the State, soon after coming into debate, enabled me to solve the mystery, and determined me, at that early age, to be an abolitionist. Shall I not stop now to say that, while the family of which I was a member has increased, until it numbers more than eighty persons, all of whom hold respectable positions in society, and some one or more of whom are to be found in every quarter of the globe—the descendants of that slave family in my father's kitchen now number but seven, and these have their only shelter under a roof which I provide for them?

So time went on, and I went on with it, closing my preparatory studies in a new term of six months at the old academy in Goshen, with little variation of habit or occupation, except that my parents occasionally permitted me to attend them in their social visits at Newburg. These excursions gave me the only glimpses I then had of life outside of the sweet little valley in which I was cradled.

*College Life.**

[In 1816, William H. Seward was examined by Prof. McCauley, and found qualified to enter the Junior class, but being only 15 years of age, he matriculated as sophomore.] These two large words signified, for me, a great deal, because I had not the least idea of the meaning of either. Within a week my habits of life were established. The class competition required diligent but not excessive study; while I felt a conscious self-satisfaction in being trusted to pursue my studies and govern my conduct without the surveillance of parent or teacher. The companionship of intelligent and emulous classmates harmonized with my disposition, while I cherished in my secret thoughts aspirations to become, at the end of my three years, the valedictorian of my class. In college-life, if one looks beyond that distinction at all, it is only with the full belief that unto him who obtains that honor all other honors shall come without labor or effort.

Union College, founded in 1795, was now, in 1816, at, or near the height of its prosperity. The President, Dr. Nott, ranked with the most popular preachers of the day; while his great political talents secured him the patronage of all the public men in the State. The discipline of the college was based on the soundest and wisest principles. There was an absence of every thing inquisitorial or suspicious; there were no courts or impeachments; every young man

* On his way to Schenectady to be examined for admission to Union College, young Seward had pointed out to him Chancellor Kent.—'He was the most buoyant and cheerful of men. When he afterward lost his great office and its dignity, he told me that he had never experienced any disappointment worth grieving over. 'A gentleman wants,' he said, 'only a clean shirt and a shilling, every day, and I have never been without them.'

had his appointed studies, recitations, and attendance at prayers; and a demeanor was required which should not disturb the quiet or order of the institution. If he failed or offended, he was privately called into the presence of the president or professor, remonstrated with, and admonished that repeated failure would be made known to his parents for their consideration, while habitual insubordination would be visited with dismissal. What notices were given to parents was never known to any but themselves and their son; nor was any offender ever disgraced by a public notice of his expulsion. I think I know of no institution where a manlier spirit prevailed among the undergraduates than that which distinguished the pupils of Dr. Nott. I can not speak so highly of the system of instruction. There was a daily appointment of three tasks, in as many different studies, which the pupils were required, unaided, to master in their rooms, the young, the dull, and the backward, equally with the most mature and the most astute. The pupil understood that he performed his whole duty when he recited these daily lessons without failure. With most of us the memory was doubtless the faculty chiefly exercised; and where so much was committed mechanically to memory, much was forgotten as soon as learned. It was a consequence of this method of instruction, which, I think, was at that day by no means peculiar to Union College, that every study was not a continuous one, but consisted of fragmentary tasks, while no one volume or author was ever completed. The error, if it be one, is, I suppose, incidental to our general system of education, which sacrifices a full and complete training of the individual to the important object of affording the utmost possible education to the largest number of citizens.

My first session in college was not without its mortifications. When I came to write what are called compositions, I found that, having rarely practiced it, I wrote with difficulty, and confusedly, and it seemed to me that difficulty was incurable, because I had no general supply of facts or knowledge. The first time I rose to speak I encountered a general simper, which, before I got through, broke into laughter. On carefully inquiring the reasons, I found I had a measured drawl. Moreover, the dress which I wore was not of sufficiently fine material, having been awkwardly cut by the village tailor, who came annually to my father's to prepare the wardrobe for the whole rustic family. The former difficulty was so far surmounted as to save me from future mortification; the latter, which did not depend upon any efforts of my own, was only surmounted by my early falling into debt to the accomplished tailors of Schenectady; and this was the beginning of many and serious woes. There was, moreover, a third difficulty. I conceived a desire, not merely to acquire my lessons, but to understand them as well. I had not yet learned either to suspect, or to be suspected of, dishonor. Finding, in my Latin author, passages too obscure to be solved unaided, I went freely, though meekly, to the tutor, and obtained his assistance during the study-hours. Soon afterward the leading members of the class, with the support of the rest, determined to oblige the accomplished tutor to give them shorter lessons, and more frequent holidays. They attempted to effect this by throwing asafœtida on the heated stove, and, when this proceeding failed, one, bolder than the rest, standing behind the tutor, pulled him by the hair. Of course he found out the offenders, and of course they were punished. The whole class suspected an informer; and who could the informer be but myself, who excelled them all in the recitations, who

refused to go into the general meeting, and who was seen daily going to and from the tutor's room upon some errand unexplained? This, I think, was my first experience of partisan excitement. I need not say that I never afterward offended my classmates by seeking to obtain special instruction or aid from my teachers.

[Mr. Seward put himself into a position of insubordination towards his tutor, the distinguished and learned Wayland, afterward President of Brown University, out of which Dr. Nott extricated him; but the difficulty with his father, growing out of his getting in debt for better clothes than his village tailor could make, led to his leaving college, without permission, in Jan., 1819, and going to Georgia, took charge of an academy, for the purpose of earning money enough to pay his tailor's bill, and the expenses for excursions, and loans to more impecunious classmates.]

Experience as a Teacher.

[Landing at Savannah, the earnest student pushed his way up to Augusta, where his companion found employment in the academy.] I proceeded by stage-coach as far as it went, and then hired a gig, which landed me at Mount Zion, in a society that had lately been founded there by immigrants from Orange County, to whom I was known. They were under the pastoral care of Rev. Dr. Beman, who afterward became so distinguished a preacher at Troy, in the State of New York. Here I rested one or two days, while my linen was washed; and then, no longer able to hire a conveyance, I took the road on foot for a journey thirty miles, more or less, to Eatonton, the capital town of Putnam County. Farmers, there called 'Crackers,' cheerfully gave me a lift as I overtook them on the way, and shared their provisions with me. Arriving at the town late at night, and weary, I was shown into a large ballroom, which I found filled with long rows of cots, one of which was assigned to me. My reflections in the morning were by no means cheerful. Inquiring of the tavern-keeper, I learned that the academy which I was looking for was in a new settlement, ten miles distant. I was to make that journey with only nine shillings and sixpence, New York currency, in hand, after paying my reckoning. The shirt I wore, of course, was soiled with the wear of travel, and the light cravat I wore was worse. I invested eight shillings in a neckcloth, which concealed the shirt-bosom, and with the one and sixpence remaining I resumed my journey.

Arriving at a country store, standing at the cross-roads, after walking eight miles, I came to a rest, communicated the news which I had received at Eatonton, and in return was enlightened with the merchant's news of the admission of Missouri into the Union, then under debate in Congress, and with what was more directly to my own purpose, the names and residences of the planters living in the neighborhood who had founded the new academy of which I was in search. I was directed to Mr. Ward, whose house was distant two miles and a half, as the person to whom I should apply. Going a mile and a half through the woods, I became both hungry and thirsty, and quite too weary to go farther. A double cottage, built of logs, that is to say, a log-house of one story, with two rooms, one on each side of the door, invited me. It was new, its windows were without glass, and its chimney not yet 'topped out;' but manifestly it was occupied, because domestic utensils lay about the doorway, and the blanket which served for a door was drawn up. I found there a lady, yet youthful, and

handsome as she was refined, with her two small children. The owner of the house was Dr. Iddo Ellis, a physician, who had emigrated there only a year or two before from Auburn, New York, and his wife was a daughter of the Rev. Mr. Phelps, an Episcopal clergyman at that place. The doctor soon came home, and it was immediately made known to me that a visitor who had just come from the vicinity of their ancient home could not be allowed to go farther, although he might fare better than in their humble and unfurnished cottage. Of course, I stopped there, and during the evening told my hospitable entertainers of my journey and its object, giving the explanation that I was impatient to begin the work of life in the new and attractive field which they had found. The house had no partitions, but I had a separate apartment for sleep, which was easily made by suspending a coverlid from the beam to the floor.

After an early breakfast, the doctor summoned a meeting of the trustees, which I could attend, at eleven o'clock. They were five in number. Major William Alexander, of the militia, a genial planter, was president; William Turner, Esq., Treasurer of the State, was secretary; and Dr. Ellis chief debater. The matter of my introduction was promptly disposed of. My traveling associate, who, while we were yet in college, had accepted the call to this academy, had obtained a more distinguished situation at Augusta, and had recommended me. Dr. Ellis spoke kindly of the impression which my brief acquaintance with him had made. Mr. Turner, who had had a better academic education than the rest, asked me a few general questions; and then Colonel Alexander announced that the board did not think it necessary to extend the examination further. I withdrew, that the board might consider.

If ever mortal youth was struck dumb by pleasant surprise, I was that youth, when William Turner, Esq., rose before me, six feet high, grave and dignified, and made me this speech: 'Mr. Seward, the trustees of Union Academy have examined you, with a view to ascertain whether you are qualified to assume the charge of the new institution they have founded. They have desisted from that examination because they have found that you are better able to examine them than they are to examine you. The trustees desire to employ you, but they fear that they are unable to make you such a proposition as your abilities deserve. The school is yet to be begun, and with what success, of course, they do not know. The highest offer that they feel able to make is eight hundred dollars for the year, with board in such of their houses as you may choose, to be paid for at the rate of one hundred dollars a year. But the academy will not be finished for six weeks, during which time you will be without employment. We will compensate you for that delay by furnishing you a horse and carriage, in which you can travel in any part of the State, and, in the interval of rest, you will board among us without charge.'

[Mr. Seward's experiences as a teacher can hardly be said to have had a beginning before it closed. His parents, informed of his sudden departure from Schenectady, made diligent inquiries for him, and a letter from his mother and sister, written in a state of distraction, brought the son back to college, but not till he had opened his school, and installed his successor. He returned to Schenectady, joined his own class in its senior year, and graduated, but not without new trials which are thus described by himself.]

A new state of things, however, had occurred during the year of my absence from college. Previously to that event, the students from the North and the

South mingled promiscuously and lived harmoniously together. The great debate of the Missouri Compromise, which occurred during the year, faintly disclosed to the public the line of alienation upon which, forty years afterward, the great civil war, through which we have just passed, was contested. Union College, during that year, received a large accession of students who, even at that early day, had become known as 'Southerners.' Previous to their coming, the students were divided between two literary societies, secret according to the custom of the time, the one 'the Philomathean,' the other 'the Adelphic,' which were nearly coeval with the college itself. Of these, the Philomathean was the larger and more popular, as it claimed to be, by a year or two, the more ancient. I belonged to the Adelphic, which, at that time, consoled itself for inferiority of numbers by pretensions to superior scholarship. The Southerners, on their arrival at the college, had joined the Philomathean, but soon afterward had complained of oppression, seceded and organized a third (and, of course, exclusive) society, under the name of 'Delphian Institute,' which new society was improvidently sanctioned by the faculty.

This division of the Philomathean Society, not unnaturally, agitated the Adelphic, leading members of which anticipated an increase of their own strength from the diminution of the numbers and prestige of their great rival, the Philomathean. The agitation drew into discussion, not at all the question of slavery, but the relative merits of Southern and Northern society. It seemed to be believed by both parties that the opinions I should express, after having had a six months' experience in the South, would carry weight. The Philomatheans claimed my sympathy on the ground of the character I had established for independence. The Adelphic sympathizers with the seceders claimed my adhesion on the ground of loyalty to the institution to which I belonged, and which had crowned me with all its little honors. Thus at that early day, before my educational course was ended, I stood upon the threshold of national politics. I promptly decided that the Southern secession was unjustifiable and disloyal to the institution and the country, while I made due acknowledgments of the hospitable and chivalrous character of the South. This decision brought me into direct conflict with the recognized leaders of the Adelphic Society. They caused me to be indicted and arraigned for some offense against the institution, the nature of which I do not remember, but the punishment for which was expulsion. The college honors, whatever they might be, lay beyond that preliminary trial. I appeared on the day appointed, and met the charge with such proofs as I could command. I addressed the society, but without any previous canvass of my judges. I spoke alone in self-defense, and, when I closed, I asserted that I did not then know the opinion of any member; that even if the decision was one of expulsion, I should never inquire how any member of the society had cast his vote; that I disdained the advantage of hearing the summing up of my accusers, as well as the debate preliminary to the final vote. With this speech I left the chamber. An hour or two afterward there was a rush of generous young men into the antechamber where I sat in waiting. I had been triumphantly acquitted. An election as one of the three representatives of the Adelphic Society who were to speak on commencement-day, an election by the class as one of its managers for that day, and finally the assignment of my name in an alphabetical arrangement of the members of the class receiving the highest honors of the college, easily followed the ill-considered and unsuccessful impeachment.

A review at this day of the experience of this my last term in college leaves me in doubt upon the question of precocity. My *chef d'œuvre* in the Literary Society was an essay in which I demonstrated that the Erie Canal (then begun under the auspices of De Witt Clinton, the leader of the political party in the State to which I was opposed) was an impossibility, and that, even if it should be successfully constructed, it would financially ruin the State. The subject of my commencement oration was 'The Integrity of the American Union.'

Commencement in July was signalized by an open feud between the Delphians, now known as the 'Southerners,' and the combined Philomatheans and Adelphics, now the Northern party. The class separated on the stage, and I think it was not until thirty years afterward that I received a kind recognition from any one of the seceders.

The honors of the class were reserved for the close of the entire academic course, at the end of the senior year. Competition for these honors began at the organization of the freshman class, and the final award depended upon the smallest number of failures exhibited in recitations during the entire course. The class had hardly commenced its curriculum before candidates appeared, as in the case of a presidential election, demanding, prematurely, a division of the faculty, and of the suffrages of the class. It was impossible to avoid a suspicion that the partiality of the faculty was to be won by servile or unmanly compliances with their caprices. However that might be, I thought I discovered that the competitors who aspired to the great reward came to exhibit less of sympathy than others with their classmates, and to take a more contracted view of subjects of general interest. In short, while I would have been willing to receive the honors of valedictorian, I doubted very much whether they were to be desired at the expense of, at least, the isolation which the pursuit of them involved. I do not know how much I had become demoralized, by sentiments of this sort, at the beginning of the junior year, but I was brought to a serious reconsideration of them, when it was finally announced that the Phi Beta Kappa Society of the United States, which embraced in its members all the eminent philosophers, scholars, and statesmen of the country, and which had already three branches—one at Harvard, one at Yale, and one, I think, at Dartmouth—had determined to establish a fourth branch at Union College, and that its membership would be conferred, at the end of the year, upon those only of the junior class who excelled in scholarship. Ought I not to be ambitious to have my name enrolled in a society of which De Wit Clinton, Chancellor Kent, and Dr. Nott, were members? Would it not be a disgrace to be left out? Besides, the Phi Beta Kappa was a secret society, and was it not a case of laudable pride and curiosity, not merely to acquire great secrets of science, but to hold them in common with the great men of the country and the age? I determined to make a trial. My room-mate agreed to share with me the labors and privations of it. We quitted the college commons, supplied ourselves with provisions for living in our own room throughout the long period of trial. We rose at three o'clock in the morning, cooked and spread our own meals, washed our own dishes, and spent the whole time which we could save from prayers and recitations, and the table, in severe study, in which we unreservedly and constantly aided each other. The fruits of this study were soon seen in our work. It was not enough for us to solve the most difficult equation in algebra or problem of Euclid upon the blackboard, but we went through them

without the use of lines or figures; it was not enough for us to read Homer or Cicero, translating the passages, word by word, into English, but, when called upon to recite, we closed the book, and recited the text in a carefully prepared and euphonious version. Need I say that we entered the great society without encountering the deadly blackball?

The junior year closed with introducing me into a political field, much broader than that of the college. Daniel D. Tompkins had been advanced, in 1816, to the vice-presidency of the United States. A schism, which occurred in the same election, had divided the Republican party into two sections: at the head of one of which was De Witt Clinton, then the Governor of the State; and at the head of the other was Martin Van Buren. The latter faction, despairing of defeating Governor Clinton in the election, had nominated the popular Vice-President for the gubernatorial office. My training at home had prepared me to be an earnest admirer of Tompkins, and of course hostile to Clinton. Vice-President Tompkins, at the request of his party, made a progress through the eastern part of the State, and, in 'swinging round the circle,' came to Schenectady. He had a reception in the city, which, of course, was a party one. The Republican students, nicknamed 'Buck-tails,' thought it a patriotic duty to receive him at the college. Should I not study carefully the first political speech I was to make, especially when that speech was an address to the greatest patriot and statesman whom my native State had produced? I did study the speech, and I did make it; but, like many other well-studied speeches, made to or for political candidates in our country, this effort of mine 'fell on stony ground;' and, in spite of the advice of the Republican students of Union College, De Witt Clinton was re-elected Governor of the State of New York.

[Mr. Seward pursued his preparatory studies for the Bar, in the law-office of John Duer, and John Anthon, of New York.] The young lawyers and students in New York, then less numerous than now, had a literary society called 'The New York Forum,' in which they in private tried causes as a mock court; while they defrayed their expenses by the sale of tickets of admission to their public meetings, in which they recited or declaimed original compositions. I was an active and earnest member of this association. It was useful to all its members, while it afforded me one experience peculiarly useful to myself. Earlier than I can remember I had had a catarrhal affection, which had left my voice husky and incapable of free intonation. I had occasion, throughout my college course, to discover that I was unsuccessful in declamation. When I came to deliver my own compositions in competition with others, they received applauses which were denied to me. This discouraged me as a writer. The same experience continued in the public exercises of the New York Forum. A fellow law-student, who very soon afterward attained distinction, which he yet enjoys, as a great and eloquent divine, always carried away the audience by his declamation in these debates. He assured me that my essays, which fell upon the audience with much less effect, were superior in merit to his own, and generously offered me a chance for trial. He wrote and gave to me the best essay he could produce; and I, in exchange, gave him one of mine. I pronounced his speech as well as I could, but it did not take at all. He followed me with my speech, and I think Broadway overheard the clamorous applause which arose on that occasion in Washington Hall.

(*To be continued.*)

CAMBRIDGE SYSTEM OF EXAMINATIONS.

THE MATHEMATICAL TRIPOS.—FROM LATHAM'S EXAMINATIONS.

The Mathematical Tripos has a history; it has been long enough in existence for its remote and indirect effects to have become apparent, and for the action of the remedies which were applied to be observed. It has grown up much as an organism may be supposed to be developed in the course of ages; we shall find that one member dropped off when it ceased to be wanted, and that another was thrown out when occasion required. These changes were in part due to the changes in the external conditions which had to be fulfilled; but besides this they were in part due to the effects of the public opinion of a highly educated body of teachers, who were quick to mark unhealthy tendencies. If the scheme of the Mathematical Tripos had been laid down once for all on paper like that of the Examination for the Indian Civil Service, it would have been less suitable for its purpose; it would then have been not a growth but a construction, and we could have learnt nothing as to its laws of development.

Moreover this Examination acquired quite early in the present century a high reputation for the integrity and ability with which it was conducted. Lord Macaulay repeatedly pointed out the correspondence of its verdicts with successes subsequently gained in life, and his remarks have attracted much attention. In awarding Fellowships the result of the Tripos has been allowed great weight, and no complaints have been heard as to fairness.

In consequence, when a difficulty arose about the bestowal of Government patronage, the public caught from the Mathematical Tripos the idea of introducing competitive Examinations. The word "competitive" has become a technical term, and must be rigorously defined. I would say that an Examination is strictly competitive when one candidate is depressed or excluded by the superiority of another. The Mathematical Tripos is competitive in point of depressing, not of excluding The *place* of a candidate in a class is affected by the number of those who do better, but his *class* is not affected by the number of competitors, there may be any number of Wranglers, Senior Optimes, and Junior Optimes, provided sufficient candidates reach the respective standards, which are approximately fixed by tradition The Examination for the Indian Civil Service is competitive in both ways. The names are placed in order of merit, certain advantages arise from position, and a candidate, however well qualified *absolutely*, is unsuccessful if fifty candidates obtain a greater total of marks. The Oxford Examinations are not competitive in the limited sense in which I mean to employ the term. The names in each class are placed in alphabetical order. We hear, indeed, now and then that a person is the "best first-class of his year," but this rests only on rumor As, however, a closer discrimination is required in order to award Fellowships, the public Examinations at Oxford have to be supplemented by subsequent College Examinations, which are in the strictest sense competitive.

It was owing to its historical origin that the names in the Mathematical Tripos came to be arranged in order of merit, for the "Tripos," as we shall see, arose out of an order of seniority which had to be established among the Bachelors of a year in order to determine precedency and priority of claim to certain University offices We shall find that the order of seniority came more and more to depend on merit, and thereby greater credit was attached to a position. Such a list was found of service in estimating the merits of candidates for Fellowships. There were times in which the elections to college emoluments were not only affected by crown influence but were as much exposed to the action of jobbery and party spirit as government or local patronage has been since Those who had it at heart to raise the moral tone of the University in this respect pointed to the "Tripos list," as it was called, as furnishing a criterion of relative merit unaffected by personal predilections, and exposed to the healthy influence of publicity. The more the "Tripos list" came to be used for this purpose, the more carefully it was framed.

DEVELOPMENT OF EXAMINATIONS.

The credit of originating the Cambridge system of examinations belongs to Rev. John Jebb,* who in 1773 presented a plan of "an annual examination in the Greek and Latin classics, and the elements of geometry and algebra, without respect of noblemen and fellow-commoners, who were to be subjected to a second examination in *Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding*, natural philosophy, and modern history"—with the expectation of support from Dr. Cooke, of King's College, the new Vice-Chancellor. Early in 1774 he published his "*Remarks on the Mode of Education in the University of Cambridge, with a Plan for its Improvement.*" In May of the same year he brought his scheme before the University, when it was rejected by the Caput, although it received support from several of the prominent Heads. In July, on motion of the Vice-Chancellor, a syndicate was appointed to consider the subject, which reported unfavorably. But the author of the scheme persevered and on February 17, 1774, a grace was drafted by him which passed the two Houses; for the appointment of a committee "to draw up a plan for the improvement of the academical course of the university." The syndics appointed offered to the Senate a series of resolutions, embodying Mr. Jebb's plans. All noblemen and fellow-commoners admitted thereafter, and all pensioners and sizars admitted after the commencement in 1773, are declared subject to one public examination for the degree of B. A. Provision is made for the appointment and payment of examiners, and for three examinations, and for the classification of the best scholars according to merit—expulsion from the University to be the penalty for any absence not excused. The resolutions were approved by the Caput, but lost in the Senate by one vote in the blockhood, or non-regent house. The movement produced much excitement and several pamphlets. "*A Letter to the Author of the Plan for the Establishment of Public Examinations*," was attributed to the head of Trinity Hall, and "*An Observation on the Design of Establishing Annual Examinations*" by Dr. Powell, of St. John's, was replied to by "Priscilla," the wife of Mr. Jebb. This lady, without waiting for the "new era of woman's rights," asserted and exercised her right divine of intellect and knowledge to maintain her own deliberately formed opinions, and to become a helpmeet to her husband in matters literary as well as domestic. In 1766 (Feb. 2) he again attempted to secure a grace for annual examinations, but the measure was again lost; but the cause itself was not lost, only its triumph was postponed.

Not harmonizing entirely with the doctrines of the Established Church, and following the advice of his brother, he resigned his clerical functions, to practise medicine. Locating in Craven street, London, he attended the lectures of Dr. Hunter and other London physicians, received a diploma as Doctor of Physic from St. Andrew's University, and was admitted licentiate by the College of Physicians in June, 1777. In the same year Dr. Priestly dedicated to him his *Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity*. In the year following he was admitted Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1780 he proposed Charles James Fox as candidate for Westminster, and was a staunch supporter of his policy until his coalition with Lord North, in 1783. He died March 2, 1786.

* Son of Dr. John Jebb, Dean of Cashel, born in 1736, and admitted pensioner of Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1754, second wrangler in 1757, members' prizeman in 1756, and fellow in 1761, was moderator in 1762-3, taxor in 1764-5, lecturer in mathematics and natural philosophy in 1768. In 1771 he labored to abrogate the rule requiring subscription to the thirty nine articles on admission to the degree of B. A., and other movements in the same direction were said "to be forged on Mr. Jebb's anvil." He was a reformer of University abuses and ecclesiastical illiberalities generally. After laboring several years to get his scheme for examinations officially recognized, and achieving only defeat and personal unpopularity, in 1776 he left Cambridge.

EXAMINATIONS AND EXERCISES IN 1773.

The following account of the literary discipline at Cambridge, preparatory to the conferring of the first Degree of Arts, is taken from "*Remarks upon the Present Mode of Education in the University of Cambridge*, with a proposal for its improvement by Rev. John Jebb, M.A., late Fellow of St. Peter's College, 1773."

In the beginning of the month of January, one of the Proctor's servants goes round to every college in the University (Trinity Hall and King's College excepted), and requires a list of the students who in the subsequent January intend to offer themselves as candidates for the Bachelor's degree.

The names of the students, being thus collected, are delivered to one of the two Moderators, who transcribes them into a book, for purposes which will be presently explained.

These public exercises are held in the afternoon, for five days in the week during term time; the Moderator appearing a little before two, and frequently continuing in the schools till the clock strikes four.

Upon the first Monday after the commencement of the January term, the Moderator, whose turn it is to preside, gives written notice to one of the students in his list, that it is his pleasure he should appear in the schools as a disputant on that day fortnight.

This person, who is now called the *Respondent*, in a few hours after he has received the summons, waits upon the Moderator with three propositions or questions; the truth of which he is to maintain against the objections of any three students of the same year, whom the Moderator shall think proper to nominate, and who on this occasion are called *Opponents*.

The questions, proposed by the Respondent, are written upon four separate papers, according to a form, of which the following is a specimen:

Q. S.

Planetæ primarii retinentur in orbitis suis vi gravitatis, et motu projectili.
Iridis primariæ et secundariæ phænomena solvi possunt ex principiis opticis.
Recte statuit Lockius de qualitatibus corporum. *Resp. Jun.* 10*mo.*

At the bottom of three of these papers the Moderator writes the name of a student, whom he thinks capable of opposing the questions of the Respondent, with the words, *Oppomentium primus*, *secundus*, or *tertius*, denoting the order in which the Opponents are to appear.

One of these papers is sent to each Opponent; and from that which remains, the Moderator, at his leisure, transcribes the questions, together with the names of the Respondent and Opponents, into his book.

When one Moderator has thus given out the exercise for a week, he sends the book to the other, who proceeds according to the same method, and then returns the book to his colleague.

The fortnight of preparation being expired, the Respondent appears in the schools; he ascends the rostrum, and reads a Latin dissertation, called with us a thesis, upon any one of the three questions he thinks proper; the Moderator attending in his place

As soon as the Respondent has finished his thesis, which generally takes ten minutes in the reading, the Moderator calls upon the first Opponent to appear. He immediately ascends a rostrum opposite to the Respondent, and proposes his *arguments* against the questions in syllogistical form.

Eight arguments, each consisting of three or four syllogisms, are brought up by the first Opponent, five by the second, and three by the third.

When the exercise has for some time been carried on according to the strict rules of logic, the disputation insensibly slides into free and unconfined debate; the Moderator in the meantime explaining the argument of the Opponent, when necessary; restraining both parties from wandering from the subject; and frequently adding at the close of each argument his own determination upon the point in dispute.

These exercises are improving; and are often performed with great spirit. But many persons of good judgment, observing with pain the unclassical Latin, frequently uttered by the student upon these occasions, have maintained, that the knowledge of that language is not promoted by the present method of disputation; and have delivered it as their opinion, that these exercises should be held in English, in order to their absolute perfection.

The three Opponents, having in their turns exhausted their whole flock of arguments, are dismissed by the Moderator in their order, with such a compliment, as in his estimation they deserve; and the exercise closes with the dismission of the Respondent in a similar manner.

The Moderator, upon his return to his chambers, records the merit of the disputants by marks, set opposite to their respective names,

This exercise, with the preparation for the subsequent examination in January, appears to be sufficient employment for the last year; and the apprehension of it is so alarming, that the student, after two years and a quarter's residence, during which time no proof whatever of his proficiency is required, frequently seeks to avoid the difficulty or disgrace, by commencing fellow commoner, or by declaring his intention of proceeding in civil law.

These exercises being duly performed, the Vice-Chancellor appoints three days, in the beginning of the January term, for the examination of the *Questionists*: this being the appellation of the students during the last six weeks of their preparation.

The Moderators, some days before the arrival of the time prescribed by the Vice-Chancellor, meet for the purpose of forming the student into divisions of six, eight, or ten, according to their performance in the schools, with a view to the ensuing examination.

Upon the first of the appointed days, at eight o'clock in the morning, the students enter the senate house, preceded by a Master of Arts from each college, who on this occasion is called the *Father* of the college to which he belongs.

After the Proctors have called over the names, each of the Moderators sends for a division of the students; they sit with him round a table, with pens, ink, and paper before them; he enters upon his talk of examination, and does not dismiss the set till the hour is expired. This examination has now for some years been held in the English language.

The examination is varied according to the abilities of the students. The Moderator generally begins with proposing some questions from the six books of Euclid, plane trigonometry, and the first rules of algebra. If any person fails in an answer, the question goes to the next. From the elements of mathematics a transition is made to the four branches of philosophy, viz., mechanics, hydrostatics, apparent astronomy, and optics, as explained in the works of Cotes, Helsham, Rutherford, Keil, Long, Maclaurin, and Smith If the Moderator finds the set of Questionists under examination capable of answering him, he proceeds to the eleventh and twelfth books of Euclid, conic sections, spherical trigonometry, the higher parts of algebra, and Sir Isaac Newton's Principia. Having closed the philosophical examination, he sometimes asks a few questions in Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, Butler's Analogy, or Clarke's Attributes. But as the highest academical distinctions are invariably given to the best proficients in mathematics and natural philosophy, a very superficial knowledge in morality and metaphysics will suffice.

When the division under examination is one of the higher classes, problems are also proposed, with which the student retires to a distant part of the Senate House, and returns with his solution upon paper to the Moderator, who at his leisure compares it with the solutions of other students, to whom the same problems have been proposed.

The extraction of roots, the arithmetic of surds, the various kinds of equations, as treated of in the algebra of Saunderson and Maclaurin, together with the doctrine of fluxions, as delivered by Lyons, Simpson, Emerson, and Newton, generally form the subject matter of these problems.

When the clock strikes nine, the Questionists are dismissed to breakfast: they return at half-past nine, and stay till eleven; they go in again at half-past one, and stay till three; and lastly, they return at half-past three, and stay till five.

The hours of attendance are the same upon the subsequent day.

On the third day they are finally dismissed at eleven.

During the hours of attendance, every division is twice examined in form, once by each of the Moderators, who are engaged for the whole time in this employment.

As the Questionists are examined in divisions of only six or eight at a time, but a small portion of the whole number is engaged at any particular hours with the Moderators; and, therefore, if there were no further examination, much time would remain unemployed.

But the Moderator's inquiry into the merits of the candidates forms the least material part of the examination.

The *Fathers* of the respective colleges, zealous for the credit of the societies of which they are the guardians, are incessantly employed in examining those students who appear most likely to contest the palm of glory with their sons.

This part of the process is as follows:

The *Father* of a college takes the student of a different college aside, and, sometimes for an hour and a half together, strictly examines him in every part of mathematics and philosophy, which he professes to have read.

After he hath from this examination formed an accurate idea of the student's abilities and acquired knowledge, he makes a report of his absolute or comparative merit to the Moderators, and every other *Father* who shall ask him the question.

Besides the *Fathers*, all Masters of Arts, and Doctors, of whatever faculty they be, have the liberty of examining whom they please; and they also report the event of each trial to every person who shall make the inquiry.

The Moderators and *Fathers* meet at breakfast, and at dinner. From the variety of reports, taken in connection with their own examination, the former are enabled, about the close of the second day, so far to settle the comparative merits of the candidates, as to agree upon the names of four and twenty, who to them appear most deserving of being distinguished by marks of academical approbation.

These four and twenty are recommended to the Proctors for their private examination, and if approved by them, and no reason appears against such placing of them from any subsequent inquiry, their names are set down in two divisions according to that order in which they deserve to stand—are afterwards printed—and read over upon a solemn day in the presence of the Vice-Chancellor and the assembled university.

The names of the twelve, who in the course of the examination appear next in desert, are also printed, and are read over in the presence of the Vice-Chancellor and the assembled university, upon a day subsequent to the former.

Four additional names are generally inserted in the former list (which is called the list of the Wranglers and Senior Optimes) at the discretion of the Vice-Chancellor, two Proctors, and the senior Regent; and the numbers are sometimes varied, from a regard to accidental circumstances. In the latter list, or that of Junior Optimes, the number of twelve is almost constantly adhered to.

It is to be observed, that no student can be a candidate for the medals annually given by the Chancellor for the encouragement of classical learning, unless his name appears in the former of these lists

The students, who appear to have merited neither praise nor censure, pass unnoticed; while those, who have taken no pains to prepare themselves for the examination, and have appeared with discredit in the schools, are distinguished by particular tokens of disgrace.

The advantages attendant upon this mode of examination are so obvious, that this account of it needs no comment. It is only to be lamented that merit in mathematics and philosophy should be rewarded, so much to the exclusion of every other kind of literary improvement.

It may not be improper to add, that, if a Fellow Commoner is candidate for a degree, he is excused, for what reason I cannot say, from the necessity of performing exercise in the public schools.

Many attempts have from time to time been made by the Moderators to remove the present imperfections in our course; but the event hath shown that the evil in question can be remedied only by the exertion of a superior authority.

The author of the above account (Rev. John Jebb) was abundantly competent from vigor of intellect and familiar acquaintance with the University to speak with authority, as to what was actually done at Cambridge, and to be heeded in what he should suggest for the advancement of its studies. He was educated at Shrewsbury, Dublin University, and Pembroke College (Cambridge) where he became second wrangler, fellow, and tutor of his college for fifteen years, and moderator five times. He was a good Hebrew and Arabic scholar, and was a candidate for the professorship of the latter. In his 'Remarks' on the existing (1773) mode of Education, he dwells on the absence of motives to diligence to withstand the dangerous temptations which await the young student at his first entrance on Academical life. "At this time it should be our peculiar care to confirm the habits of application, gained in preparatory seminaries, by a more extensive exercise of the emulative affections, and fruits of a more important kind; yet, strange as it must appear, no evidence is required of the student's proficiency in the course prescribed by the custom of the university, until the time of his appearance as a disputant in the public schools. Thus the first years of res-

idence are generally spent in indolence and extravagance; and the last in an obstinate course of labors, that enfeeble the mental powers of the student, and frequently destroy his health.

"Nor is the partiality, afforded to one particular branch of study by the custom of the University, less reprehensible. Beneficial and necessary as the study of the mathematics and of natural philosophy is, it should not entirely engross the youthful mind, whose inquiries ought to be directed also to metaphysical and moral truth. To excel in just sentiment and expressive diction, the student must direct his view to the finished compositions of Greece and Rome; yet, excepting the encouragements given by the Chancellor and University-members, classical merit is altogether disregarded. The study of history also, that pleasing monitor, which affords the most important lessons for the conduct of life, is not sufficiently encouraged.

"And, to sum up the matter of complaint in a few words, a most every valuable attainment is defrauded of its proper portion of praise; while those honorary distinctions, which ought to be the rewards of successful labors in every branch of useful literature, and which, if judiciously distributed, would fix the fervent attention of youth to each important object of pursuit, are, at present, dispensed, with a culpable partiality, in favor of the proficients in one particular division of the sciences. The consequences are such, as might naturally be expected to take place; the academic changes the seat of his residence for scenes which demand accomplishments of a different nature from those, to which glory and profit are annexed within the walls of Cambridge—his acquisitions appear unimportant in the eyes of his fellow-citizens—and he therefore either resigns himself to despondency, or seeks for happiness in the gratifications of a dissipated life. To inspire a continuous and all-pervading motive and stimulus he proposed an

Annual Examination in Every Study.

Let an *Examination* of *all* the undergraduates, ranged according to their standing in the University, be *annually* held in the Senate-house, in the May term, a little before the time of its division.

Let the subject-matter of this examination be the Law of Nature and of Nations, Chronology, History, Classics, Mathematics, Metaphysics, and Philosophy natural and moral; and let no person in *statu pupillari* be permitted to plead his order, as an exemption from attending.

Let the Classic Authors, and portions of History, which shall appear most deserving of academical attention, be previously settled by those persons whom the University shall delegate for this purpose; and publicly given out each year, as the course prescribed for examination in the year which follows; and let honorary rewards be dispensed to those students who shall distinguish themselves in each division.

And, more particularly, let the portions of Mathematics and Philosophy, which are intended to be the subject of each examination, be limited with precision; with a view of reducing, within due bounds, the application to a study, which, however useful, has of late engrossed too much of the attention of the student.

The more powerfully to invite our academical youth to aim at excelling in Latin or English composition, let the donation of books of the most elegant editions, embellished with the arms of the University, and inscriptions suitable to the occasion, be superadded to those merely honorary distinctions which the University shall propose as inducements to literary improvement.

Let not the members of that Royal Foundation, which has always been conspicuously eminent with respect to classical merit, any longer be deprived of an opportunity of distinguishing themselves by the display of every valuable attainment.

And in the examination preceding that for the degree of Bachelor in Arts, let not improvements in sacred literature remain without their share of praise.

It is not intended that this course should, in any respect, interfere with the statutable exercise of the University; nor that it should supersede, but be rather preparatory to, the more important examination for the Bachelor's degree.

Code of Regulations of 1779, *and Changes.*

The course of proceedings for the B A. degree, which has just been related, had gradually grown up, and the regulations rested on a traditional but well-understood practice. Dr. Jebb's proposed changes attracted the attention of the University to the state of the Examinations, and in 1779 a code of regulations was drawn up. The general purport of this code was to warrant by legislation what had hitherto rested on custom, and the mode of procedure continued to be, in the main, very similar to that which has been described; but one or two points call for notice.

Prior to 1779, it had been found that many candidates for Honors had hurried forward to the more advanced subjects, without being thoroughly acquainted with the lower ones. Tutors had been asked to warn their pupils that the moderators would not allow credit for answers to questions in the more abstruse parts of subjects, to those who had shown ignorance in the lower parts. This warning was embodied in a Grace in 1779. A candidate who is deficient in his Euclid and elementary Natural Philosophy is to be given to understand—"altiora mathesios nequicquam se assecutum."

This complaint of the neglect of the lower subjects, as we shall find, frequently recurs, this evil may no doubt be encouraged by certain forms of Examination, but it is not one with which the Examination system is to be specially charged. It is brought to light, indeed, by Examinations, but it exists in systems of education into which Examinations do not enter. A remedy for this evil was afterwards found in a lengthened preliminary Examination in the lower subjects.

According to the "Grace" of 1779, the candidates are to be broken up into classes for examination by the moderators, according to the estimate they have formed of them from the "Act." A day was to be given to questions in Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Locke *On the Human Understanding.* The words of the Grace "Quum Philosophia Moralis in Examinatione plerisque nimium neglecta videatur," point to a neglect of this branch. The candidates were divided into six previous classes, which were to be examined in different subjects, according to their reading. The questions from books were given out *vivâ voce*, the problem papers were printed, if not so early as 1779, at least within a few years afterwards. The morning problems were given to all the classes in the Senate House no writing-tables were provided, but the candidates usually knelt down and wrote in the window seat; or sometimes on the flat board of the college cap, the tassel having been torn out. The evening problems were only given to the higher classes who went to the moderators' rooms

Only two classes were to be examined in book-work at a time by the moderators. The reason given for this is a curious one: "Quo cautum sit ne Quæstionistæ ab Examinatoribus nimium occupati aliorum Regentium et Non-Regentium Examinationi minus vacare possent." This shows that the body of Masters of Arts still exercised their privilege of examining—of course gratuitously, and were tenacious of it. In fact the whole residing body of the Senate regarded themselves as engaged in education, as well as in supervision.

At the end of the Examination the Moderators and Examiners (for the moderators of the preceding year were to act as Examiners) were to put out a list of names "in classes quam minimas," that is to say, a rough classification took place. These classes were called "Brackets." If all those whose names were included in a Bracket were content to abide by what they had done, the Examination was at an end; but if any one wished for an additional Examination, some well-known Examiner was called in for this purpose. After this the moderators, taking counsel with all those who had assisted in the Examination, drew up a final list in order of merit 'finalis Honorum designatio.'

After this, the length of the Examination was increased from time to time, but the general plan of it remained the same until 1828, when the number of the previous classes was reduced to four, and the Examiners were permitted to give the same Examination to all if they thought fit. They availed themselves of this permission to some extent. The Moral Philosophy seems by this time again to have become inoperative. In order to enforce attention to the lower subjects it was directed that on the first day of the Examination the Differential Calculus should not be used. But the change which had the most practical effect was, that the whole of the questions—those from books and not only the problems as hitherto—were ordered to be printed, and they were published in the

Cambridge Calendar. This brought the course for Mathematical Honors clearly before the public; and it very soon showed its effect in an increase of the number of candidates. It spread the influence of the Examination over the whole country, and the *direct* and *immediate* effect of this was salutary, as that of Examinations generally has been. The *remote* effects require a fuller analysis.

The code of regulations sanctioned in 1837 completed the series of changes which converted the course of academical exercises for a degree in Honors at Cambridge into a competitive Examination in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. By a stretch of the powers of the University, the series of Disputations in the Arts' Faculty, which had for years become so mere a form as not even to furnish satisfactory grounds for dividing the candidates into previous classes for examination, was now utterly swept away, and the whole system laid down by the Statutes of Elizabeth, was replaced by a continuous Examination, lasting for six days, in which all candidates had the same questions proposed on paper.

Cambridge was proud of the institution she had perfected, and she might well be so. She had invented a method of estimating merit, which was extremely definite, and which as long as it was confined to the Mathematical Sciences was singularly correct. The credit of the Tripos rests on the order it lays down being confirmed by the judgment of the principal Tutors. A Tutor who has marked the way in which different men take in matter and make it their own, must be able to rate their powers more nicely than an Examiner can, who only sees what they produce on paper in a limited time; and if the teachers go steadily against the Examiners, and say "you have put the wrong man first," the public—at least the University public—will be inclined to side with their opinion. But as a matter of fact, the verdict of the Examiners usually accorded very remarkably with the views of the Tutors.

The Mathematical Tripos had certainly accomplished one immense good; it had, in its own sphere, exterminated "jobbery" and the influence of personal interest. This may not seem much to us, living in a time when so much publicity is given to all transactions that people must "assume a virtue if they have it not;" but in the days when the Tripos grew into existence things went almost everywhere by favor, and it took a long time to persuade those of the former generation that it was not at Cambridge as elsewhere.

The system of numerical marks helped to foster the integrity of the Examinations. The number furnished by the different Examiners *in subjects of the same kind* were added up, and the resulting figures determined the order. It was not like voting that one or more individuals should get a prize, or be placed in a first class. We may conceive that in this case, particularly if discussions were allowed, a person might be unconsciously swayed by some unacknowledged influences, or he might bend to a stronger and more self-asserting colleague, but no one could falsify figures as he was marking separate questions, without being really a dishonest man.

While the Tripos was becoming more and more an exclusively Mathematical Examination, and at the same time was being regarded very generally as an avenue to Fellowships, those who followed other branches of learning began to complain. There had always been at Cambridge a small but distinguished body of classical scholars. The Chancellor's Medals, the University Scholarships, and the Fellowship Examinations at Trinity College, had supplied prizes for the ablest men, but there was little or no encouragement for any short of the ablest.

Still the Mathematical Tripos represented the old Cambridge course, it alone gave the degree, and it was made necessary that in order to compete for Classical Honors a person should have attained at least the position of a Junior Optime. This provision added a new function to the Mathematical Tripos, it was no longer purely an Examination for those who were competing for distinction in Mathematics, for a certain number it became a pass Examination.

The Mathematical Tripos for some years after 1838, appeared an unqualified success; it called out a great amount of energy both in teaching and in learning, and in the eyes of the younger people it came to be regarded not as the means of education, but as being itself the end to which all education was directed; thus it became an idol just as idol-worship has come about in other cases. People found at last that from having been a servant of University education, this Examination had become the lord and arbiter of all: instead of the Examination giving a sanction to a mode of teaching, the Examination called into existence that kind of teaching which was most suited to insure success for the competitor.—Latham's *Action of Examinations.*

COLLEGE TUTORS—PRIVATE TUTORS OR COACHES.*

In the early days of the Universities, the tutorial system was unknown. It was not (says Professor Henry Malden in his essay *on the Origin of Universities*) till the time when Leicester was Chancellor [at Oxford, in 1564] that the University undertook to regulate who might be tutors; and it was not till the Chancellorship of Laud [in 1630], that it was made necessary to enter under a tutor resident in the same College or Hall with the pupil. Laud therefore may be regarded as the author of the system of College tuition. The duty of these College Tutors was to superintend the moral and religious discipline of their pupils, rather than to instruct them in their studies. But when stricter attention was paid to the performance of Exercises for degrees, and above all when the Examinations were enforced, there grew up a class of private Tutors; the offspring in the main of the system of competitive Examination. Their use, as Dr. Whewell shows, has a tendency to become abused when the same persons may exchange the office of private tutor for that of examiner, within a very brief period.

It was usual in Dr. Johnson's time for College tutors to lecture both in the hall and in their own rooms, as well as to set weekly themes for composition. When he was at Pembroke, Oxford, in 1728, Undergraduates generally depended entirely upon the Tutor to guide all their reading. His first tutor Jordan was like a father to his pupils, but he was intellectually incompetent for his important position. For this reason Johnson recommended his old school-fellow Taylor to go to Christ Church on account of the excellent lectures of Bateman, then tutor there. Just when Johnson quitted Pembroke through penury in 1731, Jordan was succeeded by Adams (afterward Master), a man of considerable ability. Thus we see how cautiously we must form a general opinion of the efficiency of a College from its character at any particular moment. Gibbon's experience in the matter of Tutors at Magdalen was similar to that of the other at Pembroke.

Before the century with which we have to do (18th), there had grown up a natural practice of flocking to certain favorite Tutors, or '*pupil-mongers*,' as they were called. Indeed, when a student found, like John Evelyn 'Fellow-com'uner in Balliol' in 1637, that the Tutor to whom his father had sent him was too much occupied with college animosities, it was high time for him to 'associate' himself with 'a young man of the Foundation, afterwards a Fellow of the House, by whose learned and friendly conversation I received great advantage.'

Several persons are mentioned as regular 'pupil-mongers.' James Tunstal, in Baker's time; in 1715, Dr. Chr. Anstey, the elder: at St. John's. Another famous diarist, Ralph Thoresby of Leeds, came up to Cambridge in 1714 (July 8th) to see for a Tutor for his son. He 'visited Dr. Bentley, Master of Trinity; then at Clare-hall, to visit and consult the famous pupil-monger Mr. Laughton [Dr. *Ri.* Laughton, one of the first teachers of the Newtonian philosophy. Dr. *John* Laughton of Trinity was University Librarian], to whom I was recommended by the Bishop of Ely; and after at Queens' College with the ingenious Mr. Langwith (a native of York) recommended by Mr. Baker of St. John's, and preferred rather than any of his own College. The Lord direct me in this matter of so great concern to the temporal and eternal interest of my son Ralph. Whether Clare Hall or Queens' College, I can not determine,' &c.

On the 27th of February, 1721-2, upon a petition of forty-two Tutors, it was agreed that each Pensioner should pay a fee of 30*s.* a quarter, and others in proportion. Other regulations were made as to 'caution money' for security in case of debts. The insufficiency of tuition fees had long been notorious. In 1713, it was even mentioned in a paper (No. 94) of the *Guardian*.

* Wordsworth's *University Society*.

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As early as 1759, the employment of *private* tutors as examiners, was found to be a cause of unfairness. It was said, for instance, that 'when the *Johnians* had the disposal of the honors, the second wrangler was always looked upon as the first.' Bishop Watson himself was acting as a private tutor in 1756, when only a *junior soph*. This was a practice of questionable expediency; but about the other there could be no question; and on June 21, 1777, a Grace was passed threatening with deprivation any tutor who should be examiner to his own pupils. The practice, nevertheless, gained ground.

Accordingly, on June 28, 1781, a Grace was passed forbidding any candidate for the degree of B.A. to read with *any* private tutor in the course of the two years preceding his final examination. This (says Dr. Whewell) was for a time effectual. He suggests that a certificate of the fact should be demanded.

The writer of 'Considerations on the Oaths required by the University of Cambridge. . .1788. [Bodl. *Gough, Camb.* 65.] p. 15, states that the unsuitableness of lectures to men of different capacities had rendered *private* tutors 'absolutely necessary to every one who wished to make any tolerable figure in the Senate:' this expression occurs again in the Pamphlet where we should now say 'Senate-house'] at the 'additional expense of at least £20 a year.' The period of two years was gradually reduced in 1807 and 1815, till in 1824, it dwindled down to six months. Dr. Whewell, in 1845, conceived it to be still possible and desirable to enforce it. Professor Pryme says, that it was repealed after he ceased to be Fellow. He says also that in 1799, owing to that regulation, the system of private tuition had not become common, and the lectures of the tutors during term-time were by many of the students (himself included) deemed sufficient.

Since then, however, the employment of private tutors or 'coaches' at Cambridge has become more common, though it has at times received checks by such events as the establishment of 'composition' or of 'inter-collegiate' lectures. But with candidates for the Mathematical Tripos, the tutor is often as important an agent as themselves; so that William Hopkins, of Peterhouse, could boast in 1849, that 'from January, 1828, to January, 1849, inclusive, i.e., in twenty-two years, I have had among my pupils 175 Wranglers. Of these, 108 have been in the *first ten*, 44 in the *first three*, and 17 have been *Senior Wranglers*.'

As to the effect upon young tutors themselves, William Wordsworth wrote in 1833 to a young graduate of Cambridge, 'I have only one observation to make, to which I should attach importance, if I thought it called for in your case, which I do not, I mean the moral duty of avoiding to encumber yourself with private pupils in any number. You are now at an age when the blossoms of the mind are setting to make fruit; and the practice of *pupil-mongering* is an absolute blight for this process.'

[Mr. Bristed, in giving his five years personal experience and observation of Cambridge examination for prizes, scholarships, and honors, records his deliberate opinion as to the necessity and value of the Private Tutor in 1840–4.]

The present staff of College Lecturers could not, except in some few of the smallest Colleges, supply the demand for instruction; in the large Colleges their number would require to be multiplied by a very large factor. Nor, even were they thus increased, could any public lecturer have the intimate knowledge of his pupils' acquirements, deficiencies, capacities, and wants, that the private tutor has, nor would he be likely to take so strong a personal interest in each individual of them. The etiquette and official distance between the two parties go a great way to prevent this. Moreover any College arrangements would leave the vacations unprovided for, and it is in the vacations that the greater portion of a reading man's work is done. For my own part I am sensible of having derived the greatest advantage from the gentlemen with whom I read at different periods, and am convinced that, without them, I should have gained but very moderate benefit from the public instruction of the College; and I believe every man except those from the public schools would say the same thing.

Wranglership—Smith's Prizes.

The institution of senior wrangler goes back to the year 1739. We then find that one John Empson, of Catherine Hall, was proclaimed senior wrangler, a position of singular fame, inasmuch as the names of no other questionists are given, and for the next eight years there is no further record of any mathematical examination. Then the triposes fairly begin. For some time, however, the wranglers, and the senior optimes are grouped together, and men had their choice of two years for going out. In the year 1753, we have the present division of wranglers, senior optimes, and junior optimes. In the year 1757, we find an instance of a solitary moderator conducting the whole of the examinations. At present the examining body consists of four gentlemen, two moderators, and two examiners, who receive a payment from the University chest.

The phrase 'wrangler' has a reference to the old scholastic disputations, and its meaning, in this sense, is obsolete, although some curious remnants of the old system long survived. It now refers exclusively to the senate-house examination for mathematics held in January, and of which the lists are issued about the end of the month. There are three days of general examination which all must pass who go in for their degree. Ten days after this time begins an examination of five days for candidates in honors, commencing with the differential calculus, and going on to the highest subjects in astronomy and optics. The examination now turns purely and entirely upon mathematics. Formerly the questionists used to *keep acts*, to deliver Latin disputations, &c., which entered as an element into the result of the examination. Mr. Bristed, an American, who has recently published a work, '*Five years in an English University*,' says, 'all this is now agreeably compromised by the payment of two shillings.' There was also once a curious custom of challenging the bracket above you during the examination. There is a tradition that Professor Farish did this eight times, and so forced his way through his opponents to the senior wranglership.

To University men there is hardly any employment more congenial than to take down the Cambridge University Calendar, and run through the lists of high mathematical honors. By the way, the Oxford authorities have done a grievous wrong to old *alumni* of the University by the custom of only printing the last ten years in their honor examinations. Oxford thus sacrifices part of her historic past, which Cambridge wisely refuses to do. Many of the senior wranglers are truly distinguished men, and we have no desire to underrate the sublimity of the distinction. But, at the same time, it not unfrequently happens that the senior wrangler only shows the asterisk which denotes that he has got his fellowship, and lower down the list we perceive some name of world-wide fame. The Cambridge Calendar gives foot-notes relative to any candidate's subsequent achievements, if it is only a mastership in a school, a college fellowship, an honorary canonry, and so on, through an ascending scale to the highest distinctions. In 1761, we have the first senior wrangler proclaimed by the foot-notes to have arrived at judicial honors. This was Wilson of Peterhouse, who became a judge of the Common Pleas. Two years later the great Paley is senior wrangler. In 1772, we find the double names (with a bracket, calculated to mislead) of 'Pretyman, (Tomline),' both signifying a well-known bishop of Winchester in his day. Soon we have the excellent Milner, President of Queen's, and afterward Dean of Carlisle. In 1787, we have Littledale, the famous judge, who, with Tenterden as chief, and Bailey and Holroyd as fellow *puisnes*, made what has been called 'the golden era of the King's Bench.' Copley, afterward Lord Lyndhurst, comes in as second wrangler, in 1794, distanced by Butler, formerly a famous head master of Harrow. In 1799, Lord Chief Justice Tindal shows as a good wrangler and senior medallist, and next year Vice Chancellor Shadwell is a good wrangler and second medallist. The great lawyers are plentiful between 1806

and 1810. Sir Frederick Pollock, the Lord Chief Baron, is senior wrangler; Bickersteth, afterward Lord Langdale, who refused the seals, the brother of the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, and uncle of the Bishop of Ripon, is also senior wrangler; and so are those distinguished judges Alderson and Maule. In 1812, Rolfe is the last of the wranglers, or golden spoon, as it is sometimes called, but he gets his fellowship at Trinity, and becomes Lord Chancellor. The year but one after, another eminent judge, the late Sir Cresswell Cresswell, was 'wooden spoon,' the last of the junior optimes; the 'silver spoon' is the last of the senior optimes. Other eminent judges high among the wranglers were Alvanley, Ellenborough, Lawrence, Parke, Kindersley, Coltman, W. P. Wood, Cleasby, Blackburn. Among the senior wranglers we naturally meet with men of world-wide scientific attainments, some of them mathematical professors in the University—Herschel, Ellis, Stokes, Cayley, Adams, Airy, Challis. The illustrious Whewell missed the senior's place and came out second. Seven senior wranglers have become bishops, but bishops and great divines abound in wranglers' list, and generally range high up. Canon Melvill, Mr. Birks, Bishop Goodwin, and Bishop Colenso were all second wranglers.

There is another examination at Cambridge which must be mentioned in connection with the senior wranglership: this is the contest for the Smith's prizes, two sums of £25 each, given a century ago, to be competed for annually, by a Master of Trinity. *Cæteris paribus*, a Trinity man is to have the preference; that is to say, when the men are bracketed equal, the £25 would go to the Trinity man. The case has, however, rarely occurred. The examination for the Smith's prizes is an even severer test of mathematical powers, and in a higher field than the mathematical tripos itself. This important contest takes place on the week after the senate-house examination. The senior wrangler has then to hold his own against any commencing bachelors who may choose to compete with him. As a rule, the senior wrangler keeps his place; he has only been four times beaten for both prizes, four times bracketed, and ten times second. The Smith's prize has been a means of redressing any inequality or accidental injustice, or definitely fixing the best man when the marks in the tripos have been very close. However close the marks may run, they never bracket for the place of senior wrangler; he is left the hero of the academic year. There have been some remarkable instances in which the senior wrangler has been displaced. Some years ago a gentleman went in for the senate-house examination, and did splendid papers, but after three days' work he was thrown out of a pony carriage, and so much injured that he was unable to go on with the examination. Up to this point he had been, we have heard, second wrangler, but he was obliged to take an ordinary degree with an *ægrotat* attached to his name. This involved a great hardship for him, which would have been avoided under the Oxford system. They propped him up in pillows on his bed a little later, and had a Master of Arts in attendance. Under these circumstances he went in for the Smith's prizes, and beat both the senior and the second wrangler. In 1821, Canon Melvill beat the senior wrangler. The contest in 1829 was peculiarly interesting. The senior wrangler was an obscure member of a small college; the second wrangler was a scion of the great house of Cavendish. On the examination for the Smith, Cavendish displaced Philpott and came in first prizeman. The competitors now meet on the floor of the House of Lords, respectively as the Bishop of Worcester and the Duke of Devonshire. They both took a first class in classics, but the Duke was the better man by six places. The Duke succeeded Prince Albert as Chancellor of the University, his University honors in a high degree determining the selection. He modestly described his Cambridge work 'as giving some attention to studies to which he had been extremely partial.'

The year 1859 was remarkable, as the fourth wrangler took the first Smith's

prize, and the sixth wrangler took the second. But no displacement attracted more notice at the time (and it is still warmly remembered) than that of the '45, when the now famous electrician, Sir William Thomson, displaced Mr. Parkinson of St. John's. Thomson of Peterhouse was, and most deservedly, the favorite of the year. When he went in for his examination, Mr. Leslie Ellis, one of the examiners, remarked to Mr. Harvey Goodwin, another examiner, that they supposed they were about fit to cut his pencils for him. We shall here do best to quote from Mr. Bristed's work:—'The general wish as well as belief was for the Peterhouse man, who, besides the respect due to his celebrated scientific attainments (he was known to the French mathematicians by his writings while an undergraduate), had many friends among both reading and teaching men, and was very popular in the University. But a rumor spread during the examination that a man from St. John's, Mr. Parkinson, was likely to be senior wrangler. The Johnians' best man suddenly came up with a rush, and having been spoken of before the examination only as likely to be among the first six, now appeared as a candidate for the highest honors. E—— was one of the first that had a suspicion of this from noticing on the second day that he wrote with the regularity and velocity of a machine. In any Cambridge examination, *pace* is a most important element of success. The "pace of Parkinson" has at Cambridge almost passed into a proverb. It was said that the successful candidate had practiced writing out against time for six months together, merely to gain pace, and had exercised himself in problems till they became a species of routine work to him, and thus he obtained prodigious rapidity in solving them. The Peterhouse man, who, relying on his combined learning and talent, had never practiced particularly with a view to speed, and perhaps had too much respect for his work to be in any great hurry about it, solved eight or nine problems leisurely on each paper, some of them probably better ones than the other man's, but not enough so to make up the difference in quantity.' Mr. Ellis, who examined that year, said that it exercised quite a snake-like fascination on him to stand and see this young Johnian throw off sheet after sheet. He could scarcely believe that the man *could* have covered so much paper with ink in the time (to say nothing of the accuracy of the performance), even though he had seen it written out under his own eyes. There was a tremendous scene in the senate-house when the disappointed favorite took his degree. Eventually, at the examination for the Smith's prizes, Mr. William Thomson indicated his fame, and distanced the senior wrangler in the proportion of three to two.

It may here be mentioned that Mr. Adams, the discoverer at the same time as Le Verrier of the planet Neptune, beat the second wrangler, a very eminent mathematician, whose mathematical tracts have been translated into foreign languages, in the proportion of about 3,000 marks to 1,500, the largest proportion ever known. The difference in the tripos examination for 1845 was nearly 300 marks. Between 200 and 300 marks is about the quantity obtained by the lowest graduate in mathematical honors.

We have already mentioned that the senior wranglership was attained by Henry Martyn in 1801. He used to say that when he entered the senate-house for the examination, and looking round him saw the large number of his competitors—a number larger than usual—his mind was composed and tranquilized by the recollection of the text of a sermon which he had heard not long before: 'Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not, saith the Lord.' He felt his mind entirely relieved from anxiety about success, and this very freedom from care greatly assisted him, and gave him free play for his great powers. Martyn was only in his twentieth year at the time. In the account already quoted of his feelings in the hour of triumph, he says: 'I obtained my highest wishes and was surprised to find that I had grasped a shadow.' He was fully to realize that to

find the Pearl of Great Price was something infinitely higher and more satisfying than any academic fame. There was something peculiarly generous and elevating about Martyn's religious character. 'Since I have known God in a saving manner,' he remarks, 'painting, poetry, and music have had charms unknown to me before. I have received what, I suppose, is a taste for them; for religion has refined my mind, and made it susceptible of impressions from the sublime and beautiful.'

The late Baron Alderson was one of the most wonderful of senior wranglers. He showed himself the best classic and best mathematician of his time. After being senior wrangler, he took the first Smith's prize, and he subsequently became senior medallist.* This degree is, in point of fact, almost unrivaled. There is only one precise parallel—Mr. Brundish, of Caius college, in 1773. The late Bishop Kaye, of Lincoln, took an almost identical degree; he was senior wrangler and senior medallist, but on an examination for the Smith's prize, he was relegated to the second place. The year before Alderson's year, the late Bishop Blomfield was third wrangler and senior medallist. A precisely similar honor was obtained by Archdeacon Wrangham. The late Mr. Brandreth of Worthing, was even more, being second wrangler and senior medallist. A similar honor was attained in 1835 by Mr. Goulburn, whose early death left so many bright promises unfulfilled. Archdeacon Hoare, in 1803, was second wrangler and second medallist. In 1848, Scott and Westcott, respectively the present head master of Westminster and the learned canon and ecclesiastical writer, were first and second medallists, and good wranglers, with one place between them. Le Bas, the architect of so many fine works in different colleges of Cambridge, was senior medallist and a very high wrangler. In Alderson's year a gentleman of the name of Standley came next to him as second wrangler and second medallist. Those two illustrious brothers, Sir Robert Grant, the Governor-General of Bombay, and Lord Glenelg, formerly Secretary of State for the Colonies, were respectively third and fourth wranglers, and second and first classics. It is to be observed that these high double distinctions were obtained in the early part of the century, and for many years they have been unknown. In fact, so great is the sweep of the studies of the University that now for many years past it has almost become impossible that any man should take the highest honors in both classics and mathematics, and this is understood to be the fully expressed opinion of Baron Alderson. His opinion was, 'that the standard of a double first was getting to be something beyond human ability.'

Mr. Bristed, in reference to publicity given to College and University Honors, remarks:

They exceed any thing of which we have any conception in our academical institutions. True, the publicity does not come in the same way; there is no crowding of Commencements to hear the young men make speeches; but if a comparatively small number of the public come to gaze at the successful student, his name goes forth to all who read the papers—for in every newspaper not only the results of the Degree Examination and the University Prizes, but all the College Examinations and College Prizes are conspicuously reported. When an acquaintance of mine, who was related to a member of the Cabinet, wished for a start in the diplomatic line, the statesman's first advice to him was, 'be sure to get a Wranglership.'

* We are told that the largest element in the young mathematician's satisfaction was the thought of the gratification which it gave his family and his father. 'I often remember,' says the good judge, many years afterward, urging on his own son incentives for study, 'and that with the greatest satisfaction, that in this respect God enabled me to give pleasure to my father; and now that I have children of my own, I feel how great that pleasure must have been.' We are told that Baron Alderson's father was present, 'a proud and delighted listener,' when his son read aloud his victorious Latin essay, on the great occasion when the Duke of Gloucester was installed as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

American Students at Cambridge.

Many of the founders and early settlers, especially the clergymen of the English Colonies in America, and not a few of their descendants down to the period of the Revolution, were educated in the universities of the mother country; and even the alienation of an armed severance of their political relations did not entirely break the succession of American scholars at Oxford and Cambridge. When our more aspiring young men sought larger opportunities of literary and scientific culture, and of special training for the practice of the professions than our then poorly endowed institutions could furnish, the facilities of a common language, and the inherited pride in the name and fame of England, and the reflected lustre of a degree from Oxford or Cambridge, would have drawn their steps to these great seats of learning, if their scientific teaching and the laboratories had grown proportionally with their vast endowments, and the same narrow policy which had repelled and excluded dissenters and the poor of their own country, had not also repelled and excluded them. Prof. Sylvester, a Cambridge man, now of John Hopkins University, Baltimore, in a recent address (Feb. 22, 1877,) has very forcibly remarked:

"Why is it that the flower of American youth resort—not where the ties of a common language and of a common kindred would naturally have attracted them, to our English universities, to receive their mental impulse and their higher education, but to Berlin, Leipzig, Gottingen, or Heidelberg?

It is because there they are welcomed, to whatever religious communion they are attached or unattached, without question and without distinction. It is because there they can rest on the bosom of a common mother, who shows kindness to all and favor to none.

If German professors have made German what it is, England may thank the narrow-minded class, or section of a class, of its university professors—(for there are numerous and noble-minded examples of English University leaders who combine the highest genius with the most liberal views: think of the Aireys, the Peacocks, the Sedgwicks, the De la Prymes, the Babbages, and Lubbocks of the past, the Sedgwicks, the Jowetts, the Liddells, the Brodies, the Henry Smiths of the present generations,) England, I say, may thank the ecclesiastical-minded class of her university professors, if the right arm of her spiritual power is shortened—if she is now, and it is to be feared will long remain, so much inferior in intellectual weight and influence in the world to what she ought to, and might have been. They it is who have alienated from us the intellectual sympathy of a mighty and kindred race.

I have been struck, almost from the first hour of my landing on these shores, by the manifestations I have everywhere witnessed of the close intellectual sympathy which exists between America and Germany. It is German books that are read, German authors who are quoted, German opinion on all matters of science and learning that is appealed to; and as regards community of work and intellectual ties, I do not think it at all extravagant to assert that Germany and America belong to one hemisphere, and we in England to another. I am old enough to remember when the great universities of England affixed their corporate seals to petitions to Parliament praying that the Crown would refuse to grant a charter to the University of London, then in the course of being founded, to enable it to grant degrees, and that, too, at a time when, within their own walls, in most of the colleges, a religious test applied even to the admission of students, and when no student, not a member of the Anglican communion, could be admitted to take a degree; so that not only would they not confer their own degrees, but labored to prevent all Englishmen unwilling to sign the Thirty-nine Articles from obtaining degrees elsewhere."

We are indebted to two American students—CHARLES BRISTED ASTOR (a graduate of Yale in high standing in 1838) and WILLIAM EVERETT, a first class scholar of the Boston Latin School, and of Harvard College, for the best account we have seen of the studies, examinations, and student life of Cambridge.

*The Cantab Language.**

To appreciate a description of Cambridge University, and University life, it will be well to understand the phrases which enter into it.

Gownsman.—A student of the University.
Snob.—A townsman as opposed to a student, or a blackguard as opposed to a gentleman; a loafer generally.
Cad.—A low fellow, nearly = snob.
Reading.—Studying.
A reading man.—A hard student.
A rowing man—(*ow* as in *cow*).—A hard case, a spreer.
Shipwreck.—A total failure.
Mild, *Shady*, *Slow.*—Epithets of depreciation, answering nearly to the phrases, 'no great shakes,' and 'small potatoes.'
Fast.—Nearly the French *expansif*. A *fast* man is not necessarily (like the London fast man) a *rowing* man, though the two attributes are often combined in the same person; he is one who dresses flashily, talks big, and spends, or affects to spend, money very freely.
Seedy.—Not well, out of sorts, done up; the sort of feeling that a reading man has after an examination, or a rowing man after a dinner with the Beefsteak Club.
Bumptious.—Conceited, forward, pushing.
Brick.—A good fellow; what Americans sometimes call a *clever* fellow.
To *keep* in such a place.—To live or have rooms there.
Hang-out.—To treat, to live, to have or possess (a verb of all work).
Like bricks, *Like a brick or a bean*, *Like a house on fire*, *To the* n^{th}. — *To the* $n + 1^{th}$. } Intensives to express the most energetic way of doing any thing. These phrases are sometimes in very odd contexts. You hear men talk of a balloon going up *like bricks*, and rain coming down *like a house on fire*.
No end of.—Another intensive of obvious import. *They have no end of tin*, i.e., a great deal of money. *He is no end of a fool*, i.e., the greatest fool possible.
Pill, *Rot.*—Twaddle, platitude.
Bosh.—Nonsense, trash, φλυαρία.
Lounge.—A treat, a comfort (an Etonian importation).
Coach.—A private tutor.
Team.—The private tutor's pupils.
Subject.—A particular author, or part of an author, set for examination; or a particular branch of Mathematics, such as Optics, Hydrostatics, &c.
Getting up a subject.—Making one's self thoroughly master of it.
Flooring a paper.—Answering correctly and fully every question in it.
Book-work.—All mathematics that can be learned *verbatim* from books—all that are not problems.
Cram.—All miscellaneous information about Ancient History, Geography, Antiquities, Law, &c.; all Classical matter not included under the heads of Translation and Composition.
Composition.—Translating English into Greek or Latin.
Original Composition.—Writing a Latin Theme, or original Latin verses.
Spirting.—Making an extraordinary effort of mind or body for a short time. A boat's crew make a spirt, when they pull fifty yards with all the strength they have left. A reading man makes a spirt, when he crams twelve hours daily the week before examination.
Commons.—The students' daily rations, either of meat in hall, or of bread and butter for breakfast and tea.
Sizings.—Extra orders in hall.
Don.—A Fellow, or any College authority.
Little-Go.—The University Examination in the second year, properly called the *Previous Examination*.
Tripos.—Any University Examination for Honors of Questionists or men who have just taken their B.A. (The University Scholarship Examinations are *not* called Triposes.)
Posted.—Rejected in a College Examination.
Plucked.—Rejected in a University Examination.
Proctors.—The Police Officers of the University.
Bull-dogs.—Their Lictors, or servants who attend the Proctors when on duty.
Wrangler, *Senior Optime*, *Junior Optime.*—The First, Second, and Third Classes of the Mathematical Tripos.
Senior Wranglers.—The head of the First Class in Mathematics.

* Bristed's *Five Years in an English University*—1840–44.

BRISTED—EXPERIENCE IN EXAMINATIONS.*

The life of a Freshman, after he has become fairly settled in his quarters, is not a very diversified one. The chief incidents of a University man's life are his examinations, and of these the Freshman has none worth mentioning until the end of his third term (unless he be a clergyman's son, and thereby entitled to go in for the Bell scholarship). One or two matters occurred during my first winter, that were of interest as giving me an insight into the political feeling of the University. Toward the end of our first term, there was an election for High Steward, the officer who represents the University in the House of Lords. Lord Lyndhurst was the Tory candidate; his abilities and reputation, and the conservative majority among the members of the University, afforded little prospect of any successful opposition being offered to him. It happened, however, that a few years before, a young Whig nobleman (Lord Lyttleton) had come out head of the Classical Tripos, and being, though a Whig, a strong High-Churchman, and of unimpeachable character, it was thought that the High Church, Whig, and moral interests together, might enable him to beat Lyndhurst. But the Tories stood by their man—High Church, Low Church, or no church, moral or no moral—and elected him by a vote of all but two to one. The voters in these elections are all the M.A.'s who *keep their names on the Boards* (of their respective colleges) by paying an annual sum. While the voting went on in the body of the Senate House, the galleries were filled with undergraduates, who gave cheers and groans for a great many things and people, and hissed unmercifully the prominent voters for Lyttleton. About this time I first had full personal experience of the uncharitableness shown by these youthful Tories toward their liberal countrymen.

THE MAY EXAMINATIONS—1841.

This was my first chance of distinction. True, we had undergone occasional examinations in Euclid and Greek, but these were entirely at the option of our individual college tutors, and without any public result. Knowing but little as yet of the complicated system, I had paid but little attention to its workings in Triposes and University Scholarship examinations, though some knowledge of them was forced upon me by conversations in hall. When the great degree examination for mathematical honors came off in January, and a 'Small-College' man was Senior Wrangler, the announcement of this unusual occurrence did not particularly interest me; nor, just returned as I was from a winter expedition into Dorsetshire, did I even go to see the ceremony of degree taking and behold the lion of the day. The classical Tripos next month I knew and cared something more about, partly because it was a subject that more concerned me, and partly from the very uncommon circumstance of there being no Chancellor's Medals adjudged that year.

All candidates for Classical Honors are first obliged to obtain a place among the *Junior Optimes*, that is to say, in the third class of the three into which the Mathematical Tripos is divided. But besides this, two golden medals are given annually for classical proficiency to Bachelors, who are at least *Senior Optimes* or Second Class men in mathematics. It generally happens that one of the best two classical men in the year has this preliminary requisite, but an interval of three or four frequently occurs on the Tripos between him and the Second Medallists. These Medallists then are the best scholars among the men who have taken a certain mathematical standing; but as out of the University these niceties of discrimination are apt to be dropped, they usually pass at home for absolutely the first and second scholars of the year; and sometimes they are so. Now it happened that this year the mathematical examination was very difficult, and made great havoc among the classics. Three Trinity men, and four from other colleges, all likely candidates for the First Class, were utterly plucked, and several more

* *Five Years* [1840–44] in an English University. *Second Ed.* 1852.

'gulfed,' that is to say, they did just well enough to save their degree, but not well enough to be placed on the list of Mathematical Honors; so that *their* chance, also, for the Classical Examination was forfeited. As the First Class of the Classical Tripos seldom exceeds twelve, to knock out seven probable men considerably reduces its fair proportions; in fact, on the present occasion, it numbered only five. Moreover, of these five, the first three were *Junior Optimes*, and could not go in for the medals. There remained but two, bracketed at the foot of the Class, and these acquitted themselves so moderately that the first two of the Second Class, who had been tempted into the Medal examination by the scarcity of candidates, did just about as well. No one was good enough, according to the usual standard, for the First Medal; they could not give a Second, or two Second, without a First, and so none were adjudged. This caused a new outcry against the injustice to which Classical men were exposed, and frightened one Third year man away to Oxford, while several declared that they would go out in 'the Poll' (among the πολλοί, those not candidates for Honors).

In March, about the same time as the Medal Examination, took place that for the *Bell* (University) *Scholarships*, which concerned several men of my year, but not me. These Scholarships are open to Freshmen, who are sons of clergymen, and in moderate circumstances. The papers are chiefly Classical, a little Mathematics, as high as easy Mechanics, entering into it chiefly for the sake of determining between the best candidates whose classical merits are nearly equal. The Classical papers, being for Freshmen, do not include the more difficult authors, Thucydides, Pindar, Aristophanes, Plautus, &c., or Composition in Greek; but there is always enough Latin Composition, both in prose and verse, to frighten the uninitiated. A good deal of Homer is set, and generally a fair allowance of Cicero. There is also a paper in Scripture History and Greek Testament. Two of these Scholarships are vacant every year. Trinity generally gets the first, and frequently both. This year, the first man was a Johnian.

The College Easter Term.

The examination which was now approaching, and which particularly interested me, was the College Easter Term Examination, familiarly spoken of as 'the May.' The *Easter* is the third Collegiate Term, the other two being respectively called the Michaelmas and Lent. The nominal vacations are very long, and the actual ones still longer, so that there are not more than twenty-two weeks of real term time in the year—that is, lectures are delivered and residence required for that period only, and a gownsman not disposed to study has the rest of the year to himself. For the reading men, the vacations are the busiest time, there being so much less temptation to idleness when all the idle men are away. The terms are still further divided, each into two parts, and, after 'division' in the Michaelmas and Lent terms, a student, who can assign a good plea for absence to the *College* authorities, may go down and take holiday for the rest of the time, having already kept enough of the term to answer the *University* requisition. So, also, a student who is prevented by any accident from coming up at the beginning of either of these terms, may appear just before division, and keep the latter half. But with the division of the Easter term, the Collegiate year virtually ceases; for, though the statute term does not end till the Commencement in July, the Commencement practically takes place in the Long Vacation, all lectures having concluded with 'the May,' and most of the men gone down.

SPECIMEN PAGE OF THUCYDIDES QUESTIONS—1841.

I. (1.) What do we learn of the life, station, and character of Thucydides from his own writings? (2.) What is assigned as the date of his birth? (3.) What account is given of his first vocation to write history, and with what probability? (4.) Is it probable that he survived the end of the war? (5.) What opportunities had he of acquiring information? (6.) What period of time is embraced by his history? (7.) By whom was it continued; and from what writers do we derive our knowledge of the history of Greece down to the time when it became a Roman province? (8.) How far do you concur in the opinion expressed of Thucydides in the words δοκεῖ πολλὰ χαρίζεσθαι μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις κατηγορεῖν δὲ Ἀθηναίων? (9.) Quote from this book

instances of the ἐναργεία, the λέξεις ποιητικαί, and the παρονομοιώσεις, παρισώσεις. ἀντιθέσεις, and παρονομάσιαι, attributed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus to the style of Thucydides? (10.) What writers have imitated Thucydides? Quote instances of imitation.

II. (1.) Give an account of the Athenian constitution as it existed at the period of the Peloponnesian war. (2.) How did it differ from that established by Solon? (3.) What were the principal political measures introduced by Pericles? and what was their effect upon the Athenian character and polity? (4.) What were the principal parties at this time at Athens, and by whom respectively led? (5.) What is meant by ἡ δημαγωγία? Whom do we hear of as filling that station?

III. (1.) What is the date of Aristophanes' play of the Ἱππῖς? Give a brief account of its plot. Translate the following lines and refer to the passages in the book which illustrates them.

(2). καὶ πρώην γ' ἐμοῦ
μάζαν μεμαχότος ἐν Πύλῳ Λακωνικὴν
πανουργότατά πως περιδράμων ὑφαρπάσας
αὐτὸς παρέθηκε τὴν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μεμαγμένην.
Ἱππ. 54, 599.

(3). ἐλθοῦσά φησιν ἀντομάτη μετὰ τῶν Πύλῳ
σηνδῶν φέρουσα τῇ πόλει χίστην πλέαν
ἀποχειζοτονηθῆναι τῆς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.
Ἱππ. 665, 699.

(4.) Quote any other passages from Aristophanes which have reference to or illustrate events recorded in this book. (5.) Mention any instances in the tragedians of such allusions to the political events of the day. (6.) Quote the lines in Euripides supposed to have reference to Cleon, and the passage in Plato relating to the battle of Delium.

IV. Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ἀχάϊαν, ἃ οὐ πολέμῳ ἔλαβον [ὅι Λακεδαιμόνιοι] ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας ξυμβάσεως. Cap. 21.

(1.) What was the situation of Νίσαια and Πηγαί? Explain their importance to the contending parties, and refer to any passages of Thucydides which illustrate it. (2.) What was the political condition of Τροιζῆν and Ἀχάϊα? (3.) What is meant by ἡ προτέρα ξύμβασις? Give its date and the circumstances which led to it. What was its effects upon the Athenian empire?

There, reader mine! Is that last page grave and solid enough for you? If not, I only wish you had to cram for these 'Thucydides Questions,' as I did, and to write out forty pages save one of *scribbling paper* (a trifle larger than foolscap) about them in four hours.

Examinations in our American colleges are seldom considered very important affairs to either party concerned in them. But at Cambridge the College and University Examinations are the staple and life of the whole system. They are the only recognized standards of merit, except a few prizes for essays and poems; their results are published in all the London papers, as regularly as the English Queen's last drive, or the Spanish Queen's last revolution; their rewards are not only honorary but pecuniary, coming to the successful candidates in the shape of books, plate, or hard cash, from the value of five dollars to that of five hundred or more; and in extent of reading requisite, accuracy of execution demanded, and shortness of time allotted, they are surpassed by no examinations on record. At the detail of the requisites which they exact, and the performances which they elicit, I have seen grave divines and professors on this side of the water shake their heads doubtingly; so I do not startle you too much at first, but begin gentle with the first year's one, ranking as you might suppose among the easier examinations, for it is limited in its range, and you have a general idea of the work before you, whereas in a Tripos the only thing you can be certain of is that there is nothing which you may not be asked.

During the three terms of your collegiate year, extending from the twentieth of October, or thereabout, nearly to the end of May, you have been lectured on three classical subjects, a Greek Tragedy, a book or speech of a Greek historian, or orator, and a ditto of a Latin ditto. Of course you are able to translate them any where, and explain all the different readings and interpretations. But this is not half the battle—scarcely a third of it. You require a vast heap of collateral and illustrative reading after this fashion.

Our play was the Agamemnon of Æschylus. Now for the question paper, or, as it is often called, the 'cram' paper, you must first make yourself master of every thing connected with the Greek stage arrangements, and the history of the Greek drama, for which you make large draughts upon *Donaldson's Greek Theater*, *Müller on the Eumenides* (translated), and *Müller's History of Greek Literature*. Next, you get up all you can find relating to the history of the

dramatis personæ; then all the parallel passages collectable wherein Greeks, Romans, or English may be supposed to have imitated old Æschylus. Then you fortify your Greek geography, make maps of the signal-fires' route from Troy, &c. Finally, you ought to have read the other two plays of the Trilogy, for you are likely to be asked something about them; perhaps there may be a nice little bit of the Eumenides set, which is not to be understood by the light of nature. Similarly for the fourth book of Thucydides, you cram up every thing you can about every body mentioned in Thucydides generally, and this book particularly, taking in much Thirlwall, and Bückh, and Müller's Dorians, and the like. And for the Tenth and Eleventh Books of Cicero to Atticus (that was our Latin subject), all your knowledge of the great men of that period, and of the legal matters incidentally brought in (*e.g.*, marriage, inheritance, *Comitia*), will be put into requisition. One little bagatelle I had almost forgotten. You will have to turn English prose into Greek and Latin prose, English verse into Greek Iambic Trimeters, and part of some chorus in the Agamemnon into Latin, and possibly also into English verse. This is the 'composition,' and is to be done, remember, without the help of books or any other assistance.

Now either of the three subjects opens a pretty wide field before you, quite wide enough to bewilder a tyro, and here it is that the genius of your private tutor come into play.

Importance of Private Tutors.

Private tuition is no where alluded to in the University or College Statutes; it is entirely a personal and individual matter; yet it is, after the examinations, the great feature of the University instruction, and the public lectures have come to be entirely subordinate to it. The English private tutors, in many points, take the place of the German professors; true, they have not the same explicit University sanction, but an equivalent for this is found in the final examination for degrees which they have all passed, and no man who has not taken a good degree, expects or pretends to take good men into his team. Of course inferior coaches will do for inferior men—πολλοί, for πολλοί. Of late there has been some outcry against private tuition; but if not absolutely a *vital*, it is certainly an *important* element in the whole system, nor should it be suffered as a necessary evil, but admitted as a positive good. One effect of doing away with it would be to throw all classical honors into the hands of the public school men. Your 'Eton boy' is a *young man* of nineteen, at least two years in advance of a Yale or Harvard Valedictorian in all classical knowledge, and in all classical *elegancies* immeasurably ahead of him. The only way in which you can bring up an inadequately prepared man to 'hold a candle' to such competitors is by diligent personal attention to him. Travis certainly put more into me in seven months than I could have acquired by my own unassisted labors in two years; and of his exertions in my behalf, I shall always retain a grateful memory. But even with the best tutor—and it is not every man who can get a Travis to coach him—you must make up your mind to read six times as much as you can make use of on the papers, since you can only calculate the general run of the questions in them without being able to make sure of any individual one.*

Mathematics.

I had not opened a mathematical book for more than two years, and certainly never intended to trouble the exact sciences again, but as the 'May' approached I began to feel nervous, and in accordance with Travis's suggestion, put on a mathematical tutor for the last month. But 'Dunny' soon found there was not much to be got out of me on so short notice. My analysis was just sufficient to

* All examination papers are printed at the Pitt Press in the most mysterious way, and only leave the printer's hands about five minutes before they are submitted to the students, when they are sent to the examiner in a sealed packet, by a trusty messenger.

make it probable that I had, at some period of my life, seen the inside of *Wood* and *Peacock*. So I had to fall back upon the Euclid. A great godsend is Euclid to the classical men; not only here, but in the scholarship and the awful, accursed mathematical Tripos, does he stand them in good stead. Our troubles were to begin on Wednesday; I devoted the two days immediately preceding to getting up the first four books and the sixth, and by eight on Tuesday evening had them ready for immediate use.

At nine next morning, the Hall doors were thrown open to us. The narrow passage between the screens and the buttery was as full as it usually is just before 4 P.M., but the Trinitarians were thronging to a different sort of a banquet. The tables were decked with green baize instead of white linen, and the goodly joints of beef and mutton and dishes of smoking potatoes were replaced by a profusion of stationery. Even the dais shared the general fate. At that high table where I had recently been feasting on spring soup and salmon, ducklings and peas, rhubarb tart and custard, with old sherry *quantum suff.* to imbibe, and the learned wit of the Dons for seasoning, I was now doomed—such is the mutability of human affairs—to write against time for four mortal hours. In those days it was not easy to throw me off my balance, for if a boy has any modesty in him, the training of a large American college, speaking continually to largeish audiences, writing about every thing, and reading your writings in public, &c., is pretty sure to knock it out of him; yet I did feel rather nervous that Wednesday morning, and could not for five minutes begin composedly to write out the *Pons Asinorum* which headed our paper, though it had been familiar to me ever since my school days.

At one, 'close your papers, gentlemen,' says the examiner, who has been solemnly pacing up and down all the time. (This examiner is never your college lecturer, and of course never your private tutor.) At two, the Hall assumes its more legitimate and welcome guise, dinner being thrown back two hours; at four grinding begins again, and lasts till eight: at night there is a supper put on specially for the occasion. How that supper is demolished! what loads of cold beef and lobster vanish before the examinees! Young ladies sometimes picture to themselves students as delicate, pale youths who live on toast and tea. Never was there a greater mistake. Men who study in earnest eat in earnest. A Senior Wrangler sat opposite me one summer at the Scholars' table, and to see that man perform upon a round of beef was a curiosity.

Thus passed four days; eight hours a day thinking and writing together at full speed; two or three hours of cramming in the intervals (for though the principle and theory is never to look at a book during an examination, or indeed for two or three days before, that your mind may be fresh and vigorous, few men are cool enough to put this into practice); and long lounges at night, very different from the ordinary constitutional. Thus far I had rather exceeded my expectations, but there was still impending Monday's Algebra paper, and the thought of that left me very little rest on Sunday. A friend who had obligingly backed me to the extent of ten shillings, endeavored to comfort me with the assurance that if I had done my Classics properly, I must be safe without the Algebra, and if I had not, all I could do on Monday would not make much difference. But this satisfactory assurance did not afford me full consolation. Far more refreshing was our stroll through the Trinity grounds, where Travis and I spent the greater part of the day.

Result of the May Examination.

All the papers together are worth 3,000, but no one gets full marks. This is owing partly to the great extent of the 'cram' papers, which are purposely made to cover as much ground as possible, that every one may find something in them he can do; and partly to the fact that the same man is seldom (I may say never

indeed) first both in classics and mathematics. The best man of the year has from 2,000 to 2,400. The ordinary limit of the First Class is 1,200, but this standard is sometimes raised, for one feature of Cambridge examinations is, that they go by *breaks* rather than by actual number of marks, that is, by relative rather than positive merit; and it is this which makes it so difficult to predict your place with any thing like certainty. As the greatest accuracy is required by all the examiners, and the greatest elegance by most of them, you must not only be solicitous for how much you have done, but for how you have done it. A little well polished up is worth more than a great deal turned off carelessly; and you often find in the fourth or fifth class, unfortunates who have covered as much paper as the head man. There are, say 130 Freshmen, who are arranged in nine classes, the First Class varying from twenty to thirty. Fifty marks will prevent one from being 'posted,' but there are always two or three too stupid as well as idle to save their 'Post.' These drones are *posted* separately as 'not worthy to be classed,' and privately slanged afterward by the Master and Seniors. Should a man be posted twice in succession, he is generally recommended to try the air of some small college, or devote his energies to some other walk of life.

At length, late on Friday evening, as I was preparing a solitary cup of tea, one of my friends came tumbling into the room with the gratifying intelligence that 'we were all right.' So I was paraded in all the Cambridge and London papers, with twenty-three more, as First Class men in the Trinity Freshman Examination, which honor moreover entitled us to a prize of books at the Commemoration, next November, toward which the college gave us nineteen shillings and sixpence sterling, and we added as much as we liked, for this kind of humbug is common to English and American colleges.

COLLEGE SCHOLARSHIP EXAMINATIONS IN SECOND YEAR.

At Trinity there is a special examination for Foundation Scholarships near the beginning of the Easter term, in which all Second and Third-year men are eligible candidates. To an American Collegian who has no motive for anticipating the routine of a fixed course, such a competition must seem singular. *Sophomores* and *Juniors* he would consider a very unfair match; and he would be still more surprised to hear that in these contests for Scholarships, the successful Second-year men beat all the Third-year—it is a *sine qua non* that they should—those who have not another chance being naturally favored above those who have, *cæteris paribus*. But this is partly accounted for by the fact that five or six of the best men in the third year are out of the way, having themselves been chosen scholars in their second year. The whole number of men making up the two years is about one hundred and seventy, and some seventy of these usually present themselves for the vacant Scholarships, which are from twelve to twenty in number, but generally less than fifteen. The successful candidates of the second year are usually to those of the third in the proportion of five to eight. This examination does not differ from the May merely in being optional; another very important distinction consists in the absence of subjects fixed beforehand; the candidates go in trusting to their general knowledge. At the same time there is not an *unlimited* selection from the Classics, as in the Tripos and the University Scholarships; the candidates need not expect to find any Pindar, Aristophanes, or Aristotle, any Persius, or Lucretius, on the papers; and seldom will there be any Plato, Æschylus or Theocritus, Plautus or Juvenal. In Greek, Homer, Hesiod, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Demosthenes; in Latin, Virgil and Horace, Cicero, Livy, and Tacitus, are the authors usually selected from; and this still leaves a pretty wide range, some of these authors being sufficiently voluminous. The Mathematical papers do not go higher than may be supposed to fall within the ordinary reading of a Third-year aspirant to Mathematical Honors. They are only half as many in number as the

Classical papers, and probably do not count more than half as much; at any rate, the examination is more favorable to Classical than to Mathematical men; a good Classic may get a Scholarship with the least possible quantity of Mathematics—say twenty marks out of four hundred—a Mathematician equally deficient in Classics must be first rate indeed in his branch to succeed. In the present year (1842) it looked as if these proportions were to be somewhat more equalized, owing to a change in the head of affairs.

THE LITTLE-GO IN 1842.

After the trial heat of the first May examination, the field of candidates for Honors begins to assume something like a calculable form. The *ruck* falls off rapidly, and the good men settle down to their pace. Many of them are now for the first time under crack private tutors—for it frequently, indeed usually happens, that a 'coach' of reputation declines taking men into his team before they have made time in public. When the Freshman has not a public school reputation, and sometimes even when he has, the result of the May decides whether he will go out in Honors or not—that is, whether he will be a reading or a non-reading man (for with all but the very badly prepared, going out in Poll is equivalent to doing nothing—so far as University studies are concerned—for at least half the course). If his success be such as to encourage him, he begins his work again, as has been observed, early in the Long vacation, toward the close of which, however, he takes a real vacation of a month or so (generally provided for in all engagements with private tutors, or for reading-parties), so as to come to his work fresh at the beginning of the college term. Though not so decisive in its results as the third year, this second year is the turning point for not a few. Some who have done very well in low mathematics, break down after passing the Differential Calculus. Some grow indolent and fall off from depending too much on their first year's success. Some Trinity men are disgusted by not getting a Scholarship at the first trial, and strike work in consequence.

The Little-Go (at Oxford the *Smalls*), is held near the end of the Lent (second) Term. The subjects are partly constant and partly variable; the variable ones, of which notice is given a year in advance, are a Greek author, a Latin author, and one of the four Gospels; the only constant subject at this time was Paley's *Evidences*. *Author* in the last sentence must be taken in a limited sense, as denoting one Book of Homer, Herodotus, Livy, or Tacitus, two short dialogues of Plato, one Greek Tragedy, or the like. The examination involves a little *viva voce*, and it was said that if a man did his *viva voce* well, none of his papers were looked at but the Paley. As it is only a *pass* examination, the examinees are arranged alphabetically, except a comparatively few, perhaps a fourth or fifth of the whole number, who have only *just* passed, and for whose special benefit a Second Class is provided.

University Scholarship Examination.

There is a Third Examination during the Lent Term, in which Second-year men may be candidates, though the number who avail themselves of the opportunity is not large—The University Scholarship. I say *Scholarship*, for though there are several on different foundations, it has been so arranged that one is vacant every year, and seldom more than one;* the examiners and style of examination are the same for them all, and they may be practically considered as one and the same. The examination is open to all undergraduates, but the competition lies chiefly among those of the Third year. It includes more Latin composition than the Tripos, and even a wider range of authors, embracing Athenæus,

* There have been two vacancies together three times in the last ten years. The Foundations are four, the *Craven*, *Battie*, *Davies*, and *Pitt*, to which a new one, the *Porson*, has just been added. The annual emolument varies from £30 to £75.

the comic fragments, and such out of the way subjects which enter into no other examination. Yet it sometimes happens that a Second-year man is the successful candidate, and there are rare instances of a Freshman gaining the prize.

The University Scholarship was this year borne off by a Johnian. *En revanche* we triumphed in both Triposes, having in Mathematics the Senior Wrangler (who is almost always as a matter of course a Johnian), and in Classics the Senior Classic and Senior Medallist, as usual. Some circumstances worth mentioning attended these examinations. Our Trinity Senior Wrangler (we have one so seldom that he is prone to be an object of curiosity and a pet) was a crooked little man, in no respect a beauty, and not in the least a beau. On the day of his triumph, when he was to receive his hard-earned honors in the Senate House, some of his friends combined their energies to dress him, and put him to rights properly, so that his appearance might not be altogether unworthy of his exploits and his college. He had generally the reputation of being a mere Mathematician, which did him great injustice, for he was really a man of much varied information, and that on some subjects the very opposite of scientific—for instance, he was well up in all the current novels, an uncommon thing at Cambridge, where novel reading is not one of the popular weaknesses. His Johnian competitor, who was a fearfully hard reader, and had once worked *twenty hours a day* for a week together at a college examination, almost broke down from over exertion just as the time of trial was coming on, and found himself actually obliged to carry a supply of ether and other stimulants into the examination, in case of accidents. Nevertheless, he made a good fight of it, and having great pace as well as style in addition to his knowledge, beat the Trinity man a little on the book work, but was beaten two hundred marks in problems, which decided the contest.

The Senior Classic was a nobleman's son, also distinguished as one of the best oars on the river. He had moreover been Captain (Head) of the Poll, for it is a privilege of noblemen's sons that they go out in Classics by first passing the *ordinary* degree examination instead of the *Mathematical*. This, and obtaining a degree by seven terms residence instead of ten (making just a year's difference), are the only unfair privileges they enjoy. The reason assigned for both is the same—that they may be wanted in public life at an earlier age than the other students; and the intention evidently was, that those going out in Classics through the Poll should do so after a residence of two years and a half. But as this, though the spirit, is not the letter of the law, some of them take advantage of the double chance, and enjoy the same length of time for Classical preparation as the other students, without being hampered by the Mathematical examination. On the other hand, there are instances of young men who have chivalrously refused to avail themselves of this advantage, and have gone out in the Mathematical Tripos along with the mass of Classical students. The privilege holds good, even if the nobleman has entered as a Pensioner, but it does not extend to the Chancellor's Medals, *all* candidates for which are required to be Senior Optimes.

Migration from one College to another.

A migration is generally tantamount to a confession of inferiority, and acknowledgment that the migrator is not likely to become a Fellow of his own college, and therefore takes refuge in another where a more moderate degree will insure him a Fellowship. A great deal of this migration goes on from John's to the small colleges; Sidney is almost a college of second rate Johnians; at Christ's, for three years successively while I was an undergraduate, the first man was an emigrant from John's. Sometimes the migrating man turns out a dark horse, and stands very high at last; it proved so in the present case. More rarely it happens that a good man from the start migrates out of John's or Trinity to save himself trouble, because at another college he will be given a Fellowship merely for his degree—that is, for his place in the Mathematical or Classical Tripos, without

having to undergo the additional subsequent examination. Sometimes also a Bachelor migrates for the same reason. The Small College Scholarships and Fellowships, it may be remarked, are not inferior to those of Trinity in pecuniary value; on the contrary, they are generally more lucrative. It is a question of profit against honor.*

MAY EXAMINATION IN SECOND YEAR.

The May examination for Second-year men is principally Mathematical. The only strictly Classical paper is one on some dialogue of Plato. There is another on the Diatessaron (the Four Gospels) chiefly 'cram,' and three short papers in 'morals'—Paley's *Natural Theology*, Stewart's *Outlines*, and *Butler's Three Sermons on Human Nature*. These three, with the Eleventh Book of Euclid, are put into one long session of five hours. The other six papers are Mathematical, Statics, Dynamics, Theory of Equations, Conic Sections, Spherical Trigonometry, Differential and Integral Calculus, and one paper of Problems on all the subjects. Now is it quite possible for a Classical man, by polishing up carefully the Morals and Greek Testament and Plato (with the aid of the Euclid which is given him as a sort of sop), to get marks enough for a First Class, especially as the standard is two hundred marks lower than it was the first year. But the prize is not generally considered worth the expenditure of time. The votary of Classics is now beginning to keep a single eye on the Tripos, and is not easily drawn aside from his pursuit of a high place in that, and no one thinks the worse of him for being as low even as the Sixth Class in the May examination.

On the whole there is not very hard working for this May as compared with the first, except among the best two or three in Mathematics, who are beginning to struggle for their places, and with them it is rather the result of their contemporary reading with their private tutors than of special study for the examination. If he who has been decidedly the best Mathematician in his first year comes out as decidedly superior in this, he may be considered pretty safe for the highest Wranglership out of Trinity; but if one or two others who were then close behind him are now a second time not far in his rear, there is a very good chance that their places may be changed next year, or at any rate in the Degree examination. Some men drop out of a good place this year by temporary misdirection and want of concentration of their powers, and not having their Mathematical abilities as yet fully developed by steady and exclusive application. These come up again in the third year, and are ultimately among the high Wranglers.

It was a great deprivation to me, for our Plato lecturer was a remarkable man, and though his readings had not at that time the University celebrity which they afterward acquired, for it was only the third year of his course, they had already deservedly attracted a large attendance. I was compelled to remain in the busy place an idle looker on.

Commencement in 1842.

The Commencement takes place during the first week in July, and is the nominal ending of the Easter Term, which has virtually concluded a month before. The real business done is conferring the M.A. degrees, and reading the prize compositions—that is to say, the Classical ones and the English poem, for the recitation of the Theological Essays would be rather a tedious affair, as they sometimes make a tolerably sized book. The Latin Essays are read a few days before Commencement. Almost the only parties in attendance are those personally in-

* There are some *Bye-Fellowships*, however, in the small colleges, whose value is merely nominal—some £5 or £6 a year. These are in no great demand, and are usually given to inferior men. Sometimes they serve to keep good men from being *superannuated* (in colleges where a man can not be made a Fellow after he has attained a certain [University] age), since a Bye-Fellow can be elected to one of the regular Fellowships when a vacancy occurs.

terested. A few of the reading-men up for the Long may drop into the galleries, and some straggling townspeople be in the body of the house. But on this occasion the scene was changed Cambridge was turned into a show place for that day only. Gold-embroidered gowns of noblemen mingled with the red gowns of Doctors of Divinity and Physic. Crowds of well dressed strangers thronged the beautiful college grounds, looking as unamused as the great Anglo Saxon race usually does when it gets together in a crowd. The Senate House was thronged. All manner of big-wigs graced the scene and augmented the dignity of the Duke of Northumberland. Some one of the royal family was there—I forget who, but recollect two officers pushing the people out of his way. Prince Albert came up to be made something or other, and put on some extraordinary dress. Illustrious foreigners were not wanting. Everett and Bunsen were created D.C.L.'s, and had red gowns put over their diplomatic uniforms. The scandalous conduct of some members of the other University to our distinguished countryman when the same degree was conferred on him there some time later, is unhappily notorious, but it is not so generally known that a difficulty—though of a different sort, founded not on religious but on political grounds—was near occurring at Cambridge. Some precise member of the Senate started this objection: 'We give Honorary Degrees only to persons of royal blood, and Ambassadors are admissible to them merely in their quality of representatives of crowned heads. Now Mr. Everett does not represent a crowned head; how then can we give him a Degree?' Fortunately some one recollected that the American Minister was a D.C.L. of Trinity College, Dublin, members of which are admitted *ad eundem gradum* at Cambridge, which solved the difficulty at once; indeed it was settled so quietly that not many people were aware of its existence.

The unusual throng made the winners of the Browne medals, the Porson, the Camden, and the Chancellor's English medal, extraordinary lions, as instead of an audience of half a dozen old Dons, and twice as many undergraduates, they had a crowded house of beauty, nobility, and fashion to recite before. The Browne medals are three in number, for an ode in Latin Alcaics, an ode in Greek Sapphics, and a brace of epigrams in Greek and Latin. The Porson prize (of books) is for a translation from Shakspeare into Greek Iambics; the Camden medal for an exercise in Latin Hexameters. The subjects of these exercises are announced at the end of the First Term, and the candidates have about three months to write them in. These prizes are sometimes taken by the best men in the year, sometimes by second rate ones. The continually recurring reason that they make too much inroad into the preparation for the Tripos, prevents many of the first Classics in the year from trying for them, particularly in the case of the Greek ode, which is an altogether out of the way exercise, Greek Sapphics not being written in any of the examinations. On the whole, I believe the Porson was considered the most honorable, and there was more competition for it among the good men. But there is a generally prevailing idea in the University that success in an extensive examination on general knowledge of language, not specially prepared for, is a fairer test of merit and ability than gaining a prize which has been elaborately worked up in private, and it not unfrequently happens that the Senior Classic has never written for a medal or Porson.

Great University Examinations in 1843.

With the New Year came on the great University examinations, which excited the usual interest. The Senior Wrangler this time was Adams of John's, since celebrated as *the other* discoverer of Le Verrier's planet. He won in a canter, so to speak, having three thousand marks to the Second Wrangler's fourteen hundred, so that there was more numerical difference between them than between the Second Wrangler and the *spoon*. A singular case of *funk* occurred at this examination. The man who would have been second (also a Johnian), took

fright when four of the six days were over, and fairly ran away—not only from the examination but out of Cambridge, and was not discovered by his friends or family till some time after. As it was, he came out ninth in the list of Wranglers, the high papers of the last two days affecting sensibly the places of only the first ten or fifteen. By getting the Second Smith's Prize, he might have retrieved his prospects of a Fellowship, but here our best man from Trinity, who was only Third Wrangler, and but for the accident would have been fourth, cut him out. We wanted some little consolation of the sort, being in a terrible minority this year. In the Classical Tripos where we generally looked for one or both Medallists as a matter of course, we had but one man in the First Class, and he only eighth of the eleven composing it. People began to put the blame on our master, unjustly enough, as the men of that year had not entered under his auspices. The fact was, that a few years before there had been a great scarcity of Trinity Fellowships, so that men to whom the emoluments of learning were an object had become afraid to enter there until the supply of good candidates was thinned out a little. But in the University Scholarship where the Third-year men of crack reputation came into play, our college met with a worse, because more unexpected disappointment. There were four Trinity men expected to fill the first four places in the Classical Tripos of 1844, and three of these were now to fight for the Craven, with no danger except from one Kingsman. King's College stands in an anomalous position with regard to the rest of the University. It is a mere prolongation of Eton School. Its half dozen undergraduates, who have been the best 'Collegers' at Eton, become Scholars and Fellows of the college as a matter of course, and also get their degree from the University without passing any examination for it. As a necessary consequence, they have no opportunity of distinguishing themselves in either Tripos. But the University Prizes and Scholarships are open to them, and here they prove formidable rivals of the Trinity men. As the dangerous Kingsman was in his second year, it was calculated that besides the chance of three to one against him, the not unjust preference, *cæteris paribus*, shown to candidates who have no more opportunity left, would turn the scale against him. But now an outside competitor appeared in the person of the Pembroke Third-year man who had carried off three prizes at the last Commencement. I was almost the only man in Trinity who knew him personally, and having very early in our acquaintance formed a high idea of his ability, and especially his quickness and *pace* (an important element of success), ventured to talk of him as a likely candidate. The idea of a Small-Colleger beating all Trinity was deemed preposterous, and such a hint looked upon as a sort of treason to the college. Nevertheless it proved true; he came out the winner, with the Kingsman and one of our three close at his heels, and all the rest no where. Thereupon he became quite a lion. Still there was a strong party not prepared to admit that he would be Senior Classic, and the Trinity man with whom his college had declared to win (he who had been next to the successful candidate for the Craven), was regularly booked and entered for the head of the Tripos against him. It bid fair to be a very pretty race. The Trinity man was the best in Greek, the other in Latin; and Greek, especially Composition, counts more than Latin, in the Tripos. On the other hand, the Pembroke man had the *prestige* of the Scholarship, and superior rapidity of work, while his opponent had more accuracy and polish. Then again, he of Trinity was already well prepared in Mathematics, and the other had all his to get up, and as he must be a Senior Optime to contend for the Medal, this was a great dead weight upon him. But again, the Trinity man's knowledge of Mathematics might tempt him to read for a Double First, and thus distract his attention from the one object. Friends of the candidates made bets (not very large ones to be sure: I ultimately won seven pounds on my man) and the whole affair with its calculations and contingencies was like a race or an election—except that there was no foul play.

Occupation in Lent Term—1843.

I went in to this examination in common with some sixty more outsiders, chiefly to find out by experiment if I was strong enough to sit through the Trinity Scholarship next term, and also to become used to the feel of an examination, as I had not passed one since my first May, with the exception of the short and easy Little-Go. Beginning thus with the most difficult examination in the University, I probably wrote a great deal of trash, but no one seeing it except the examiners, it was of little consequence.

During the rest of the Lent term I was reading and writing for the Members' Prize, which, besides the labor of Latin Composition, required much Roman History 'cram.' Also, I read with a friend some low Optics with a view to the May examination—a very foolish speculation, as I had been over no Second-year Mathematics, and was not in a state to get up the subject in a reliable way. I moreover attended the Greek Professor's Lectures on Pindar and the College lectures on Plato to the Second year.

University and College Lectures.

The small attendance on Professors' Lectures are often remarked on. Dr. Whewell's lectures on Moral Philosophy had not more than fifty listeners, of whom I was one. Prof. Sedgwick had an attendance of not more than thirty at his Geological lectures in the year 1841. The Greek Professor's class in 1843 was rather under than above thirty. In all this there was nothing so bad as Buckland's lecturing on Geology to *three* hearers at Oxford; but I was actually myself one of a class of three who attended Professor Cumming's supplementary course of Chemistry in the year 1841. . . . It is *because* they are working so hard that the great body of reading-men do not come to the lectures—working with their private tutors (who correspond to German professors in some respects, as has been observed) for the Tripos, the Scholarships, or the College Mays.

The College lectures delivered have a very moderate attendance at them also. Sometimes this is owing to the limited nature of the subject. For instance, one of the best Mathematical Fellows at Trinity or John's is lecturing on some high branch of Mathematics—something of which the Differential Calculus is merely the alphabet; none but high men can take interest in, or derive profit from such lectures. Now, as there are only on an average twelve Wranglers from John's, and nine from Trinity every year, the class is of necessity limited to a dozen, and the lecture takes very much the form of an examination. In Classics it depends chiefly on the lecturer whether he has a good class or not. The lectures, though mainly for the benefit of a particular Year which is to be examined at the May in the subject lectured upon, are open, without extra fee, to all the College, and a lecturer, who has made one author his *specialité*, and can translate and explain him in an interesting manner, will be sure to have a large attendance. Our Plato lecturer at Trinity furnished a striking example of this. His room was always crowded; his audience comprised not only the Junior Sophs, for whom the lecture was specially intended, but Senior Sophs, Bachelors, and even Fellows. Nay, some men of other colleges applied to be admitted; but this, if I remember rightly, was contrary to the College rules and usages. . . . Of the Protagoras, which was the subject this year, I had been careful enough to provide myself with an interleaved copy, and the notes then taken are among my most cherished manuscripts.

This term I was called on to recite both my Declamations, English and Latin, in the chapel. Every Senior Soph is nominally required to write an English and a Latin Declamation, but many beg off one or both; probably about fifty of each are sent in. The eight best of each had been selected for recitation, to five out of which sixteen, the five prizes were to be awarded. It was officially intimated

in the Lecture-rooms, that the Master would be pleased by a general attendance of the students, but in spite of this manifesto, we had a very slim audience, not more than a dozen.

Union Debating Society.

The Union Debating Society, which had taken such a start at the beginning of the academic year, was now growing too lively, and evincing an Irish sort of vitality by a succession of rows. To keep up an interest in the debates, we had persuaded men of reputation to come forward as candidates for the offices, and a Trinity Bachelor Scholar of high standing was put up for the presidency of the Lent Term. He was carried, after a hard contest, and the defeated party tried to console themselves by making a disturbance, and annoying the assembly, especially on business nights. I may say here that English young gentlemen at a public meeting are more ungentlemanly than *any* class of our people (for a meeting of Irish or other foreigners in New York is not to be considered as an American meeting); they never look upon the occasion in a serious light, but seem to consider it the most natural one for a lark. Two of the members got into a dispute on the floor of the house, which was afterward continued out of doors. The whole affair at length would make a very pretty bit of Trollopania; but when gentlemen by birth and education do not behave as such, it is not pleasant to dwell on their disgrace, even for the pleasure of retaliating on Mr. Dickens. Suffice it to say, that one of them promised to horsewhip the other, and the threatened man assaulted his threatener with a 'life-preserver,' knocking him down and nearly killing him; which coming to the ears of the College authorities (both parties were Trinity men), the weilder of the bludgeon was *dismissed* —not expelled*—from the College, and subsequently took a degree at one of the Halls in Oxford

College Scholarship Examination.

About this time came the College Scholarship Examination, at which I presented myself, but having somewhat arrogantly underrated the Classical standard and scarcely attempted to prepare myself in Mathematics, I cut no very distinguished figure. The Declamations also were now adjudged, and I missed both the Latin, but was consoled with the first English. It was my first success since returning to work, and about the showiest prize I could have taken.

May Examination for the First Class.

The First Class in this year's May examination varies from five to eleven, the whole number of examinees being about eighty. Its usual number is eight. The standard for admission into it had fallen rather low about this time, for while the first man in it could, and sometimes did get twenty-four hundred marks, the last had on some occasions less than eight hundred and fifty. This emboldened me to work for a First Class, though I had but three papers out of nine to rely on, as all the Mathematics I could hope to do were a few questions in Optics, some elementary propositions of the science, and the description of an instrument or two, perhaps fifty marks in all. So I ground away, cramming Acts and 'Morals,' and polishing up three Books of the Nicomachean Ethics as well as I could, and also writing Greek prose, which entered into the paper. The experiment was not successful. I had underrated the range of the New Testament paper and did not clear one-half of it, and on the Morals I afterward found that my answers, though correct, were not long and explicit enough. In the Aristotle paper I did better, standing third on it. It was the only paper of the last day, and as such had five hours assigned to it, and five hours hard work it took, comprising as it did translations of the most difficult passages, critical illustrations,

* An expelled man is shut out from the learned professions, as well as from all Colleges at each University.

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questions on the history of Aristotle himself, the history of his works, the history of metaphysical and ethical schools, and to finish off with a nice little bit of English to be translated into Greek. Our best Classic had not time to floor the paper. To destroy any chance that I might have left, the standard of the First Class was run up; it contained only six men, the lowest of whom had above eleven hundred marks. Several hundred candidates for Wranglerships kept me company in the Second Class, and I was given to understand that I ought to think myself very well off in not being lower.

Private Tuition.

On returning from my short visit to Oxford, I set to work for the English Essay, and soon after finishing and sending in my exercise (name under seal as usual), was encouraged by taking *solus* the University Latin Essay Prize. Before this, however, I had started with the intention of going out next year in both Triposes, and had accordingly put on two coaches. This 'putting on two coaches for the last Long,' is an ordinary practice; and there are few terms or vacations during which a student is not engaged with one tutor at least.

The private tutor at an English University corresponds, as has been already observed, in many respects to the *Professor* at a German. The German professor is not *necessarily* attached to any specific chair; he receives no fixed stipend, and has not public lecture rooms; he teaches at his own house, and the number of his pupils depends on his reputation. The Cambridge private tutor is also a graduate, who takes pupils at his rooms in numbers proportionate to his reputation and ability. And although, while the German professor is regularly licensed as such by his University, and the existence of the private tutor *as such* is not even officially recognized by his, still this difference is more apparent than real; for the English University has *virtually* licensed the tutor to instruct in a particular branch by the standing she has given him in her examination. A high Wrangler may be considered *ipso facto* a competent instructor in Mathematics.

To make up for former deficiencies, and to direct study so that it may not be wasted, are two *desiderata* which probably led to the introduction of private tutors, once a partial, now a general appliance. Now, it is true, that the extent of ground to be gone over in Classics is too great for any one who enters *very* deficient in them to be worked up by any means so as to take a good degree, yet even here a great deal may be done, and a very inaccurate and superficial knowledge be filled in and polished up to a surprising extent; while in Mathematics, the student who comes up knowing only his first-year subjects, but with a very good capacity for science, has time enough, under proper direction, to get a place among the first twenty Wranglers, or even the first ten. And it is through his tutor's aid that many a classical man, who could never have passed of himself, saves his distance in Mathematics, or is even pushed into the Senior Optimes, so as to be qualified for a Medal; and that many a Freshman takes a First Class in the May Examination, and is thereby encouraged to go on reading for Honors, instead of being disgusted and killed off at the outset. Moreover, even for the subjects in which a student enters well prepared, the coach is most useful to keep him at his work and prevent him from losing ground. The daily or ter-weekly attendance has a beneficial effect in making the pupil work regularly, nor is the tutor in most cases at all slow to blow up any of his team who give signs of laziness.

An ordinary tutor takes five or six pupils a day, giving an hour to each. One of great celebrity will have twice as many if a Classic, or four times as many if a Mathematician.

The regular fee of a private tutor is £7 a term, if you go to him on alternate days, or £14 if every day. Noblemen and Fellow-Commoners pay more, and Sizars about one half. The charges for the vacations are proportional.

Long Vacation in Third-Year.

I had set to work in earnest to read for both Triposes. With my Classical tutor I attacked the Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles, an author into whose difficulties I was just beginning to have a little insight, and also wrote Composition, not in his rooms like an examination, but leisurely at home, as well as translations of the most difficult passages in the Third Book of Thucydides. With my other coach I began Mathematics from the beginning—that is to say, from Algebra. But it was as slow and disagreeable work as ever, and one day after I had been blundering along for a fortnight without getting into Trigonometry, I suddenly resolved to give up the idea of going out in Honors for that year.

Among the men up this Long, who were all reading-men of course, I was especially intimate with two sets. One consisted of three or four Apostles, men who belonged to different Colleges but were united by the bond of their club, and most of whom I had known previous to their joining it, indeed I had introduced some of them to each other. For I had become at this time a *medium*—not exactly in the signification in which the term has become popular in our newspapers (yet somewhat in a *spiritual* sense too), but a man who knew and 'hung out to' clever and pleasant people, and introduced agreeable lions to one another. These men were all immediate aspirants for high Honors, and consequently in a fearful state of work. The Pembroker was booked to lead the Tripos, and at the same time had the pleasant prospect of getting up all his Mathematics for a place among the Senior Ops; the Kingsman was the favorite for the next University Scholarship; and one of the Trinity men, tempted by an unusual number of vacancies, was making a tremendous rush for a Fellowship, though it was not his last chance. I noticed these men's habits of reading, and it was curious to mark the difference. The Pembroker had not *physique* enough to work more than nine hours daily, which indeed is one beyond the average time allotted by experience and tradition. He would have attempted more, but I used to haul him out by main force, and compel him to take an hour's walk every day, under the plea that I had money on him and was bound to look after his training, besides making him talk and be idle for an hour or so occasionally of evenings. He of King's, a most regular and well ordered man in mind and body, with a clear head, a good digestion, and a sound conscience, read straight on his ten hours a day, and assured me that he never felt better, and was ready to run and jump like a boy when he went out for his constitutional. The Trinitarian had a peculiar style of his own. He differed from most reading men in keeping late hours. He rose at ten, read from eleven to half-past three, then took a short walk; after dinner, he lounged to read the papers till seven, when he fell to work and never stopped till two in the morning.

[This vacation was signalized by the Avatar of sherry-coblers—an American drink, whose virtues had been heralded by Dickens, and which Mr. Bristed claims the honor of introducing into Cambridge.]

Just at the end of the vacation every one feels it a duty to himself to go *somewhere* for a little while. I went to visit a friend residing near Cheltenham. Mesmerism, the Water Cure, and some other German novelties, had just then possessed the good people in that part of the country, and I was induced to try the prevailing panacea, which I underwent five days—and never before did I fully appreciate the force of the metaphor, *to throw a wet blanket* on any thing. Even now it presents a sadly ludicrous spectacle to my mind's eye, as I recall myself helplessly swaddled in seven blankets over a wet sheet, powerless to move hand or foot; or squatted in a sitz bath, trying to keep myself warm by reading the fire in Schiller's Bell-Song. At the end of the fifth day, the process had to be given up in self-defense, as, in addition to certain physical obstructions, it brought on a lowness of spirits which rendered life a burden to me.

English Essay Prize.

On returning to Cambridge, at the commencement of the Michaelmas Term, I was stimulated by gaining the English Essay Prize, and soon after set to work with one of the two crack Classical tutors. For as there were two Mathematical coaches of eminence, so were there two Classical; only the former had a reputation for different styles of men, while between the latter there was somewhat of rivalry, especially this year, when each was coaching a candidate for the top of the Tripos. It was doubtful whether these professed trainers of 'men among the first five' were exactly suited for me, or whether I was likely to do credit to their mode of instruction; but a desire of seeing all I could of the different ways of teaching, and some little curiosity as to what stand I could possibly hope to take (which a tutor of such experience would probably be able to determine pretty nearly), induced me to read with the oracle of the Shrewsbury men who had in hand at that time nearly all the Trinity set mentioned in the last chapter. I must have puzzled this gentleman exceedingly, my reading ran in so different a line from that of most of his pupils, and my way of doing things was so different. When he gave me Elegiacs or Alcaics to write, I used to sit looking very desperate at them for a long time, and then produce something exceedingly lamentable, not exactly in the way of false quantities, but very unclassical and prosaic; and as he was not backward in *slanging*—one of the requisites of a good coach, as has been remarked—he would give it to my unfortunate composition right and left. Once I let some verses fall into the fire, and was going to pick them out. 'Let them go!' quoth he, 'that's the best place for them.' On the other hand, I used at times to hit off translations from Aristophanes, and other difficult authors, in a style that won his commendation.

Further Experience with a Classical Coach.

Our way of working with him, I should say, was this. There were three rooms on the first floor of the house, the upper part of which he and his family occupied: in one of these he used to hear sometimes one pupil construe, sometimes two or three in a class on Pindar or some other favorite author; and in the other two his pupils were writing Compositions and Translations, with nothing but the usual amount of stationery to assist them. Sometimes, however, we could not help asking one another for a word. Occasionally, but rarely, we took extra Composition to do at home. I read part of the Παραπρέσβεια, one of Demosthenes' Orations that everybody reads; and then he broke off in the middle, said I could do that well enough, and had better go on with Aristotle—which I did, taking up the Nicomachean Ethics where I had left them off in the Spring, and continued with the Fourth and Fifth Books. He had his little diversions, too, as well as Travis, and sometimes would break out in the middle of a long sentence with some question about Webster or Calhoun. I read this Term like a man with a sole eye to the Tripos; the only πάρεργον I had was delivering my Commemoration Speech—not writing it; that I had done at Cheltenham—and attending an Epigram Club that some of us had started. The Speech is delivered by the author of the First Prize Declamation. He choses his own subject. I took for mine *The Principle of Liberality*, chiefly for the pleasure of having a fling at the Antediluvians in Church and State. It *did* vex a few, and by way of losing none of the effect, I had it printed. Of this Composition I felt a little proud—not for any particular merit that even myself could discern in it, but because it was the means of my making a valued acquaintance.

It was about this time (the middle of January), that my tutor, having made up his mind about my chances for next year, took occasion to deliver his opinion upon them. 'You can get a First Class in the Tripos,' said he, 'but you will have to work for it.' I told him that working *hard* was with me out of the question, that I could only read about five hours a day, and had to get up all my

Mathematics which would take the whole last Long. He intimated that I ought to work at Composition five or six hours a day for six months to bring me up to the standard, 'and as you can't do that,' said he, '*actum est*.' Then he advised me to go out in the Poll. This is the course which many a man, Mathematical as well as Classical, takes out of pride, when he finds that from early idleness, ill-health, or any other cause, his degree will not be equal to what he thinks his abilities deserve. The subject was discussed by us at intervals for several days, but my mind was pretty well made up. After the first two or three months of my illness, when it was evident that recovery would be a work of years, and probably never complete at that—from that time I gave up perforce ambitious desires, and contented myself with playing such second part as I could. I would not be ashamed of trying for the best of everything, and failing. So I told my tutor that I was willing to take my chance; at any rate I would have a shy at a College Scholarship, though that involved another dose of Mathematics.

[Mr. Bristed devotes a chapter to the making of Greek and Latin verse as one of the most showy manifestations of English scholarship. The Public School boy, particularly at Eton, begins at the age of ten in grinding at longs and shorts, until in the course of eight or ten years a surprising degree of dexterity is attained in translating English verse into Hexameters and Pentameters, and finally into Alcaics. No one beginning late in life ever attains much skill in the performance, and we can see in its results nothing to justify the waste of precious time which might be better employed than in the acquisition of facility in Latin versification. The practice of writing Latin and Greek prose with facility and elegance can be attained by young men of average talent and industry later in life, and has many advantages. The best Oxford and Cambridge scholars never reach the facility of composing and speaking in Latin which the average German student attains.]

Scholarship Examinations.

The result of the examination for the Chancellor's Medals is declared very soon after that of the Tripos. The two old competitors had a hard fight for it again, and again the Pembroke man came out first by a neck. It now wanted but a month of the College Scholarship, and I was in the agony of Newton and Statics, as before stated. The only diversions I had were the Plato Lectures, which I could not lose, happen what would, and occasionally attending a talk at the Union (where the debates were looking up), or at our Historical.

And now somewhere about the end of March or beginning of April the important time for us Senior Sophs drew nigh. We had a large opening this year —seventeen vacancies. To counterbalance this advantage, the lower year was a very strong one; it contained a Mathematician of great pace and endurance, who was afterwards Senior Wrangler, and several capital Classics. Hallam was one of these, and so was the future Senior Medallist, who was of a family of several brothers that all wrote Greek Iambics by instinct. Our year was weak enough. After taking out the five men who gained their Scholarships at the first trial, we had only one very good Mathematician left, and no very good Classic. The one in most repute was a son of the late Sir R. Peel, now M. P. for Leominster, and his father's *political* successor. All those little personal matters, and many more, were as thoroughly canvassed as the history, merits, and chances of horses before a race, or office-seekers before an election.

Finally arrived *the* Wednesday. The Hall was opened at nine, and seventy or eighty men rushed in to scribble. Our first paper was Greek translation, and, to my surprise and joy, contained a long bit of Plato and a hard bit of Theocritus—authors not usually set in the Scholarship, and therefore likely not only utterly to confound the Mathematical men but trouble some of the Classical ones, particularly of the Second year. The extra length of the paper, there

being five selections instead of the usual four, was also of considerable benefit to me, for my pace, though not very good, was such as to leave a comfortable margin in four hours, and some of the others might be crowded by the additional extract. But in spite of these advantages a morbid feeling of disgust came over me soon after I sat down, and I was on the point of throwing up my papers and walking off. Luckily I thought better of it, and on gradually reflecting how favorable to me this first morning's examination was, I felt a fresh stimulus, and worked diligently the whole four hours, taking care not to throw away any chance by going out before the time, as I had done the previous year.

The examination lasts but three days and a half, the number of papers being seven, two translation, two Latin composition, two Mathematics, and one general questions in Classical history and philology, &c.—a paper which of late years had become somewhat unjustly slighted—we were therefore through our toils by Saturday noon. I had done quite as much Mathematics as I expected.

The candidates were now left to a week of suspense. This week I filled up with writing, not for, but rather *at* or *against* the University. Latin Essay, for which as a sort of twice Third year man, I had a right to compete a second time.

The decisive morning arrived. I had invited seven or eight friends to breakfast—to rejoice or condole with me as the case might be—at ten, the usual hour of a breakfast party, and after leaving morning chapel at seven, went pacing about the grounds in a great state of fidget, supported by my amateur Mathematical coach, and trying to fortify myself with a report I had heard two or three days before from a friend of one of the examiners, that my translation papers were ahead of the rest of the year. The examiners (the Master and the eight Senior Fellows, one or two of whom usually do their work by deputy) meet after chapel to compare results and elect the Scholars. About nine, A. M., the new Scholars are announced from the chapel gates. On this occasion, it is not etiquette for the candidates themselves to be in waiting—it looks too 'bumptious;' but their personal friends are sure to be on hand, together with an humbler set concerned—the gyps, coalmen, boot-blacks, and other College servants—who take great interest in the success of their masters, and bet on them to the amount of five shillings and less.

A long, very long fifteen or twenty minutes elapsed, and then my gyp, first to bring the tidings, rushed in at full trot to assure me that it was all right. Then appeared the special messenger, who had been delayed a few moments by taking down the names of the new Scholars. Soon after, our Plato lecturer, my College tutor, stalked in direct from the scene of action (he had been one of the examiners) in his full academicals, like Tragedy in gorgeous pall, to tender me his congratulations in a majestic and Don-like manner; and after him Prof. Sedgwick.

Questionists—Candidates for Honors.

[We must bring this long article on a Yale Graduate's experience in Cambridge examinations, extending through four years, to a close, without introducing the last and most important chapter on the Mathematical and Classical Tripos for Honors. We can only give the *acme*. "At nine on Friday morning just sixteen days from the hour when the examination began (first Tuesday in January) —an interval which will not appear too long when it is remembered that nearly one hundred and fifty men have to be placed in individual order of merit—the list, signed by the examiners, is posted up outside the Senate House. I was quietly seated at breakfast, when my gyp entered to announce that I stood 112th, and also that the Johnian was Senior Wrangler. Soon after, the same friend who had reported the result of the Scholarship to me came in and stated, with some *naivete*, that he had begun to look from the end of the list up, knowing he would come to my name sooner in that way, and that he had arrived at me *very soon*."

MODE OF CONDUCTING AND PREPARING FOR EXAMINATIONS.

Mr. William Everett (now Professor of Latin at Harvard) in his *Lectures on the University of Cambridge* thus describes the examination at the Senate House:

The system in brief is,—to subject all candidates for all University and College distinctions to the test of competitive written examinations, held at distinct and not frequent occasions,—and to allow the preparation and study for these examinations to be held whenever and in whatever way each individual thinks proper.

Hence we have no class system, no daily recitations, no course of study, no list of rank, no lessons, no text-books, none of the paraphernalia of an American College, at least as officially recognized. Some of these things exist, but they exist as tradition, or choice, or convenience have dictated them,—they are not part of the regular machinery of the University. The theory in the minds of the authorities, as far as they would consent to admit any theory, is this: "Let us propose to examine our undergraduates in certain branches, at certain intervals. Let us assemble in Cambridge all manner of instructors, lecturers, and other helps to prepare for these examinations, and then let us leave our young men to select for themselves. If they really wish to study,—if they really seek to come up to the standard of the examinations,—each will select his own course and his own instructor better than we can select for him. If they do not wish to study, if they care nothing about competition, if they can bring no heart to their work, it will be entirely useless on our part to attempt by any compulsion or prescription to make them work under any course or instructors we may choose."

The examinations in the two great subjects of classics and mathematics being much the most important of all in Cambridge, and being the goal of nearly all the aspirants for distinction, a full description of what they actually are will not be out of place. In all essential forms, the others are but copies of them. The candidates are drawn from all the Colleges alike. They assemble at nine o'clock, on a Tuesday morning, soon after New Year's Day, in front of the Senate House. All are in their academic dress of cap and gown. A few sympathizing friends who have already passed the trial, a few expectant friends who have not, see them to the door. A list of their names has been previously suspended in all public places some time before. The Senate House is the building where all the public exercises—other than religious—of the University are held.

As the hands of the great University clock on the church outside are seen to approach nine, an examiner, or some University official, takes his station at the head of each of eight lines of tables, with a pile of the printed examination papers, damp from the press. The instant the first stroke is heard, a rapid race down the tables begins, a paper being dropped at every man. Sometimes an experienced distributor will get through his line, and begin going up the next, to meet some slower dignitary coming down. These papers, and plenty of writing-paper, pens, and ink are all the means at the disposal of the candidates. They contain, on this first day, questions on the elements of mathematics, the divine Euclid, and other easy geometrical subjects,—all such as can be found in approved treatises, or easily deducible therefrom. They are set by four gentlemen, of whom two are called moderators, because anciently it was their business to moderate in the mathematical disputes of which the examination in part consisted. They are chosen from the colleges in rotation, from the graduates of most distinguished attainments.

Over this paper of questions the candidates are allowed three hours, but may go out as much sooner as they wish,—not of course to come in again;—for it is a maxim running through the whole of Cambridge instruction, that a man is not to be put to do more than he wants to. If his declining to work on a paper subjects him to failure and loss, that is his look out. At twelve, then, they must stop. At one, another three hours' paper. The next day, the same, and the next. Then a pause of ten days, while the work of the previous three, all on the easier departments of Mathematics, is looked over. All those who have passed the minimum asked by the examiners, are now announced as "having acquitted themselves so as to deserve mathematical honors." The rest, O dreadful word, and thrice dreadful fate, have their names published no more, and are "plucked" The degree of Bachelor of Arts is not for them as far as mathematics goes. With these three days, the ambition of most stops; it does require a good deal of knowledge to pass them with distinction; a knowledge of all the principles, and ten times the detail involved in the mathematical course in the first two years at an

American College. On the tenth day after they end, begins the five days' examination, on real tough mathematics, *beginning* with the differential calculus, and going up to the highest calculation of astronomy and optics. "Few are the stragglers, following far" who stay in after the prescribed half hour in the last few papers of the dreadful five days, three hours morning and afternoon. O, many are the luncheons, mighty the dinners consumed in these eight days. Science must be fed. The most uncompromising appetites I ever saw were among my most learned and successful friends in England.

After the five days, everybody takes a rest. On the last Friday in January, or thereabouts, the result of their examination is announced. Again the candidates assemble in the Senate House a few minutes before nine, or rather their friends, for the candidates themselves don't like to go much. A proctor appears in the gallery with a list. Five hundred upturned faces below listen eagerly for his first words. The clock strikes nine. "Senior Wrangler—Romer of Trinity Hall." A tumultuous, furious, insane shout bursts forth, caps fly up into the air, the dust rises immeasurable, and it takes many minutes to restore the order that greets the announcement of the greatest honor the University can bestow for that year. "Second Wrangler—Lecke of Trinity." Another burst of cheering that would be called terrific, had the other not preceded it. "Third," and so on down through the Wranglers, or first class. Now look out. The proctors in the gallery, each armed with their file of printed lists, proceed to scatter them to the multitude below. Talk of Italian beggars, beasts at a menagerie; why, the rush, the scuffle, the trampling, the crushing of caps and cap-bearers in a shapeless mass, the tearing of gowns, coats, and the very papers that come slowly floating down, hardly ever to reach the floor, beats any tumult I ever saw, except the contention for coppers of the Irish beggars on the wharf at Queenstown, before the tug-boat leaves for the Cunard steamer. At length all are distributed, and the successful retire with the failing to talk over the list of mathematical honors for a day.

Each competitor is marked by the examiners according to the questions he has wholly or partially answered. His marks being added together, his individual place is determined according to the aggregate. Then lines are drawn, so as to divide the whole number, generally about a hundred, into three classes of about thirty-three or four each; but often the division is very unequal: for the preference is to draw the class lines where there is a great gap between the marks of successive individuals. The relics of the old disputes are seen in the names of the classes; the second and third are called senior and junior *optimes*, because of old when a candidate had ended his dispute, the examiner said to him, "*optime disputasti*"—"very well fought, sir." And those in the first class are called emphatically wranglers, the head being called the senior.

In about three weeks from the announcement of the mathematical honors, comes the examination for the classical. This lasts five days and a half, and is conducted in other respects precisely like the former. In the morning papers of the first four days, the competitors have passages given them out of the best English authors, prose and verse, to translate into Latin and Greek prose and verse, without any assistance but writing materials, at the rate of about thirty lines of Byron to put into Greek tragic verse in three hours. In the afternoons of the same days, and the whole of the fifth, passages to translate from Latin and Greek into English: the last half day, questions in history. The result is announced as before, and the head man is called Senior Classic.

And that is all. I mean that all that a student does to obtain University honors, to appear before the world as standing in the list of those whom Cambridge pronounces her faithful sons, is told, as far as the University is concerned. In these two examinations, which are called by the curious old name of Tripos, the student only knows that, socratically, he knows nothing about it; that is, any problem or principle may be set in mathematics from adding two and two to calculating a planet's orbit: and any passage set for translation into or out of Latin and Greek, from Homer to Quintilian, and from Sir John Mandeville to Jean Ingelow. In fact, the taste of examiners does run principally on the very oldest and very newest English writers as suitable to turn into Latin and Greek. The range of questions, then, is absolutely infinite and unprescribed; to be sure it has fallen into a traditionary rut, but a pretty wide one. You see, therefore, how immense must be the labor to prepare for them, or else how very judiciously applied, in order that,—it being manifestly impossible to study in three years, even when the former work of school-life is added, all that is possible to be asked,—the com-

petitors may select the probable questions, and those which will in any case be useful. Think how immeasurably superior a knowledge of this kind is to the sorry business of getting twenty problems or one hundred lines as a lesson, to say off one day and forget the next. It is manifest that very careful and judicious instruction is required, that students may know exactly what and how much to read out of this vast range, that they may be prepared for the worst.

Who gives this instruction? Not the University. Not one word of instruction does the great body of all the colleges offer, except some lectures, semi-occasionally, from the professors of Greek and Mathematics For the trials proposed by her, training must not be sought from her. Is it from the Colleges, then, that this instruction is to be obtained? Yes, to a certain extent. Each college, according to its wealth, the number of its students, or what generally is the great moving cause, the activity or laziness of its authorities, has a provision for the instruction of those residing within its walls. It has its own examinations, generally once a year, or, as we should say, for the members of each class; and these are progressive,—on some specified easy ancient authors the first year, and the first branches of Mathematics; more difficult the second year; and in the third, ranging as high as Aristotle and the integral calculus. Each college adopts its own system of classifying those who pass these examinations, which are, I believe, in all cases compulsory, and awards prizes to those who stand highest. But to get through—just to do the minimum—is very easy, and no small part of the best do hardly more; saying that the preparation interferes with their regular work. They generally comprehend something more than just the three old standbys; *e. g.* moral philosophy, ancient history, and in particular very great attention is paid at College examinations to the study of the Greek Testament. To prepare for these special examinations, of which the subjects are always announced beforehand, there is a great system of College Lectures. And in connection with the College Lectures and Lecturers, I beg to introduce to you that ubiquitous and very important personage, the College Tutor. Under this name pray do not conceive of a young man just out of college, whose circumstances make it convenient for him to take a share in college teaching. No; the tutor is generally one of the older graduates of the college, and always the best man, the most important, the one whom of all others they would pick out to represent themselves. He is almost always a clergyman. To him, or them—for in a very large college there will be two, three, or even more—is intrusted the whole care of the Undergraduates. As fast as the young men enter college, they are told off to one or the other of the tutors—are said to be "on his side"—and under his control they remain to the end of their undergraduate course. He has the assignment of rooms, the charge of bills, the appointment and dismissal of lecturers to teach, and of college servants to cheat. He administers not the ordinary, but the extraordinary blowings-up. With the head of the college, a very awful being who in most colleges has the title of Master, the student has very little to do; all his real college affairs, petitions, remonstrances, &c., of every kind, going through the tutor. It is evident, then, that where each tutor has some hundred and fifty young men's individualities to look after, and a principal share in the general operation of the college as well, that he has not much time for instruction. Still, each tutor generally contrives to give a course of lectures every term, of which there are three in a year, and they do find time to squeeze out a great deal of private instruction, in the most generous manner. Many a poor young man would have failed entirely to prepare himself for his great trials, on the success of which hinges his life's support, but for the unfailing, liberal, fatherly attention of his tutor, by his own instructions, and those he obtains for him. Let me bear my testimony here to the admirable manner in which these few score of men—for there are not more tutors in all the seventeen colleges—manage the interests of sixteen hundred undergraduates who scarcely know to whom they are indebted for their countless advantages.

The tutor appoints assistants, whom he pays out of the annual payments of the undergraduates, which all go through his hands, to lecture for him. There are generally six or eight lectures delivered in a large college like Trinity every day, mostly on the subjects of the college-examinations at the end of the year, but some on other branches of classical and mathematical study, applicable in the last great trial. There are also lectures suited to the students not candidates for these arduous honors, of whom more hereafter. The members of the college are required, as a matter of discipline, to attend some of these lectures, but by no means to attend to them Once in a while

when a very stirring lecturer comes along, such as the present learned and witty bursar of Trinity College, everybody wakes up and takes notes; but in general, there is much more grumbling about having to attend these lectures, where you can learn a great deal, and need not learn anything, than at our recitations, where you have to be more or less up to the mark all the time. The lectures are exceedingly learned, the lecturer doing pretty much what tutor and student between them do in an American college.

But this instruction, elaborate as it is, does not suit the best of the English students. It does not work in well to their system. And that system is, that every one, on entrance, sketches out for himself a general plan of what he ought to do and can do, what examinations he will enter for, what stand he will take, and then prepares himself in his own way. And this he does by means of his private tutor.

The nature and history, or, I might say, the natural history of these private tutors is among the most curious developments of Cambridge. They are not in the least what the name imports to us, a private guardian, engaged by the parents to superintend the whole course of a young man's life, and require as well as arrange his studies. No, even the richest noblemen very seldom bring such a domestic animal to Cambridge with them. The only instance, except that of the Prince of Wales, that I am aware of, was the son of a rich foreign merchant. The principal event recorded of his tuition was, that this guardian feared his pupil's morals would be injured by going to Newmarket races, which are indeed a fruitful source of temptation, being only sixteen miles from Cambridge, and, to prevent any surreptitious visit, himself rode to the races on his pupil's horse. The regular private tutor is generally known, even by authorities, as a "coach"; but neither under this name, however, or any other, is he recognized in any official way. A student may change his tutor ten times in his course—now coaching, as we say, with this man, now with that; he may fail or succeed in a dozen examinations, owing to the good or bad instruction he receives; he may, above all, pay his tutor many a ten-pound note, and yet no official recognition whatever is made of a class of men whose position is certainly the most important and nearly the most lucrative in the University. There is no injustice in all this; it is only a working out of the general principle of the institution, to find out, at stated seasons, in the most thorough manner possible, what a young man knows, without seeking to inquire how he knows it

The private tutors are of all ages and positions in scholarship. The most celebrated instructor in classics now resident in Cambridge took the second honors of his own year thirty years ago. The most renowned mathematical coach, on the other hand, not more than ten years ago. The first thing generally done by a young man who has taken his own degree with distinction, is to look about for pupils among the undergraduates of his own and other colleges, for it is by no means necessary that a student should confine himself to his own college for private instruction. Almost all the tuition I received at Cambridge was by members of St. John's College, being myself resident at Trinity. Of course, the young instructor who has only just finished his own undergraduate course, must put up with such pupils as he can get, and they will not be very brilliant or advanced ones, but either young men just entered, with their powers and intentions hardly determined, or men far advanced in residence but not in knowledge, who are determined by dint of constant tuition to scrape through for one of the last places. As he grows older in instruction, his pupils will improve. If his efforts have been successful with the poor ones, he will attract to himself the better ones, till he is sought out by those who are now in their last year in college, and working for the highest places in the lists of rank. Such men it is a pleasure rather than a task to instruct. Many a tutor at Cambridge has felt his heart glow to think that his beloved pupil will soon attain a place in these lists of honors higher than was his own, and delight to point to him in the course of a triumphant career at the bar, in the pulpit or the senate, as one of his boys. The competition to obtain a place with a favorite coach is immense, application often being made a year beforehand, and the special pleading of the college tutor or some other distinguished friend invoked to secure the place.

"What," you will say, "are these tutors so limited in their numbers?" Yes, indeed, when like the distinguished classical scholar I alluded to a little while ago, they give an hour every other day to each pupil by himself. Ten hours' hard work a day has been thought enough for mechanics and tradesmen—how much more for the head work of classical instruction. So that to have twenty pupils at once is what the hardiest instructors must make their extreme limit. Those who are enticing the youth of England over the

gorgeous mosaic that paves the sweet meanderings of the labyrinth of conic sections or fitting wings whereby youthful shoulders may be raised to the salient points of the differential calculus—I mean mathematical instructors—are beginning to take an indefinite number of pupils, and collect them in large classes, but still this is rather for competition than instruction; and you may be sure that the better a student is, the more strictly he takes his own way for study, and eschews all idea of a course.

A few words here on the general line of study pursued by all instructors for all pupils in the two great departments. It is, perhaps, not so much higher as is commonly supposed than our own; but it is very different. The mathematical treatises are all based on the forms of Euclid and Newton. The course of mathematical study ranges from simple arithmetic to the most difficult problems of optics and astronomy. It is, however, put in a very concise and conventional form, very different from the expansiveness of French mathematics; and many who attain extreme proficiency in it, have never paid any attention to more than the most fundamental principles on coming to Cambridge. The case of classical studies, of Latin and Greek, is very different. The training in the Greek and Latin languages acquired at the great English public schools, like Eton, Harrow, and Rugby, is certainly very much superior to any acquired at our colleges by the required course of instruction. I do not think, however, that the Latin and Greek literature, antiquities, and history, are understood by many very good graduates of Cambridge and Oxford any better than by the best from Harvard or Yale; and far less of them in bulk, though rather better arranged, than the flood of collateral knowledge acquired at the great seats of German erudition. The great work, as I have indicated in my account of the examinations, is to put Latin and Greek prose and verse into accurate and idiomatic English; for bad English will condemn a translation quite as soon as incorrect rendering. There is none of that timidity which in all our schools and colleges accepts a piece of dog-English, containing neither sound, sense, nor idiom, under the name of a "literal translation," and gives it a maximum mark. And again: the second half of a classical scholar's work is not to put into doubtful Latin or Greek prose a passage of English already adapted from an ancient author, but to produce a first-rate idiomatic version in prose or verse of the best passages of the best English authors—Burke, Addison, Shakespeare, Goldsmith. The high standard of excellence herein attained is shown by such publications as Lord Lyttelton's translation of Comus into the style of the Greek tragedians, and the beautiful Virgilian reproduction of Keats's Hyperion by that most accomplished son of Cambridge, the historian Merivale, whose admirable chronicle of the Early Empire seems destined to become a standard English classic, as the first portion of a solid causeway which is needed to connect the adamantine structure of the mighty Gibbon, and the graceful arches of the lamented Arnold.

It is evident, then, that the work of the private tutor is merely supplementary and ancillary to that of the student himself. The tutor sees his pupil generally three hours in the course of a week. The rest of the time devoted to study,—and this space amounts with a vast number to six, with many to eight, and with some to ten hours a day,—the student is alone, acting indeed on the advice, and by the direction of his tutor, but still pursuing his chosen course by and for himself. For the great trials, where nearly two hundred of the noblest youth of the world appear every year to grapple in an intellectual struggle to which the physical efforts accompanying the fiendish barbarities of the prize-ring are as child's play, each one has with fear and trembling sought to work out his own destiny.

Here, then, you have the principles of the Cambridge system of instruction, and, so far as there is any, the Cambridge course of study. Competition and emulation in the final trials; private study and individual selection of work for the means. It is by the combination of these two principles, to their fullest extent, that Cambridge credits the high standard of literary and scientific excellence, the high reputation for judicious training, and the honored name of the mother of great men, which she has sustained so long.

There is no honor to be attained, no prize to be won, no position to be secured, without a competitive examination, where the work of each combatant has its value assigned by an established standard, and his final place in accordance with this scrutiny announced in the most public manner. . . . The comparative merits of all the students, the probable results of all the examinations, major and minor, form a never failing subject of discussion in all circles, and at all times.

[There is another side of the Tripos Examinations which will be presented in the pages which follow.—*Ed.*]

PROF. JOHN SEELEY, of University College, London, in an Essay on '*Liberal Education in Universities*,' subjects the English University system of Training for Examinations, in which certain studies receive special attention in the preparation and a value in the adjudication out of all proportion to their real service in education, to a condemnatory criticism. Prof. S. writes from experience as student, tutor, and examiner, having attained to the Degree of Master and Fellow in Christ College, where his name appears in the First Class in the Classical Tripos of 1857.

The Tripos System Unfavorable to Original Research in Teachers.

Oxford and Cambridge are just now in low repute upon the Continent, and it is common with foreigners to remark that they have made few contributions of late to science and scholarship. Whatever it may be possible to urge on the other side, it is at least undeniable that original research is not prosecuted so methodically, so habitually, nor by so many people at Oxford or Cambridge as at Berlin or Leipzig. We may have isolated celebrities equal to the greatest of Germany, but we have not anything like the number of students engaged, each in his own department, upon original and fundamental inquiry. This will hardly be disputed; and, taken by itself, it is a fact which every one would deplore. But some regard it as inevitable, and as arising from an inherent inferiority of the English character to the German in intellectual industry; while others consider that the energy withdrawn from original study at our universities is given to the instruction of the undergraduates, and that this is a better application of it. The theory of radical inferiority will certainly not bear examination. There is plenty of industry at Cambridge; among the undergraduates a good deal of over-work; and among the graduates a considerable class whose intellectual industry is incessant and would not bear much increase. The other explanation is obviously to a certain extent true. The industry, for example, of the class just mentioned is absorbed in tuition. They are the private tutors whose services are in so much request at Cambridge. Though they are generally the most distinguished men of their respective years, they are unable to pursue their studies further because they are engaged for eight or ten hours of every day with their pupils. The college lecturers, if they formed a distinct class, would have the necessary leisure, but they are commonly private tutors at the same time. There remain the professors. These, as they are in the position most favorable to production, do actually produce the most. But how small is their number, compared with that of the men equally well circumstanced in a German university!

There are, however, other impediments besides want of leisure. As the habit and fashion of original production has long gone out; as no one beyond the handful of professors regards it as lying within his functions to extend the bounds of knowledge, all the arrangements which might facilitate production are neglected. This is seen particularly in the case of the college lecturers. Why are not these more productive? They form a considerable band. When they can resist the temptation to waste their leisure in private tuition, they have the first condition of production—leisure, and also the second condition—a prescribed task. What more do they need? In the first place they need a subject carefully limited, so that they may hope to master it thoroughly. For example, if you make a man lecturer on classics, you spoil him for the purposes of original production. The subject is too wide. If he is required to lecture one term on a Dialogue of Plato, the next on an Oration of Cicero, and the next on Theocritus, he will lecture at best in a second-rate manner upon each. And if he hold such a lectureship for ten years, he will not, at the end of it, be necessarily much more learned than when he began. On the other hand, if an able man lecture on Aristotle for ten years, his lectures will soon become first-rate in tead of second-rate, and he himself will hardly fail to become an accomplished Aristotelian. Now, this condition of production is neglected at Cambridge, and the consequence is that a college lecturer who was promising at twenty-two is often no nearer to performance at thirty.

Again, in this great band of college lecturers, there is scarcely any division of labor. As each college thinks it necessary to furnish all the needful instruction to its students, and admits to its lecture-rooms only its own students, the same subjects are lectured upon at the same time in all the colleges. In the German Universities the whole field of knowledge is elaborately divided, and assigned in lots to different lecturers. In a prospectus of

Heidelberg University, I count about sixty, each lecturing on his own peculiar subject; at Cambridge scarcely anything but classics and mathematics is lectured on in the colleges at all, and at every college the lectures are substantially the same.

In Germany, every lecture-room being open to the whole university, the size of a lecturer's class bears some proportion to his merits. At Cambridge the best lecturer is no better attended than the worst, and not only his salary, but also his reputation, is hardly at all affected by the merit of his lectures.

Again, not only do good lectures attract no more attention than bad ones, but neither good nor bad lectures attract any attention worth speaking of. The attendance in most cases is compulsory, and purely formal.

Once more, the college lecturers being commonly chosen from the Fellows, and the Fellows not from the University at large but from the students of each college, though they can never be incompetent or fall below a certain level of ability, yet they are not by any means invariably the most competent men.

In fact, if the conditions of original research are leisure and ability, a limited field, a sense of duty, and rewards in reputation and money proportionate to exertion, there is no class at Cambridge, except the professors, that possess them in any moderate degree. And, these conditions failing, another condition, also important, fails with them—the stimulus of the success of others in such research, and of a public opinion demanding it.

The Requirements of a Tripos not Favorable to Education.

The existing system of moderately learned college lecturers and overworked private tutors—in short, of teachers who are not at the same time students—defends itself not so much on abstract grounds as on the ground of the present exigencies of the University. The argument runs as follows: The undergraduates are reading for triposes; upon their success in these triposes depend their chances of a fellowship, their chances of success in the scholastic profession, and to a considerable extent their chances of success in life generally.

The teachers' business is to conform himself to these triposes, and to give such instruction as will give his student success in them. Now it is not practically found that this is best done by the man of great learning and original research. On the contrary, it is found that such men generally fail, and that the most successful teacher is the man who devotes himself most exclusively to his pupils, who considers most carefully their wants and what is likely to be set; in short, who trains them most diligently for the race. It follows that the interests of education and learning, whatever they may theoretically be, are not practically the same, but conflicting To this we might reply, "But perhaps it is *not* the teacher's business to conform himself to the triposes. Perhaps the influence of the triposes is not beneficial, or only partially beneficial, or only beneficial to some students. In these cases would it not be the teacher's business to dissuade his pupils, or some of them, from reading for the triposes, or to warn them that success in a tripos is not the ultimate end of education, nor an infallible test?" What answer would be given to this? Some would answer very simply, "We do not think so. We are convinced that the best thing a student can do is to devote himself to a tripos, and to measure himself by his success in it. The simple contrivance of a tripos cures all freakishness of mind, absolutely identifies interest and duty both for teacher and taught, and renders moral considerations in education once for all superfluous." *O fortunatos nimium*, those who have found out how to do their duty by machinery! But a larger class would urge very plausibly, "Whether they will or not, the teachers *must* conform themselves to the triposes. If they do not, if they teach what they themselves hold to be important, without considering whether it will pay, their pupils will simply refuse to listen to them, and nothing will be learned at all." There is no doubt that this is in a great degree true, and it brings to light another great impediment to learning which exists at the English universities. We have seen that there exists no class there which has at the same time leisure and a strong motive for profound study. We now see that the triposes act powerfully upon the teaching class, and draw them by motives of interest, and what almost seems duty, into a method of instruction which makes profound study unnecessary and scarcely possible.

The question then arises, is the machinery of triposes actually so admirable for purposes of education? Is it the best way of educating a young man to place before him the prospect of a great race, for which he is to train himself through a series of years? If so, his teachers will do their work best by becoming trainers; for this purpose they will have to sacrifice original study,

and it will be necessary to admit that the interests of education are irreconcilable in a university with the interests of learning I fully recognize the use of a system of rigorous examination, and the advantage of sifting the men to some extent, and arranging them with some reference to merit. But I do earnestly maintain that when this examining and placing are made the principal thing, and when the tripos is made the heart of the whole system, the great central pump which propels the life-blood through all the arteries of the university, it becomes mischievous, and lowers the whole tone of education.

Let me point out the mischievous consequences of the system.

The object of a tripos is to discriminate accurately the merit of the students. Now it is found that the difficulty of doing this varies very much with the subject of the examination. There are some subjects upon which it is hardly possible to gauge a man's real knowledge by any set of questions that can be devised. There are other subjects upon which it is much more easy to do so. And unfortunately the suitableness of a subject for the purposes of examination is not at all in proportion to the importance of the subject in education. Whatever theory of university education you may adopt; whether you hold that it should aim at a complete training of the faculties, or that it should prepare the student for the pursuits of later life, it is evident that the curriculum ought to be determined by other considerations than the convenience of examination. To be able accurately to measure the amount of knowledge a student has acquired may be important; but it is infinitely more important that the knowledge be valuable. Yet, when a tripos is made the principal thing, this very obvious fact is apt to be forgotten. The imparting of knowledge begins to be regarded as less important than the testing or gauging of knowledge. Then subjects in which attainments can be accurately tested come to take precedence of subjects in which they cannot. These latter, however important they may be, gradually cease to be valued or taught or learned, while the former come into repute and acquire an artificial value. This cannot take place without an extraordinary perversion of views both in the taught and the teachers. They learn to weigh the sciences in a perfectly new scale, and one which gives perfectly new results. They reject, as worthless for educational purposes, the greatest questions which can occupy the human mind and attach unbounded importance to some of the least. Philosophy, for example, is in little repute at Cambridge. The subjects it deals with may be of vast importance, the study of them may be most improving and stimulating, but the fatal objection to philosophy is that you cannot satisfactorily examine in it; you cannot say confidently, as the result of an examination in it, A is better than B, or B is better than A. The consequence is, that a student may run a most distinguished career and finish his education in utter ignorance of philosophy. Meanwhile the whole mind of a large section of the university is occupied by the grammar of the classical languages, simply because it is found possible to examine in this; and lads are taught to be ashamed of falling short of perfect knowledge in the genders of Latin nouns, which involve no principle at all, and in which a minute accuracy can hardly be attained without a certain frivolity or eccentricity of memory!

The Value of Examination as a Test Reversed by the System.

No one will deny the importance of rigorously testing knowledge A student will often suppose himself to understand a proof or a principle; but, if he is required to write the proof out, or to do some exercise involving the principle, he shows by his failure that his knowledge was superficial, incomplete, or even imaginary. And it is true that the student who studies for a long time without ever undergoing strict examination, fills his mind with these vague and imperfect conceptions; and, if he have at the same time a gift of ready expression, is in danger of becoming a rank impostor. It is also a useful thing that the men should be arranged in groups, so that a man may know of himself, and others may know of him, whether he is to pass in a particular department as a first-rate, or second-rate, or third-rate man. All this is very valuable; but there is much to be said on the other side In the first place this testing is much more necessary to bad men than to good. It should, in fact, be comparatively little needed at a university. With a rigorous examination system at schools the better men might form the habit of exact thought before going up to college, they might learn to criticise themselves, and might be fit, as indeed many are fit, to leave prizes and examinations behind them at school with the other toys and trammels of boyhood. And though it be useful to classify men, yet as soon as the classification pretends to be exact it becomes delusive. A difference of twenty

places commonly has meaning: but a difference of four or five places has not necessarily any meaning. And if it had, what is gained by such accurate discrimination? Who is the better for learning that of two good men one is slightly better than the other? I can imagine no useful result that is gained by all the conscientious care that is bestowed by examiners upon these nice determinations. In this case, at least, the result seems to me none the better for being quantitative. To act upon it—to give, for example, an appointment to the man who was fourth rather than to the man who was eighth—is, I am sure, a folly. To many such follies and injustices does this system lead.

Unhappy Influence on the Student's Mind.

Meanwhile the state of mind which is produced in the student by his perpetual preparation for the tripos is far from wholesome. In saying this I am confident I speak the sentiments of many who have had opportunities of observing it. I do not now speak of cramming. It is true that at Cambridge, by great care in the conduct of the examination, but still more by the summary process of eliminating out of education all subjects, important or unimportant, that can be crammed, cramming, in the ordinary sense, is rendered almost impossible. What I complain of is the vulgarizing of the student's mind. Surely nothing is more important at a university than to keep up the dignity of learning. Nothing surely is more indispensable than an intellectual tone, a sense of the value of knowledge, a respect for ideas and for culture, a scholarly and scientific enthusiasm, or what Wordsworth calls a strong book-mindedness. Now the spirit of competition, when too far indulged, is distinctly antagonistic to all this. In the case of boys I suppose it must be called in, because boys have not yet felt the higher motive of study. But it vulgarizes a mind capable of this higher motive to apply to it the lower motive in overwhelming force. Students at the university are no longer boys. They differ from boys principally in this, that they are old enough to form an opinion of the value of their studies. And that they should form such an opinion is most desirable; it is, in fact, one of the principal things they have to do. The student should be always considering what subjects it is most important for him to study, what knowledges and acquirements his after-life is likely to demand, what his own intellectual powers and defects are, and in what way he may best develop the one and correct the other. His mind should be intent upon his future life, his ambitions should anticipate his mature manhood. Now in this matter the business of the university is by a quiet guidance to give these ambitions a liberal and elevated turn. All the influences of the place and of the teachers should lead the student to form a high conception of success in life. They should accustom him to despise mere getting on and surpassing rivals in comparison with internal progress in enlightenment, and they should teach him to look further forward than he might of himself be disposed to do, and to desire slow and permanent results rather than immediate and glittering ones. Now I say that intense competition vulgarizes, because, instead of having this tendency, it has a tendency precisely contrary. Instead of enlarging the range of the student's anticipations it narrows them. It makes him careless of his future life, regardless of his higher interests, and concentrates all his thoughts upon the paltry examination upon which perhaps a fellowship depends, or success in some profession is supposed to depend. It is well understood that the examination demands this concentration. It is well known that the man who hesitates is lost; that any one who asks himself the question, "Is this course of study good for me? does it favor my real progress, my ultimate success?" is not fit for the tripos. Thinking of any kind is regarded as dangerous: it is the well-known saying of a Cambridge private tutor, "If So-and-so did not *think* so much he might do very well." The tutor in question probably defended what sounds so startling by arguing that it is really wise not to indulge the power of discursive thinking too soon, or with too little restraint. I am not now concerned with this, and may content myself with remarking that the particular student who *did* think too much, and who, perhaps as a consequence, was beaten in the tripos, now stands in scientific reputation above all his contemporaries. But whether or no such self-restraint be wholesome in itself, it is vulgarizing to those who practice it as a means of success in the examination. It is a violence done to all the better nature of the student. He does not inquire whether it is wholesome or not; the process of reasoning which goes on in his mind, and which you may hear avowed in his conversation, is this, "I know what I should like to be doing; I know what seems to do my mind good; I know what I shall study as soon as I am at liberty, if my taste for study lives as long; but at the same time I know what will pro-

cure me marks, what will procure me a fellowship; and it is my business now to narrow my mind, and for three years"—three of the most progressive years of a man's life—"to consider not what is true, but what will be set; not Newton or Aristotle, but papers in Newton or papers in Aristotle, and to prepare, not for life, but solely and simply for the Senate House." It is only persons ignorant of the facts who will consider this description exaggerated. And the worst is that this vulgarity in study infects not, as might be supposed, only an inferior class of men, but the men of the greatest ability and promise—so diligently have the glories of the tripos been trumpeted. I knew a man who had an almost unprecedented career of success at Cambridge, who had so completely made success of this sort his end, that when he had exhausted the prizes of the University he confessed that he did not know what next to do, or how to employ himself. Another Alexander!

Yet is even this quite the worst? I think it is worse still that the teaching should be vulgarized as well as the learning. It is bad enough that our youth should resort to the shades of Academe simply to seek marks, but it is worse still that the Platos of Academe should teach and earnestly preach that marks are the *summum bonum*. I can only wonder at the blindness of those teachers who do so under the belief that marks are the symbol of sound and accurate knowledge. Can they not see every year high places becoming the reward of schoolboy abilities and schoolboy knowledge? I can quite understand that others may be carried away by the torrent, and may think that it is useless to struggle against an influence which is overwhelming, and which at the same time is not purely bad. But, whatever may be the cause, I think it the greatest misfortune in a university that success in an examination should be held up by the teaching class in general as the principal object of study.

There are some who think that the principle of competition should not be introduced into education at all, and that there are better ways of teaching industry even to children. This may be an extreme view; but I am sure that competition is a dangerous principle, and one the working of which ought to be most jealously watched It becomes more dangerous the older the pupil is, and therefore it is most dangerous in universities. It becomes more dangerous the more energetically and skilfully it is applied. At Cambridge it is wonderful to see the power with which it works, and the unlimited dominion which is given to it. And therefore here it produces most visibly its natural effects—discontent in study, feverish and abortive industry, mechanical and spiritless teaching, general bewilderment both of teacher and taught as to the object at which they are aiming. The all-worshipped Tripos produces, in fact, what may be called a universal suspension of the work of education. Cambridge is like a country invaded by the Sphinx. To answer the monster's conundrums has become the one absorbing occupation. All other pursuits are suspended, everything less urgent seems unimportant and fantastic; the learner ridicules the love of knowledge, and the teacher with more or less misgiving gradually acquiesces; there is something more necessary, more indispensable, something that cannot so well wait,—

ἡ ποικιλῳδὸς Σφίγξ τὰ πρὸς ποσὶ σκοπεῖν
μεθέντας ἡμᾶ τἀφανῆ προσήγετο—

I hold, then, that the influence of competition at Cambridge has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished; that the teaching class should set their faces against it, and study to use every means by which it may be moderated. If, therefore, it appears that one main reason why learning does not flourish is that education, depending mainly on the examination system, does not require learning, I consider that education itself suffers from this system. I would deliver education from its dependence, and, without renouncing the undeniable advantages of strict and well-conducted examinations, I would use them as little as possible for the motive or incentive to study. I would appeal directly to the students' love of knowledge, I would endeavor in all ways to kindle it, but especially by improving the quality of the teaching, and, even if the result were some diminution of industry, I should find full consolation in the improvement of tone.

Modifications in the English College System.

No doubt the college system makes the great difference between an English and foreign university. Instead of leaving our students to live as they please in the town, we have established large boarding houses, in which the students live under a certain discipline, and with a certain family life. It is very plausibly maintained that here the English system is superior to the German, and that for this superiority we may be content to sacrifice some-

thing in learning. It is certainly true that the college system keeps down the character of the teaching class. I have already pointed out that, the lecturers being chosen from the fellows, and the fellows as a general rule from the students of the particular college, it may easily happen that a man may rise to be a lecturer, without any particular merit, through happening to be the best man at a small college. I have also remarked that, as each college undertakes to give its students a complete training, the lecturers are required to lecture on too many subjects, and so prevented from that concentration which is a condition of profound learning. But are these evils inseparable from the college system? Is it not possible to give the students family life and discipline in a boarding-house without at the same time undertaking their whole education? And, again, is it necessary that having lived in a particular boarding-house should confer a claim to the greatest reward of merit that is known to the University, a fellowship?

But what are the definite changes for which I plead? I plead for much more than an alteration in machinery; still there are two or three changes which I regard as essential. These are as follows:

1. Let the fellowships at every college be thrown open to the whole University. In other words, let the greatest rewards of learning, and the position of teachers, be given to the ablest men and best teachers. This requires, I believe, no change in the statutes of any college. It requires simply a change of practice. Now why do the colleges make a general practice of giving their fellowships to their own men? Without denying that they may be partly influenced by the consideration that they know their own men best, and have had better opportunities of testing their worth, we may safely affirm that their principal motive is different. Their object undeniably is to attract students. A college is considered attractive where the fellowships are good, and the competition is not excessive; in other words, where a little merit gets a great reward.

2. Let the instruction given in the University be made altogether independent of the college system. That is to say, let the lectures at every college be open to the whole university; let it no longer be considered necessary for each college to furnish a complete course of instruction; and let each lecturer be directly interested in increasing the numbers of his class. In other words, remove the protection which is now given to second-rate lecturing by the college system. The existing abuse is obvious. It is not possible that the staff of a small college should, as a rule, furnish lectures equal to those given, for example, in Trinity. Even a small college man must allow the rule, though he may remember distinguished exceptions. Yet Trinity refuses to let the men of other colleges attend its good lectures, and the small college refuses to excuse its own students from attending its own inferior lectures. The system of private tuition is applied as a rough remedy, but it is a remedy which is scarcely better than the disease. If, on the other hand, all the lecture-rooms were open, and each lecturer received a capitation fee for each attendant in his lecture-room, there would spring up a competition among lecturers which would at once inspire life into a dying organization, and the private tutor would almost disappear. Nor is it to be supposed that the effect of such a change would be to crowd the lecture-rooms of Trinity and St. John's, and to empty those of the small colleges. The small colleges are not so completely inferior, and their inferiority would be removed by the throwing open of their fellowships. Their character would perhaps be changed. Instead of being copies of each other, they might find it advisable to give themselves a more individual character, and to devote themselves to special studies. One might make itself a school of law, another of theology, another of natural science. But the proper character of the college, as exerting control and enforcing discipline, would remain what it is. The tutor would, just as much as now, require attendance at a given number of lectures, only they would not necessarily be lectures within the college.

The college organization might also be very serviceable in providing for the wants of the poll-men. There are at Cambridge a vast number of students who want either abilities or inclination for serious study, or both, or whose education has through special circumstances been neglected. There are also a certain number of considerable intelligence and cultivation who come to the University rather for the sake of the society than with the intention of going through any regular course of study. These two classes of men are very different; but they are alike in this, that it is not for them that the University exists, and that they are there by a kind of sufferance. It has even been questioned whether such sufferance should be extended to the former class, and it is certain that their preponderance in lecture-rooms is a

perpetual discouragement to lecturers; and their preponderance in society, if it adds a certain vivacity to university life, lowers the inte lectual tone and makes it more difficult to maintain discipline.

8. But these changes would not by themselves give the teaching a high quality, though they would make it effective for its purpose. So long as the tripos dominates, the teachers will always be trainers, though they may be good trainers. This evil is chiefly felt at Cambridge, and the way to remove, or at least diminish, it, without losing the advantages of the examination system, is pointed out by Oxford. Let the names in each class of every tripos be arranged alphabetically. This simple change would, I think, at once clear away all that vulgarity of competition of which I have spoken. The abler men would feel just so much restraint in the necessity of securing their first as would keep them sober in their studies; but within these limits they would be free. They would have leisure to look around them and before them, without fancying an examiner in every bush. They would begin to use their minds naturally, instead of warping and straining them to suit an artificial model. They would sometimes indulge, instead of habitually stifling, intellectual curiosity, and they would not accustom themselves to dismiss every thing new or original in thought as being certain not to be set. By the same change the teacher also would be set free. He would no longer feel it almost a duty to be common-place. He would no longer be afriad of making the pupil think lest thought should damage his chance in the examination.

It is to be hoped, at the same time, that the triposes may become smaller. Competition will be less stimulated by the chance of being high in a list of twenty or thirty men than in a list of ninety or a hundred. And this result may be obtained by means which will at the same time benefit the University by encouraging variety of study. By fostering as much as possible the smaller triposes, and by constantly recommending students to take up some branch of moral or natural science, we should at last obtain a number of triposes all held in nearly equal respect, and all of moderate size. Besides the allaying of the competitive fever, which would follow, I think this change would operate beneficially upon the tone of undergraduate society.

It may be urged that a new difficulty will be created by introducing the alphabetical order into the triposes at the same time that the fellowships are thrown open to the University. In this system it may be said, how are the fellowships to be awarded? It will not then be possible, as it is now, to determine the comparative merit of two candidates by simple reference to the Calendar. . . .

The Calendar can only prove that a candidate is good and sound in some special branch of study. Every one will admit that a fellow should be such a person, but it is quite another thing to affirm that such a person has a right to be a fellow. A fellow of a college is a member of a learned society, of a society that exists for the purpose of promoting science and scholarship, and that is occupied in education. Now, it may easily happen that a high wrangler or a high first-class man has very little pretensions to be a member of such a society. The wrangler may chance to be totally without what we have learned lately to call "cultivation." He may, in fact, be for all the ordinary purposes of life an entirely uneducated and ignorant man. He must, indeed, possess a considerable power of consecutive thought and considerable industry. But there is no necessity whatever that he should be in any sense of the word intellectual, or that he should take any pleasure even in his own special pursuit. It is not to be imagined that he is always a man with a natural taste for science. He is often merely a shrewd man of business, who has seen his way through mathematical study to a pension of two or three hundred a year. The same shrewdness which procured him the pension is likely to reveal to him the inutility of pursuing his studies after it is won. If the high wrangler may easily be uncultivated, the high classic may just as easily be a dilettante. A little natural taste for literature, a good memory, and a good school suffice to place many in the first class of the classical tripos, though their reasoning powers are very slightly trained, their range of information very narrow, and though they have not even formed, what the mathematical man has formed, the habit of industry.

It seems to me that the difficulty would be best solved by requiring all the candidates assumed to be first-class men to write an English essay upon one of several subjects put before them. In this way you might discover whether the classical man had any power of thought and the mathematician any power of language. The mere classic would be detected by his reasoning, and the mere mathematician by his spelling; and in this way you would readily distinguish the truly intellectual man from the highly-trained school-boy.

True Idea of University Education.

My object is not merely to alter the machinery of the University, though I think some alterations in the machinery most important, but to recommend quite a different conception of what a university education should be. He will see my drift clearly by considering education under three heads: the motive to study, the instruction, the examination or test. Of these three parts, Cambridge regards the last, that is the test, as all-important, and it finds that it is possible to combine with a very accurate system of examination an exceedingly powerful motive, viz., competition. In this plan the second part, that is the instruction, becomes dependent on examination and competition. Nothing is taught with any care, but what is likely to be set in the examination, and nothing is learned except with a view to success in it. In place of this I recommend a plan which has the instruction as its focus. I would have the instruction made at all costs the best possible, and every means taken, first to procure the ablest teachers, and next to enable them to cultivate their powers to the utmost. For the motive I would trust mainly to the stimulating power of good instruction. I allow that this motive would be less powerful than competition over the average man, but I maintain that it would be a purer and wholesomer motive; and that it would exercise a ripening instead of a retarding influence upon the character. It would produce moderate industry continued through life and producing great results, whereas the present system produces overwork, followed by listlessness and achieving nothing. Moreover it would be reinforced by a rational and manly ambition—an ambition for the great prizes of life, honor or fortune or station, an ambition for success according as each man conceives success; whereas the present system drops a curtain over the coming life, consigns the student blindfold to his private tutor, and expects him to take for granted that these same marks, the currency of the University, if a man can hoard up a sufficient fund of them, are legal tender for everything that human beings covet.

Teaching versus Training for Examination.

The teaching system does not consider the interest of the teacher at all. It is wonderful how much interest is taken in the student until he takes his degree, and how little afterwards. It is of course quite right that control and supervision should cease, but it seems to me most important that in assigning the duties of the younger lecturers, pains should be taken to give them as much opportunity and as much inducement as possible to prosecute their studies further. I have no doubt that this is often done as far as the system permits; it is not the men that are in fault; it is the examination system, which makes learning in the teacher superfluous, and the college system, which puts the good and bad lecturer upon the same footing. The result is, that there is a perpetual difficulty in prevailing upon the abler men to stay at Cambridge; and various methods have been proposed for bribing them to remain and devote themselves to teaching. You could bribe them if you offered them a career. Many men who are driven to the bar would be contented with a moderate income, that they might increase by their own exertions, leisure to follow their tastes, a position of real influence, and an opportunity of rising to distinction.

The influence of the teaching system upon the reading-man would be to make his studies more manly and free: he would pass rapidly out of the school-boy stage, instead of being artificially detained in it. It gives him the society, and to some extent friendship, of a man who is an authority on his subject It is deceptive to compare him to a book. In the first place he is a great number of books; next, he is a book that can be questioned; and a book that can put questions; and a book that can recommend other books; and, last not least, he is a book in English. As a rule, good books are in German, and it may happen that the student does not read German.

Next, the teaching system would be most beneficial to that class of students who, without being in the strict sense reading-men, are intelligent, and can take an interest in literature, science, and scholarship. Upon this class the general cultivation of a country depends, as its eminence in the commonwealth of learning depends upon the reading-men. The present system, with its monotonous drill, its sedulous elaboration of minute details, is not calculated for them. What they want, and what is really best for them, is general views, and these the reading-men also cannot dispense with. A good course of lectures would offer such general views, and the class I speak of, the dilettanti of the lecture-room, would be infinitely the better for them.

Lastly, the teaching system would be beneficial to the whole country.

Those who propose to sacrifice learning for what they consider the good of the students, do not seem to me distinctly to conceive the magnitude of the sacrifice they propose. They propose to sacrifice the intellectual rank and character of the country, which is left to chance when the universities renounce learning. Private thinkers and amateur writers may by accident rise to support our credit, just as, if we should disband our army, volunteers might succeed in defending the coasts. But how much we all lose, nay, how much we have already lost by our strange system, may be judged by any one who will consider what has been done by university professors in the countries where the professoria system is adopted. . . . If in the present century we have fallen behind, and instead of overrunning the continent with our ideas, as in the days of Locke, Newton, and Bentley, have suffered in our own island the invasion of French and German philosophies, it is assuredly from no inherent weakness. In the warfare of thought we have hoped to resist regular troops with volunteers

To this elaborate treatment of the subject by Prof. Seeley, we add the opinions of two eminent scholars.

Dr. Whewell, late Master of Trinity College, after advocating a combination of the two systems of teaching, viz., the direct, by College Lectures in which instruction is given on subjects on the ground of their own value; and the indirect, by means of which the students' exertions are stimulated by the prospect of distinctions, remarks:

A strange disposition has manifested itself of late years—in the University of Cambridge, at least—to give a great preponderance to the indirect system; to conduct our education almost entirely by the means of examinations, and to consider the lectures given in the Colleges as useful only in proportion as they prepare the student for success in the examinations.

The knowledge which is acquired for the purpose of an examination is often of little value or effect as mental culture, compared with that knowledge which is formed for its own sake. When a man gives his mind to any subject on account of a genuine wish to understand it, he follows its reasonings with care and thought, ponders over its difficulties, and is not satisfied till all is clear to his mental vision; when he studies for an examination, he does not wish to understand, but to appear to understand. He cares not for unsolved difficulties in his mind, if the examiner detects them not; he wishes to see clearly only in order that he may express himself clearly. The habit of preparing for examinations makes the other studies appear flat and insipid. The mind craves for the excitement to which it has been accustomed. If examinations become too frequent, all good courses of study are interrupted.

Prof. Tait, in an address on his induction to the Chair of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh, remarks:

In Cambridge, a group of seventeen colleges forms one University. Professorial lectures count as nothing in their teaching. Even the college tutors and lecturers take but small part in the process of education. Private tutors —"coaches" there—"grinders," we should call them—eagerly scanning examination papers of former years, and mysteriously finding out the peculiarities of the moderator and examiners, under whose hands their pupils are to pass, spend their lives in discovering which pages of a text-book a man ought to read, and which will not be likely to "pay." The value of any portion as an intellectual exercise is never thought of. The all-important question is—Is it likely to be settled? I speak with no horror of or aversion to such men. I was one of them myself, and thought it perfectly natural, as they all do. But I hope that such a system may never be introduced here.

Lord Bacon says of the ends of study:

The mistaking or misplacing of the last or farthest end of knowledge is the greatest error of all the rest; for men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite, sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction; and most time for lucre and profession; but seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason to the benefit and use of men—as if there were sought in knowledge, a couch whereupon to rest a searching and endless spirit, . . . or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon, . . . or a shop for profit or sale, and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate.

CONFLICT OF STUDIES—DISCIPLINE AND EXAMINATION.

[PROF. TODHUNTER, Senior Wrangler at Cambridge in 1848, and author of a valuable series of text-books for colleges and schools, founded on his own experience as Mathematical Lecturer, and Private Tutor in St. John's College, has published a volume in which, among other topics, he discusses the intrinsic value of studies in reference to mental discipline, and the artificial value attached to some in preference to others in consequence of their use in competitive examinations—which system he thinks has been developed out of all proportion to the greater objects of manly discipline and liberal culture.]

PROGRESS IN DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER STUDIES.

If we cast our eyes back for a period of fifty years we shall arrive at an epoch when the higher education of England remained still, as it had been for many generations, solely and exclusively classical. An illustrious man trained at this time stated in later life, with well-feigned regret, that he belonged to the pre-scientific period. Suddenly a strong current arose in favor of *useful knowledge;* the machinery of lectures, mechanics' institutions, and cheap literature was employed for the diffusion of this useful knowledge among the humbler classes. Whatever might have been the result of these agencies within the sphere of their immediate operation, it cannot be said that any decisive influence was produced on the schools and colleges which supply the most elaborate education.

At a later period, when the machinery set in action for the benefit of the humbler classes had decayed in power, when mechanics' institutions had fallen into debt and difficulty, when lectures had given place to musical and other entertainments, when popular literature had ceased to affect to teach and aspired only to please, the exclusively classical education of the upper classes in England first encountered serious criticism. Perhaps not more than ten or twelve years have elapsed since these time-honored studies began to experience any vigorous rivalry; though for a considerably longer period the elements of mathematics had gained a partial and temporary toleration.

ARTIFICIAL VALUE ATTACHED TO CERTAIN STUDIES.

In balancing the claims of various modes of education and systems of studies, we must remember that our decision must depend very much on the precise benefit which we hope to secure. We may propose to educate an individual mainly for his own benefit, or for that of others, as for instance, the state. If we take the benefit of the state as the principal end, we shall probably be led to the conclusion that the indications of any special excellence should be carefully watched and encouraged, even at the expense of the general development of the powers. If a youth shows any of the tastes and habits which have been in past time the presages of military distinction, we may hold that the law of the safety of the country justifies the cultivation of this promise even to the neglect of

* Prof. Todhunter is a Senior Wrangler at Cambridge, 1848, Fellow and Mathematical Lecturer of St. John's College, is the author of a valuable series of Mathematical Text-books for Colleges and Schools. The Essays in the volume from which these extracts are taken are:—I. The Conflict of Studies. II. Competitive Examinations. III. Private Study of Mathematics. IV. Academical Reform. V. Elementary Geometry. VI. The Mathematical Tripos. London: Macmillan & Co. 242 pp.

higher intellectual qualities, or to the peril of moral excellence itself. This may be an extreme case; but let us take a more moderate example. Suppose a youth to exhibit a fondness for imaginative exercises and literature, which may be the dawn of poetical genius. Moreover let us suppose that, in spite of the authority of an ancient sage, we find a function and a value for poets in our commonwealth; then we may conclude that we ought to stimulate the imagination: though perhaps it might be for the true happiness of the individual if the memory and the reason were trained rather than a faculty which is already unduly developed.

UNDUE INFLUENCE OF SPECIAL PRIZES AND EXAMINATION.

Although we have no such despotic power as to compel an individual to cultivate just that faculty which seems strongest, yet by our system of competitive examinations and prizes we tend to the same result. We take a boy at school who seems to exhibit an aptitude, say for mathematics, and foster that taste in every way we can. The boy comes to the University; he is already saturated with mathematics, and so must have almost exhausted the special benefit which that study is held to confer; at the same time, in other departments of knowledge, such as languages, history, natural science, he may be very deficient. Nevertheless he is kept for three or more years still at the old pursuits, exercising only those energies which have been abundantly developed, and leaving others dormant which have been too long neglected. If our object is to train mathematical teachers and professors this may be defended, though perhaps with only partial success; but if, as we commonly maintain, our object is to cultivate the mind so as to render it well fitted for future exertion in any direction which has to be followed, our arrangements are open to serious doubts.

The excessive cultivation for examination purposes of one department of knowledge to the exclusion of others seems to me one of the great evils of our modern system of bribing students by great prizes and rewards to go through our competitive struggles. We are in danger of giving up all pretence of a general course of training for youth, and of allowing and even encouraging boys to select some special subject which they fancy they prefer, or rather perhaps which they least dislike. I should desire quite a contrary system; a scheme of study and examination should be drawn up after due deliberation, and all candidates be required to pass through this before the avenues to special distinction were opened. In theory, perhaps this is still attempted; but in practice we seem to deviate from such a course more and more every year at Cambridge. For instance, students of classics are no longer compelled, as they formerly were, to pass a mathematical examination for their degree; and for the most part undergraduates in the colleges are excused from attendance at lectures on the subjects which they do not profess to cultivate. Even where an attempt is made to prescribe some general course the standard in each department is fixed so low as not to ensure more than the simplest rudiments of knowledge.

EXAMINATION VALUE OF SUBJECTS VALUED.

As we must employ some mode of testing the diligence of teachers and the attention of pupils, it seems inevitable that there must be processes of the nature of examinations; hence it is important to pay some attention to the adaptability of subjects to the exigencies of examinations. It seems to me that the older subjects, classics and mathematics, are strongly to be recommended on the

ground of the accuracy with which we can compare the relative performance of the students. In fact the definiteness of these subjects is obvious, and is commonly admitted. There is, however, another advantage, which I think belongs in general to these subjects, namely, that the examinations can be brought to bear upon what is really most valuable in the subjects. It is of course easy to say that the art of examination by long practice on these subjects has arrived at a degree of excellence far beyond what ought reasonably to be expected in the case of studies of quite recent popularity; but this does not seem to me to explain the matter completely. Take, for instance, mathematics, and observe how real and fresh the examination papers can be made; they in fact abound in new results which are quite commensurate in importance and interest with the theorems previously established and studied. Now, for a contrast, take the subject of history: this may be readily admitted to be important and instructive especially for the original inquirer who has to seek for evidence, to estimate its value, and to combine it in a consistent whole. But it may be seriously doubted whether the valuable parts of the subject can be developed in our usual systems of examination. From the cases, not, I admit, very numerous, which have fallen under my own notice, I have formed an unfavorable judgment on this matter; it appears to me that we find in examination papers chiefly dates and striking, obvious events, which form rather the skeleton of history than history itself; that the mere receptivity of the students is all that can be tested, to the exclusion of the faculties of comparison and of judgment; though these may be well developed by original researches in the subject. Thus, briefly, it seems to me that much of what constitutes the real value of mathematics can be tested by examinations, but in history there is little of this merit.

[Experimental and Natural Sciences are considered by this author as not satisfactory for examination purposes.]

SPECIAL ADVANTAGES OF MATHEMATICS.

Leaving aside such points as are well known and obvious, I should like to draw attention to the inexhaustible variety of the problems and exercises which it furnishes; these may be graduated to precisely the amount of attainment which may be possessed, while yet retaining an interest and value. It seems to me that no other branch of study at all compares with mathematics in this. When we propose a deduction to a beginner we give him an exercise in many cases that would have been admired in the vigorous days of the Greek geometry. Although grammatical exercises are well suited to ensure the great benefits connected with the study of languages, yet these exercises seem to me stiff and artificial in comparison with the problems of mathematics. It is not absurd to maintain that Euclid and Apollonius would have regarded with interest many of the elegant deductions which are invented for the use of our students in geometry; but it seems scarcely conceivable that the great masters in any other line of study could condescend to give a moment's attention to the elementary books of the beginner. The possibility of the early employment of the constructive and imaginative faculties is an important gain for many students who become weary of the prolonged and unvaried exercise of mere receptive attention. In the pursuit of a new language we may secure advantages of a similar kind but probably of inferior value; but in the early stages of most studies

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there seems nothing to correspond: it is scarcely conceivable that examination papers in history or the natural sciences can offer any tolerable equivalent in merit and importance to the problems of mathematics.

Another great and special excellence of mathematics is that it demands earnest voluntary exertion. It is simply impossible for a person to become a good mathematician by the happy accident of having been sent to a good school; this may give him a preparation and a start, but by his own continued efforts alone can he reach an eminent position. The rough processes by which prizes are awarded to the possessors of knowledge regard only the results offered for inspection, and overlook the finer gradations of merit which depend on the mode of acquisition. Suppose, for example, that rewards are bestowed for the cultivation of modern languages; a person who obtains the reward may have earned his distinction by his own persevering application, mainly or exclusively, but on the other hand he may owe it to the fortunate incident of residence in a foreign country, or of habitual intercourse with those who spoke the language as their vernacular. The resulting amount of knowledge is no just index of the labor and perseverance which have been expended in gaining it; the credit to be properly assigned for the accomplishment may indeed belong to the successful candidate, but it may, and perhaps more justly, be attributed entirely to his friends and relatives.

A similar consideration applies, though with diminished force, to the study of the classical languages; the foundation of knowledge in these subjects can be laid in years so early that the pupil exerts but slightly his own will; his success is a combination depending indeed partly on his own ability and application, but still more on the judgment or kind fortune which deposited him in a good school.

We repeatedly see youths enter the universities whose position in the final classical examination is already practically assured; but distinguished success in the mathematical competition cannot be confidently expected, whatever be the ability of the candidate, unless he is willing to subject himself to steady and continued discipline. In whatever line of study distinction is sought the advantage of good teaching is great; but probably among all the pursuits of the University mathematics preëminently demand self-denial, patience, and perseverence from youth, precisely at that period when they have liberty to act for themselves, and when, on account of obvious temptations, habits of restraint and application are peculiarly valuable.

Nor do I know any study which can compete with mathematics in general in furnishing matter for severe and continued thought. Metaphysical problems may be even more difficult; but then they are far less definite, and, as they rarely lead to any precise conclusion, we miss the power of checking our own operations, and of discovering whether we are thinking and reasoning or merely fancying and dreaming. I speak now, as on former occasions, of studies as they present themselves to minds of average power and of ordinary conditions. For persons of exceptional ability any intellectual pursuit may prove stimulating and strengthening. In other words, discoverers and original geniuses form a class apart; we may admire them, but we should not inadvertently assume that their pursuits when adopted by inferior disciples will be as vivifying as to the great masters themselves.

DISADVANTAGES OF MATHEMATICS.

In the first place, I think that the time which is devoted to these subjects viewed as a discipline is too long. While engaged in these pursuits a student is really occupied with a symbolical language, which is exquisitely adapted for the class of conceptions which it has to represent, but which is so very far removed from the language of common life that unless care be taken to guard against the evil, the mathematician is in danger of finding his command over the vernacular diminished in proportion as he becomes familiar with the dialect of abstract science. It must surely be in some degree disadvantageous to train clergymen and barristers for several years to familiarity with a refined and elaborate system of expression, for which they will have little direct use in after life, and to leave them without any cultivation of that ordinary language which is to be the main instrument of service in their future occupations. I estimate at a high value the influences of mathematical study, but I am sorry to see these benefits obtained by the sacrifice or at the peril of any of the qualifications which are necessary for success and for influence in practical life. There is especially one precaution that ought to be taken. The symbols of mathematics are so expressive that the meaning of an investigation can be discovered by a lenient examiner however slovenly or inaccurate the ordinary language may be which serves to connect the symbols. But the evil is so great which may arise from habitual carelessness in English composition, that examiners must be considered injudicious who do not rigidly maintain a good standard of excellence in this matter.

The increasing severity of our competitive examinations seems to aggravate the danger to which I refer. Formerly all students at the university were compelled by their colleges with more or less rigor to conform to a general course of study; ambitious mathematicians had to acquire at least a tincture of classical and general learning; while classical students, often sorely against their will, were compelled at Cambridge to undergo a mathematical training. Much of this system has been recently relaxed or dissolved. Many eminent scholars now regret the exemption of the classical students from nearly all their mathematical training; and it is I believe a still more serious evil if students intent mainly on mathematics are allowed to remain without a due counterpoise of other studies. I do not suppose that the candidates who attain to the highest places in the Mathematical Tripos are deficient in knowledge and interest in other subjects; but I fear that omitting these more distinguished men, the remainder frequently betray a rude ignorance in much that is essential to a liberal education.

In our university mathematical training, there is, I think, what may be called a wearisome and unprofitable monotony. I speak of course with respect to the disciplinary character of the process. For example: a person gains a certain knowledge of a new subject, like the Differential Calculus; the fresh conceptions which this involves are important and instructive. But after gaining these conceptions, months may be spent in incessant practice in deductions and problems, so as to leave no weak spot which an examiner's lance could penetrate. Of course if the object is to produce a mathematical professor this elaborate drill may be accepted, though perhaps even then not absolutely necessary. But considered as a part of general education, although the minute accuracy which it tends to produce may be admired, yet it may well be doubted if the profit is commensurate with the expense of time and labor. The process seems a

modern innovation. In the study of mathematics, formerly, as a discipline, a general knowledge of the principles was all that was required; now we insist on a minute investigation of every incidental part of the subject. Exceptions and isolated difficulties seem to receive undue attention, on account of their utility for the examiner's purpose.

The great progress which mathematical science has made in late years, while increasing largely its power, considered as an instrument for the original investigator, has not necessarily promoted its educational value for ordinary students. I remember to have heard from the late Professor Boole, an opinion which I had also formed myself, that the increase in the resources of notation tended to diminish the importance of mathematics as a discipline. If we take, for example, the modern methods of abridged notation in algebraical geometry, while we must admire the genius which has created and developed such a remarkable system of investigation, yet we must see that when it is cultivated for examination purposes there is the great danger that the symbols may be used as substitutes for thought rather than as aids to thought.

EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

Experimental philosophy may be considered one of the most fashionable elements of education at the present time; though perhaps quite recently it has rather declined than advanced in public estimation. The assault which has been made in our time on the monopoly enjoyed by the older studies seems to have been a combined movement in favor of chemistry, natural philosophy, and natural history; and I apprehend that natural history will in the end secure the largest share in the conquest, if indeed it has not already done so. In schools it was doubtless more interesting to many boys to assist at a lecture in chemistry or natural philosophy than to work steadily at classics or mathematics; but chemistry and natural philosophy will in their turn be found dull when compared with natural history, which is associated with the love of outdoor exercise and the desire to catch the lower animals, which are so characteristic of English youth. To have these cherished pursuits elevated into serious duties, and dignified with the name of studies, must have been a joyful surprise to the generation of schoolboys who first encountered the welcome novelties.

I assert then that much of what is called experimental science has no claim whatever to the title; I hope I shall not be supposed to be merely trifling with words, for I believe myself that there is an important truth involved in the remark. The function of experiment, properly so called, in the investigation of the laws and processes of nature can hardly be unduly exalted; but it may be said of the experimenter, as of the poet, that he is born and not manufactured. The lecture rooms of professors of experimental philosophy must be devoted chiefly to the mechanical repetition of familiar processes; the spectators are told what they may expect to see, and accordingly they see it with more or less clearness of conviction. The result of the whole performance may be that certain facts are impressed on the belief or on the memory, but it is difficult to secure any cultivation of the power of experimenting, or any mode of testing the existence of such a power. I am speaking with reference to teaching such subjects in large classes. It may as before be readily admitted that the force of the remarks will be much weakened in special cases. If, for instance, two or three pupils have the privilege of constant intercourse with some teacher eminent

for his original experimental power, it is very natural that a training of the highest value may thus be secured; but, setting aside such exceptional cases, it may be held generally that little of what is characteristically valuable in experimental philosophy is susceptible of transmission.

It would be absurd to recommend that any subject should be proposed in a purposely repulsive form to students, especially to youth: but, on the other hand, it seems to me a most enervating practice to shrink from demanding even irksome attention whenever it is necessary. The lesson that success in any pursuit demands serious toil must be learned eventually, and like most lessons is learned with least pain in early years. I have seen a sort of model lecture on a portion of natural science which was offered to a large public school, to which I should urge no objection if the time that it occupied were taken from *play time*, but which seemed to me a very unsatisfactory employment of an hour supposed to be devoted to study. Here I may venture to draw attention to the opinion held by the late Dr. Whewell, that natural history, chemistry, and physics should not be made part of the business of schools, but occasionally brought under the notice of the boys by lectures. These occasional lectures might be delivered by the eminent authorities of the period, and thus one serious difficulty would be obviated, namely that those who are absorbed in school work cannot maintain themselves at the current level of these fluctuating subjects, and thus are in the danger of teaching obsolete theories and demolished statements as part of a course the essential virtue of which resides in accuracy of information.

FUNCTIONS OF A UNIVERSITY.

There appear to be three distinct functions which are recognized as pertaining to the university: one is that of examination, one that of teaching, one that of fostering original research. The first of these three has practically been as yet most regarded; and many of us hope that it will in future decline either absolutely or relatively by the increased development of the other two. As to the matter of original research, without asserting that this is adequately regarded, yet we may say that there has been much improvement in recent times. The professorships have in various cases been augmented from some convenient funds, and thus elevated above the miserable pittances of which they formerly consisted; while the permission to retain a fellowship with them, notwithstanding marriage, has indirectly been a great boon to them. Moreover, many of the colleges have now the power to confer a fellowship on any person eminent in science and learning; and thus there is at least the opportunity, in cases where the will also exists, to encourage and assist those who devote themselves to unremunerative intellectual pursuits.

But it seems to me that the most decided want in the place is an organized system of scientific instruction; and this remains although it would appear that various efforts have been made to supply the defect. For more than a quarter of a century the entire range of mixed mathematics has been represented in university public instruction by courses annually delivered on astronomical instruments, lunar theory, hydrostatics, and optics. Statutes have been drawn up with a view to secure the due distribution of the "various branches of mathematical science on which it is desirable that lectures should be given": and the duty of carrying the statutes into effect has been assigned to the Mathematical Board. The want of a suitable building and collection of instruments has been held to con-

stitute the great obstacle to university instruction. The building, however, has been erected, and some advance made towards the formation of a collection of instruments. However the phantom of a well arranged and extensive cycle of public instruction seems still to elude the grasp; instead of it we have ever augmenting examinations. If there is no existing staff to which this public instruction can be assigned one should be forthwith called into existence, with due provision for effective work and reasonable remuneration.

Even if scientific lectures were not properly appreciated there still remains another mode of instruction which ought to be adopted, and which would perhaps be still more valuable than oral teaching; I mean the publication of works on the higher branches of mathematics which should combine, correct, and illustrate what has been scattered through the transactions of societies and the articles of scientific journals. I do not allude to mere academical compendia, of which in general there is a sufficient supply, but to works treating elaborately and fully the highest subjects. The history of science offers us splendid examples of such works; the *Mécanique Céleste* itself is one of them. For modern instances I may refer to the writings of Lamé, Chasles, Serret, Helmholtz, and Clebsch: these men are eminent not only as original investigators and oral teachers, but as the authors of noble treatises. It will be highly advantageous if those who hold appointments which secure leisure for research will accept it as a duty to compose one systematic work at least of the kind now indicated; it may be safely said that the result will do more for the advancement of science than the production of matter which is merely entombed in the memoirs of learned bodies. Amateurs may in some cases attempt to execute such tasks, but it is obvious that owing to the little leisure they can secure from their necessary avocations they must fall far below the standard which the professional cultivators of science can attain.

PROTEST AGAINST EXCESSIVE COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS.

I wish to join my protest, feeble as it may be, with that of many other persons both within and without the university, against the exorbitant development of the system of competitive examinations. We assume in all our arrangements that men will read only what will pay in examinations, and assume it, I believe, contrary to the evidence furnished by other universities, and by our own: and by showing how firmly we grasp this sordid creed ourselves we do our best to recommend it to others. We give our highest honors and rewards for success in special examinations; and thus we practically encourage not the harmonious development of all the faculties of the mind, but the morbid growth of some and the decay of others. We tempt our students to regard degrees and fellowships as the end of life, and not as incentives to manly exertion and aids to pure, unselfish service; we cannot wonder then that not a few who start in their course so well seem to fail; to use Bacon's simile, they resemble the fabled Atalanta who lost the race because she stooped to pick up the golden apples.

Are our students so buoyant after they have obtained their degrees that we can reproach ourselves with having left their craving for work unsatisfied, their energies unemployed? The opinion of many, I believe, is quite the reverse; they hold that we destroy the elasticity of our students by the incessant toil of examinations, that we squander with lavish prodigality the fresh energy of youth and early manhood, and suffer too often retribution in the languor and unprofitableness of maturer life.

'Cram': or Special Preparation for Examinations.

[PROF. W. STANLEY JEVONS, of University College, London, has said a good word in 'Mind,' for 1876, on the abuses and uses of 'Cram,' or special preparation for competitive examinations in and out of the University system.]

The examination system has now reached that critical stage as to raise widespread irritation. To abuse examinations is one of the most popular commonplaces of public speeches and after-dinner conversations. Every body has something to say in dispraise, and the reason is pretty obvious. Many persons have been inconvenienced by examinations; some regret the loss of patronage; others the loss of patrons and appointments; schoolmasters do not like having their work rudely tested—they feel the competition of more far-sighted teachers who have adapted themselves betimes to a new state of things. In these and other ways it arises that a formidable minority actually have good grounds for hating examinations. They make their feelings widely known, and the general public, ever ready to grumble at a novelty of which they hear too much, and do not precisely appreciate the advantages, take up the burden of complaint.

Fortunately, too, for the opponents of examination, an admirable 'cry' has been found. Examination, they say, leads to 'cram,' and 'cram' is the destruction of true study. People who know nothing else about examination know well enough that it is 'cram.' The word has all the attributes of a perfect *question-begging epithet.* It is short, emphatic, and happily derived from a disagreeable physical metaphor.

Meaning of Cram—Good and Bad.

There is no difficulty in seeing at once that 'cram' means two different things, which I will call 'good cram' and 'bad cram.' A candidate, preparing for an important competitive examination, may put himself under a tutor well skilled in preparing for that examination. This tutor looks for success by carefully directing the candidate's studies into the most 'paying' lines, and restricting them rigorously to those lines. The training given may be of an arduous, thorough character, so that the faculties of the pupil are stretched and exercised to their utmost in those lines. This would be called 'cram,' because it involves exclusive devotion to the answering of certain examination papers. I call it 'good cram.'

'Bad Cram,' on the other hand, consists in temporarily impressing upon the candidate's mind a collection of facts, dates, or formulæ, held in a wholly undigested state, and ready to be disgorged in the examination room by an act of mere memory. A candidate, unable to apprehend the bearing of Euclid's reasoning in the first book of his 'Elements,' may learn the propositions off by heart, diagrams, letters, and all, like a Sunday-scholar learning the collects and gospels. Dates, rules of grammar, and the like, may be 'crammed' by mnemonic lines, or by one of those wretched systems of artificial memory, teachers of which are always going about. In such ways it is, I believe, possible to give answers which simulate knowledge, and no more prove true knowledge than the chattering of a parrot proves intellect. . . .

I am far from denying the existence of 'bad cram' of this character, but I hold that it can never be advantageously resorted to by those who are capable of 'good cram.' To learn a proposition of Euclid by heart is far more laborious than for a student of moderate capacity to master the nature of the reasoning. It is obvious that all advantages, even in an examinational point of view, are on the side of real knowledge. The slightest lapse of memory in the bad 'crammer'—for instance, the putting of wrong letters in the diagram—will disclose the simulated character of his work, and the least change in the conditions of the proposition set will frustrate his mnemonic devices altogether. If papers be set which really can be answered by mere memory, the badness is in the examiners. Thorough blockheads may be driven to the worst kind of 'cram,' simply because they can do nothing better. Nor do the blockheads suffer harm; to exercise the memory is better than to leave the brain wholly at rest. Some qualities of endurance and resolution must be called into existence before a youth can go through the dreary work of learning off by heart things of which he has no comprehension.

With examiners of the least intelligence is there any reason to fear that the best directed 'bad cram' will enable a really stupid candidate to carry off honors and appointments due to others. No examination papers, even for junior candidates, should consist entirely of 'book-work,' such as to be answered by the simple reproduction of the words in a text-book. In every properly conducted examination, questions are, as a matter of course, set to test the candidate's power of applying his knowledge to cases more or less different from those described in the books. Moreover, good examiners always judge answers by their general style, as well as by their contents. It is really impossible that a stupid, slovenly candidate can, by any art of 'cramming,' be enabled to produce the neat, brief, pertinent essay, a page or two long, which wins marks from the admiring examiners.

There is hardly a university or a college in the kingdom which imposes any selective process of the sort. An entrance or matriculation examination, if it exists at all, is little better than a sham. All comers are gladly received to give more fees and the appearance of prosperity. Thus, it too often happens that the bulk of a college class consists of untutored youths, through whose ears the learned instructions of the professor pass, harmlessly it may be, but uselessly. Parents and the public have little idea how close a resemblance there is between teaching and writing on the sands of the sea, unless either there is a distinct capacity for learning on the part of the pupil, or some system of examination and reward to force the pupil to apply.

Good Cram is not Objectionable.

The good 'cramming' tutor or lecturer is one whose object is to enable his pupils to take a high place in the list. With this object he carefully ascertains the scope of the examination, scrutinizes past papers, and estimates in every possible way the probable character of future papers. He then trains his pupils in each branch of study with an intensity proportioned to the probability that questions will be asked in that branch. It is too much to assume that this training will be superficial. On the contrary, though narrow, it will probably be intense and deep. It will usually consist, to a considerable extent, in preliminary examinations, intended both to test and train the pupil in the art of writing answers. The great 'coaches' at Cambridge, in former days, might be said to proceed by a constant system of examination, oral instruction or simple reading being subordinate to the solving of innumerable problems. The main question which I have to discuss, then, resolves itself into this: Whether intense training, directed to the passing of certain defined examinations, constitutes real education. The popular opponents of 'cram' imply that it does not; I maintain that it does.

It happened that, just as I was about to write this article, the Home Secretary presided at the annual prize distribution in the Liverpool College, on the 22d of December, 1876, and took occasion to make the usual remarks about 'cram.' He expressed with admirable clearness the prevailing complaints against examinations, and I shall therefore take the liberty of making his speech in some degree my text. 'Examination is not education,' he said; 'you require a great deal more than that. As well as being examined, you must be taught. . . . In the great scramble for life, there is a notion at the present moment of getting hold of as much general superficial knowledge as you can. That, to my mind, is a fatal mistake. On the other hand, there is a great notion that if you can get through your examination, and "cram up" a subject very well, you are being educated. That, too, is a most fatal mistake.'

Let us consider what Mr. Cross really means. Examination, he says, is not education; we require a great deal more—we must be taught as well as be examined. With equal meaning, I might say: 'Beef is not dinner; we want a great deal more—we must have potatoes, bread, pudding, and the like.' Nevertheless, beef is a principal part of dinner. Nobody, I should think, ever asserted or imagined that examination alone was education, but I nevertheless hold that it is one of the chief elements of an effective education. As Mr. Cross himself said, in an earlier part of his speech: 'The examination is a touchstone and test which shows the broad distinction between good and bad. . . . You may manage to scramble through your lessons in the "half," but I will defy you to get through your examinations if you do not know the subjects.'

Another remark of Mr. Cross leads me to the main point of the subject. He said: 'It is quite necessary in the matter of teaching that whatever is taught must be taught well, and nothing that is taught well can be taught in a hurry. It must be taught not simply for the examination, but it must sink into your minds, and stay there for life.'

Take the case of a barrister in full practice, who deals with several cases in a day. His business is to acquire as rapidly as possible the facts of the case immediately before him. With the powers of representation of a well trained mind he holds these facts steadily before him, comparing them with each other, discovering their relations, applying to them the principles and rules of law more deeply graven on his memory, or bringing them into connection with a few of the more prominent facts of previous cases which he happens to remember. For the details of laws and precedents he trusts to his text writers, the statute book, and his law library. Even before the case is finished, his mind has probably sifted out the facts and rejected the unimportant ones by the law of obliviscence. One case done with, he takes up a wholly new series of facts, and so from day to day, and from month to month, the matter before him is constantly changing. The same remarks are even more true of a busy and able administrator like Mr. Cross. The points which come before him are infinite in variety. The facts of each case are rapidly brought to his notice by subordinates, by correspondents, by debates in the House, by deputations and interviews, or by newspaper reports. Applying well trained powers of judgment to the matter in hand, he makes a rapid decision and passes to the next piece of business. It would be fatal to Mr. Cross if he were to allow things to sink deep into his mind and stay there. There would be no difficulty in showing that in like manner, but in varying degrees, the engineer, the physician, the merchant, even the tradesman or the intelligent artisan, deals every day with various combinations of facts which can not all be stored up in the cerebral framework, and certainly need not be so.

The bearing of these considerations upon the subject of examinations ought to be very evident. For what is 'cram' but the rapid acquisition of a series of facts, the vigorous getting up of a case, in order to exhibit well trained powers of comprehension, of judgment, and of retention, before an examiner? The practiced barrister 'crams' up his 'brief' (so called because, as some suppose, made *brief* for the purpose), and stands an examination in it before a judge and jury. The candidate is not so hurried; he spends months, or it may be two or three years, in getting up his differential calculus, or his inorganic chemistry. It is quite likely that when the ordeal is passed, and the favorable verdict delivered, he will dismiss the equations, and the salts, and the compounds, from his mind as rapidly as possible; but it does not follow that the useful effect of his training vanishes at the same time. If so, it follows that almost all the most able and successful men of the present day threw away their pains at school and college. I suppose that no one ever heard of a differential equation solving a nice point of law, nor is it common to hear Sophocles and Tacitus quoted by a leading counsel. Yet it can hardly be denied that our greatest barristers and judges were trained in the mathematical sciences, or, if not, that their teachers thought the classics a better training ground. If things taught at school and college are to stay in the mind to serve us in the business of life, then almost all the higher education yet given in this kingdom has missed its mark.

I come to the conclusion, then, that well ordered education is a severe system of well sustained 'cram.' Mr. Herbert Spencer holds that the child's play simulates the actions and exercises of the man. So I would hold that the agony of the examination room is an anticipation of the struggles of life. All life is a long series of competitive examinations. The barrister before the jury; the preacher in his pulpit; the merchant on the Exchange flags; the member in the House—all are going in for their 'little goes,' and their 'great goes,' and their 'triposes.' And I unhesitatingly assert that, as far as experience can guide us, or any kind of reasoning enable us to infer, well conducted competitive examinations before able examiners are the best means of training and the best method of selection for those who are to be foremost in the battle of life.

I will go a step further, and assert that examination, in one form or another, is not only an indispensable test of results, but it is a main element in training.

It represents the active use of faculties as contrasted with that passive use which too often resolves itself into letting things come in at one ear and go out at the other. Those who discuss examinations in the public papers seem to think that they are held occasionally and for the sole purpose of awarding prizes and appointments. But in every well ordered course of instruction there ought to be, and there usually are, frequent less formal examinations of which outsiders hear nothing. The purposes of these examinations are manifold: they test the progress of the class, and enable the teacher to judge whether he is pursuing a right course at a right speed; they excite emulation in the active and able; they touch the pride even of those who do not love knowledge much, but still do not like to write themselves down absolute blockheads; and they are in themselves an exercise in English composition, in the control of the thoughts, and the useful employment of knowledge. In direct educational effect a written examination may be worth half a dozen lectures.

It is not merely that which goes into the eyes and ears of a student which educates him; it is that which comes out. A student may sit on the lecture-room benches and hear every word the teacher utters; but he may carry away as much useful effect as the drowsy auditor of a curate's sermon. To instruct a youth in gymnastics, you do not merely explain orally that he is to climb up one pole, and come down another, and leap over a third. You make him do these motions over and over again, and the education is in the exertion. So intellectual education is measured not by words heard or read, but by thoughts excited. In some subjects mental exertion in the pupil is called forth by the working of problems and exercises. These form a kind of continuous examination, which should accompany every lecture. Arithmetic is only to be learned by sums upon the school-boy's slate, and it is the infinite variety of mathematical tasks, from common addition upward, which makes mathematical science the most powerful training ground of the intellect. The late Prof. De Morgan was probably the greatest teacher of mathematics who ever lived. He considered it requisite that students should attend his expository lectures for an hour and a quarter every day; but he always gave an abundance of exercises as well, which, if fully worked out, would take at least as long, and often twice as long, a time.

For many years past it was my duty to teach several subjects—logic, mental and moral philosophy, and political economy. Experience made me acutely aware of the very different educational values of these diverse subjects. Logic is by far the best, because when properly taught it admits of the same active training by exercises and problems that we find in mathematics. It is no doubt necessary that some instruction should also be given to senior students in philosophy and political economy; but it is difficult in these subjects to make the student think for himself. Examination, then, represents the active as opposed to the passive part of education, and, in answer to Mr. Cross's statement that examination is not education, I venture to repeat that, in some form or other, examination is the most powerful and essential means of training the intellect.

Examinations in Reference to Appointment.

In this view [appointment to office] of examinations, the educational results are merely incidental, and the main object is to find an impartial mode of putting the right man into the right place, and thus avoiding the nepotism and corruption which are almost inseparable from other methods of appointment. At first sight it seems absurd to put a man in position requiring judgment and tact and knowledge of the world because he answers rightly a few questions about mathematics and Greek. The head master of a great school succeeds not by the teaching of the higher forms, but by the general vigor and discretion of his management. He is an administrator, not a pedagogue; then why choose a high wrangler, because of his command over differential equations? Why make a young man a magistrate in Bengal, because of his creditable translations from the classics, or his knowledge of English history? Would it not be far better to select men directly for any success which they have shown in the management of business exactly analogous to that they will have to perform?

Experience must decide in such matters, and it seems to decide conclusively in favor of examinations. Public opinion and practice, at any rate, are in favor

of this conclusion. For a long time back the honors' degrees of Oxford and Cambridge have been employed as a means of selection. It does not, of course, follow that a high wrangler, or a double first, will suit every important position, but it is almost always expected nowadays that a man applying for a high post shall have some high degree. Even those who are unfettered in their powers of appointment will seldom now appoint a young man to a conspicuous post unless his degree will justify the appointment in the eyes of the public. The President of the Council, for instance, is unrestricted in the choice of school inspectors, but he practically makes a high degree a *sine qua non*. Not only does he thus lessen his responsibility very greatly, and almost entirely avoid suspicion of undue influence, but the general success and ability of those appointed in this manner fully bear out the wisdom of the practice.

A man must not always be set down as a blockhead because he can not stand the examination room. Some men of extensive knowledge and much intelligence lose their presence of mind altogether when they see the dreadful paper. They can not command their thoughts during the few hours when their success in life is at stake. The man who trembles at the sight of the paper is probably defective in the nerve and moral courage so often needed in the business of life. It by no means follows, again, that the man of real genius will take a conspicuous place in the list. His peculiar abilities will often lie in a narrow line, and be correlated with weakness in other directions. His powers can only be rendered patent in the course of time. It is well known that some of the most original mathematicians were not senior wranglers. Public examinations must be looked upon as tests of general rather than special abilities; talent, strength, and soundness of constitution win the high place—powers which can be developed in any direction in after-life.

Results of Examinations.

It is impossible to imagine a severer test than the system has passed through in the case of the Indian Civil Service. Young men selected for the amount of Latin, Greek, mathematics, French, German, logic, political economy, etc., which they could 'cram up,' have been sent out at twenty-one or twenty-three years of age, and thrown at once into a new world, where it is difficult to imagine that their 'crammed' knowledge could be of the least direct use. There they have been brought into contact with a large body of older officers, appointed under a different system, and little prejudiced in favor of these 'Competition Wallahs.' Yet the evidence is overwhelming to the effect that these victims of 'cram' have been successful in governing India. A large number of the best appointments have already been secured by them, although the system has only been in existence for twenty-two years, and seniority is naturally of much account. The number who are failures is very small, certainly smaller than it would be under the patronage system.

Mr. Tupp* gives a powerful answer to the celebrated attack on the competitive system contained in the *Edinburgh Review* of April, 1874. He gives statistical tables and details concerning the careers of the men selected by competition, and a general account of the examinations and of the organization in which the civil servant takes his place. The evidence against selection by competition seems to come to this, that, after a most complete inquiry, the worst that can be made out against the 'Competition Wallahs' is that some of them do not ride well, and that there is a doubt in some cases about the polish of their manners, or the sweetness of their culture.

All the candidates for the Indian Civil Service have to undergo two strict medical examinations before Sir William Gull, so that this eminent physician is able to speak with rare authority as to the physical health of the candidates. 'I still continue to be impressed with the fact that a sound physical constitution is a necessary element of success in these competitive examinations. The men who have been rejected have not failed from mere weakness of constitution, but (with only a solitary exception or two) from a mechanical defect in the valves of the heart in otherwise strong men, and, for the most part, traceable to over-

* The Indian Civil Service and the Competitive System, a Discussion on the Examinations and the Training in England. By Alfred Cotterell Tupp, B.A., of the Bengal Civil Service. London: R. W. Brydges, 137 Gower street. 1876.

muscular exercises. . . . There is a somewhat prevalent opinion that the courses of study now required for the public service are calculated to weaken the physical strength of candidates. Experience does not only not confirm this, but abundantly proves that the course of life which conduces to sound intellectual training is equally favorable to the physical health of the student.'

The condition of Oxford and Cambridge as regards study in the present day may not be satisfactory, but it is certainly far better than at the close of the last century. The middle-class schools are yet far from what they ought to be, but the examination system, set on foot by the old universities, is doing immense good, giving vigorous and definite purpose where before a schoolmaster had hardly any other object than to get easily through the 'half.' Primary schools would for the most part be as bad as the old dames' schools, did not the visits of her majesty's inspectors stir them up to something better. In one and all of the grades of English education, to the best of my belief, examination is the sheet-anchor to which we must look.

Objections and Difficulties.

One illusory objection is urged by those who take the high moral ground and assert that knowledge should be pursued for its own sake, and not for the ulterior rewards connected with a high place in the examination list. The remarks of these people bring before the mind's eye the pleasing picture of a youth burning the midnight oil, after a successful search for his favorite authors. We have all of us heard how some young man became a great author, or a great philosopher, because, in the impressible time of boyhood, he was allowed to ransack the shelves of his ancestral library. I do not like to be cynical, but I can not help asserting that these youths, full of the sacred love of knowledge, do not practically exist.

It is very pleasant to think of a young man pursuing a free and open range of reading in his ancestral library, following his native bent, and so forth; but such study directed to no definite objects would generally be desultory and unproductive. He might obtain a good deal of elegant culture, but it is very doubtful whether he would acquire those powers of application and concentration of thought which are the basis of success in life. If a man really loves study and has genius in him, he will find opportunities in after-life for indulging his peculiar tastes, and will not regret the three or four years when his reading was severely restricted to the lines of examination. Of course, it is not desirable to force all minds through exactly the same grooves, and the immense predominance formerly given to mathematics at Cambridge could not be defended. But the schemes of examination at all the principal universities now offer many different branches in which distinction may be gained.

The main difficulty which I see in the examination system is that it makes the examiner the director of education in place of the teacher, whose liberty of instruction is certainly very much curtailed. The teacher must teach with a constant eye to the questions likely to be asked, if he is to give his pupils a fair chance of success, compared with others who are being specially 'crammed' for the purpose. It is true that the teacher may himself be the examiner, but this destroys the value of the examination as a test or means of public selection. Much discussion might be spent, were space available, upon the question whether the teacher or the examiner is the proper person to define the lines of study. No doubt a teacher will generally teach best, and with most satisfaction to himself, when he can teach what he likes, and, in the case of university professors or other teachers of great eminence, any restriction upon their freedom may be undesirable. But as a general rule examiners will be more able men than teachers, and the lines of examination are laid down either by the joint judgment of a board of eminent examiners, or by authorities who only decide after much consultation. The question, therefore, assumes this shape: Whether a single teacher, guided only by his own discretion, or whether a board of competent judges, is most to be trusted in selecting profitable courses of study.

It is the purpose of education so to exercise the faculties of mind that the infinitely various experience of after-life may be observed and reasoned upon to the best effect. What is popularly condemned as 'cram' is often the best-devised and best-conducted system of training toward this all-important end.

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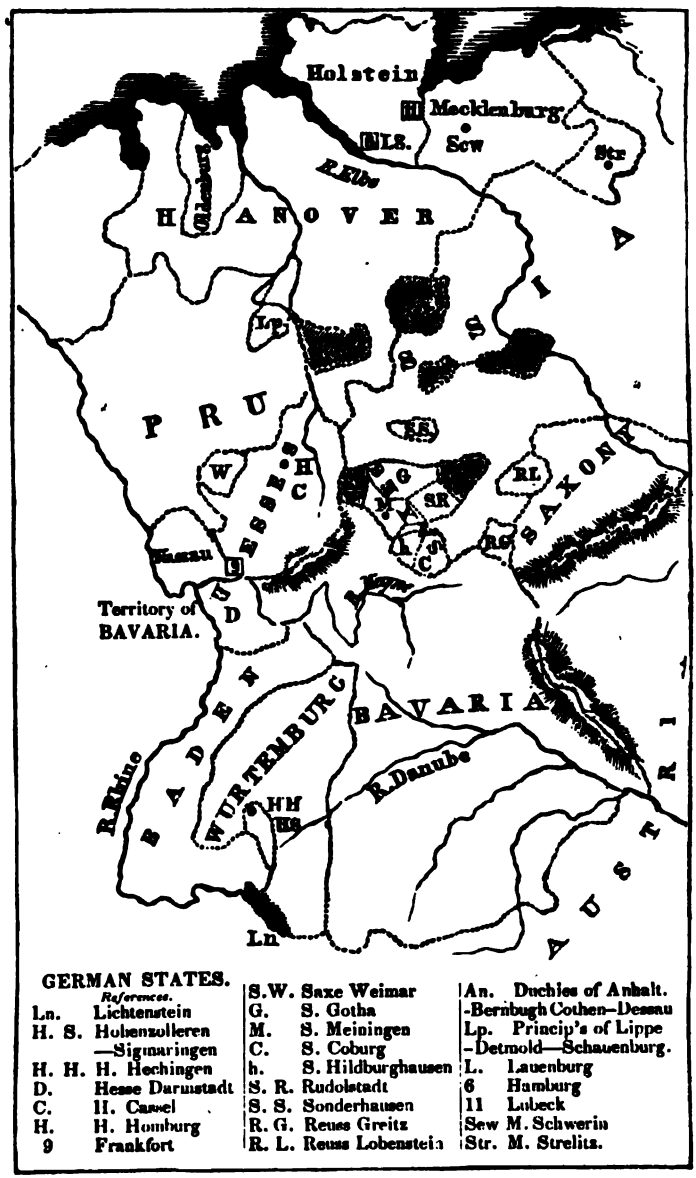

NATIONAL EDUCATION:—An Account of Public Schools and other Institutions of General Education in different Countries. Part I. The German States.

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ENGLISH AND GERMAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.*

[From Dr. Weise's *Letters on Education in England*; translated by W. D. Arnold, 1854.]

The differences that exist between the objects and attainments of the systems of instruction in use in the English public schools and our gymnasia may be summed up as exhibiting the contrast between skill and science (*Können und Wissen*), practice and knowledge. The knowledge of the English scholar is limited to a narrower circle than that of the German; but he will generally be found to move in it with greater accuracy; his knowledge lies in a narrower compass, but generally serves more as a practical power to him.—(p. 59.)

I am persuaded that they are right who maintain that what the English schools and universities have neglected and do neglect, is amply compensated by that which they have done and are still doing.—(p. 6.)

I think I have generally observed, that the English public schools, without exception—with all their undeniable shortcomings—yet do know how to guard and to strengthen in the rising generation, the germ of future manhood; whereas we are not in a position to repel the reproaches so frequently heaped of late years on our German schools, 'that they have forgotten their business of education, and train up no men for the Commonwealth;' though in making this reproach there is much so utterly overlooked, as to make it, in the mouths of most people, an unjust one. The result of my observations, to state it briefly, is this: in knowledge, our higher schools are far in advance of the English; but their education is more effective, because it imparts a better preparation for life.—(p. 7.)

The general impression in England is, that the acquisition of knowledge is but the second object of education, and one for which opportunity is continually offering through life; but that to enable a young man to seize upon this opportunity, and to avail himself of it, the first object of education, viz., formation of character, must be obtained early; for that deficiency in this respect is not so easily supplied in after life. We Germans should reply that it is just in the power of forming character, that the excellence of well regulated scientific instruction consists; but must we not confess that in numberless cases this result has not showed itself in our young men? Even in Germany most teachers maintain that the main object of instruction is education; but does not their confidence, that this object is best effected by its own means, too soon degenerate into carelessness?—(p. 50.)

England has the incalculable advantage of possessing a definite mode of training, handed down from generation to generation, and in all essential points unchanged for centuries; and above all the advantages of a fixed central point [Nationality and Religion,] towards which every thing else radiates: we are involved in uncertainty, and go on looking and looking for something that may remain steadfast: we allow things only valuable as means, to assume the importance of ends, and towards these all the powers we possess are enthusiastically directed. The consequence is, alas! that sooner or later, by the very

* The following extracts are taken from the Appendix to Prof. Quick's *Educational Reformers*, where he has introduced them to offset the indiscriminate laudation of German Secondary Schools, and the disparagement of English Public Schools, indulged in by some English writers. Dr. Weise is now at the head of the division in the Prussian Ministry of Public Instruction charged with the direction of Secondary Schools.

necessity of things, there ensues a reactionary movement in exactly the opposite direction.—(p. 79.)

I have often been struck with the fact that the English are beginning to fear that the heroic feeling of noble manliness is gradually dying out of the nation, and therefore are rather shy of making any great alterations in the old system of education at the public schools and universities in order to meet the wants of modern times; or of making experiments of new systems and subjects of study, feeling as they do how much they owe to the old system for the rousing and fostering of that vital energy. They find that the times most favorable to the formation of strong individual character, were those in which the means of training were simple, and (owing to their small compass) capable perhaps of exercising a more certain influence. Therefore they are in general far from considering the variety of our German plan of study a thing to be envied.—(pp. 55–56.)

The ideality of the German mind, and its leaning towards the abstract, makes it feel a respect for knowledge for its own sake, such as hardly exists in England; it possesses for us an intrinsic value. To take a popular illustration, the knowledge that the earth is round, is considered by us valuable on its own account; the Englishman receives this result of scientific research with equal pleasure; but chiefly because he associates it with the thought of being able to sail round it; he asks, 'How does it affect me?' Considerations of profit are doubtless closely allied with this mode of thought; but it would be extremely unjust, were we on this account to reproach the education of the higher schools in England with utilitarianism; it is a cause of complaint in many quarters, that they are not utilitarian enough. The state of the case is pretty much as follows: in England they look to the final object of education, and find this to consist in capability for *action;* even as our own Wilhelm von Humboldt once said, when he was Minister, that 'there was nothing which the State ought so much to encourage amongst its youth, as that which had a tendency to promote energy of action.' Under this belief the English reject every thing from their system of instruction which may tend to oppress, to over-excite, or to dissipate the mental power of the pupil. Their means and methods of instruction would appear to the teacher of a German gymnasium surprisingly simple, not to say unscientific; and so in may cases they certainly are. The English boy, even when his school training is over, would seem generally to know little enough by the side of a German; and in certain subjects, such as geography, the English scholar is not to be compared with a German who has been 'taught on rational principles;' and the same may be said of physics and other branches of knowledge. With us it is almost a standing maxim, that the object of the gymnasium is to awaken and develop the scientific mind. An Englishman could not admit this, for he is unable to divest himself of the idea, that not to know, but to do, is the object of man's life; the vigorous independence of each individual man in his own life and calling.—(pp. 63 ff.)

In the Gymnasia, Herder warned them against the *luxury* of knowledge; and how frequently we hear the reproach, that their lessons are such as become a university rather than a school; and that consequently the boys are conceited, premature critics and phrasemongers. In England they care only for facts: they reject all critical controversy, and desire by the contemplation of facts to

sharpen the faculty of observation. We, on the other hand, too often allow reflection and generalities that cost but little labor, to stifle that spirit of research which fixes itself upon its object and works towards it with scrupulous impartiality. How many a professor has been vexed at finding school-boys bring to college so many cut and dried thoughts and views, and so little well-grounded knowledge of simple matters of fact! Godfrey Hermann complained, 'At school they read authors critically, and we must begin at the university to teach them the elements of grammar.' I do not know whether pride of knowledge is so common now in Germany, as it was when Lichtenburg spoke of it as a 'country in which children learned to turn up their noses before they learned to blow them,' but this I do know, that all pushing of the powers of thought brings its own punishment afterwards. If young men are made acquainted before their time, and without pains on their part, with those results of knowledge which are fitted for a more advanced period of life, they are very likely to use up the stock of enthusiasm, which we all need and have received as a kind dower to carry with us through life, and which we can best increase by overcoming difficulties for ourselves.—(pp. 66–67.)

Thus Dr. Arnold says, that the effort a boy makes is a hundred times more valuable to him than the knowledge acquired as the result of the effort; as generally in education, the *How* is more important than the *What*. The consequence of this being so often forgotten in German schools, of their not sufficiently guarding against the encyclopædic tendency of their system of study is, that a young man loses not only the natural simplicity and coherence of his idea, but yet more his capacity to observe, because he has been overcrammed; his brain becomes confused and his ear deafened; and then after all he is obliged to bestow his labor rather on account of the extent than the depth of the knowledge to be attained. In English schools they have hitherto avoided this danger by confining themselves to very little; students there do not learn nearly so much as with us, but they learn one thing better, and that is the art of learning. They acquire a greater power of judging for themselves; they know how to make a correct starting-point for other studies; whereas our young men too often only know just what they have learnt, and never cease to be dependent on their school teaching.—(pp. 68–69.)

It can not be denied that the maxim, '*non scholæ sed vitæ*,' is better understood in England than in Germany. All that a school can teach, beyond imparting a certain small stock of knowledge, is *the way to learn*. It is a lamentable misconception of that most important maxim, to suppose that a liberal education can have any other end in view, than to impart and exercise power to be used in after life.—(p. 76.)

I am persuaded that we must soon make up our minds once more to simplify our course of study, as well as the regulations for the last school examination (*Abiturienten-examen.*)—(p. 77.)

Were it possible to combine the German scientific method with the English power of forming the character, we should attain an ideal of education not yet realized in Christian times, only once realized perhaps in any time—in the best days of Greece; but which is just the more difficult to attain now, in proportion as the spirit of Christianity is more exalted than any thing which antiquity could propose to itself as the end of education.—(p. 209.)

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL.*

THE state of schools in London before Dean Colet's foundation was to this effect: the chancellor of Paul's (as in all the ancient cathedral churches) was master of the schools, (*magister scholarum*,) having the direction and government of literature, not only within the church but within the whole city; so that all the masters and teachers of grammar depended on him and were subject to him; particularly he was to find a fit master for the school of St Paul, and present him to the dean and chapter, and then to give him possession, and at his own cost and charges to repair the houses and buildings belonging to the school. This master of the grammar school was to be a sober, honest man, of good and laudable learning, who should instruct the boys, especially those belonging to the church, in grammar, and set them the example of a good life, and take great care not to deprave the minds of those little ones by any turpitude in word or deed, but with chaste language and conversation train them up in holiness and the fear of God, and be unto them, not only a master of grammar but also of virtue and religion. He was, to all intents, the true vice-chancellor of the church, and was sometime so called, and this was the original meaning of chancellors (and vice-chancellors) in the two universities or great schools of the kingdom. A grant of the office and dignity of chancellor of the church passed formerly by giving and granting the school of St. Paul, as in the time of Richard de Belmeis, Bishop of London, about 1123.

That Paul's School was very ancient appears by the charter of Richard, Bishop of London. in Henry I.'s time, who granted to one Hugh, the schoolmaster thereof, and his successors, the habitation of Durandus, at the corner of the turret or bell-tower, and the custody of the library belonging to the church; after whom succeeded Henry, a canon of the same bishop; which Henry was so respected by Henry de Bloys, Bishop of Winchester, that he commanded none should teach school in London without his license, except the schoolmasters of St. Mary le Bow and St. Martin le Grand. All that presumed to open any school within the city, (except in those exempt places,) after a third admonition, were to be excommunicated.

Dean Colet being desirous his school should be independent upon this power, (which probably he observed had been somewhat abused,) was therefore, in respect to the memory of his father, who had gained a fair estate in the company of mercers, as well as for other reasons, willing to show his regard to them, by constituting them sole governors of his foundation; and he seems to have been instrumental in obtaining for them the right of nomination, or presentation, of a master to the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, in the city of London, (now Mercers' Chapel,) granted to the said society by Richard, Bishop of London, in 1514.

At this time the common way for the nobility and gentry to educate their sons was, to send them into a religious convent, especially of the Dominicans,

* Abridged from Knight's "*Life of Dr. John Colet.*"

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Franciscans, or Augustine friars, where, as Erasmus says, "they had not above three months' time allowed them for learning grammar, and then immediately were posted away to sophistry, logic, suppositions, ampliations, restrictions, expositions, resolutions, and a thousand quibbles, and so on to the mysteries of divinity, but if they were brought to any classic author, Greek or Latin, they were blind, they were ignorant, they thought themselves in another world." Yet the age began now to be wiser, and to be well versed in grammar-learning was thought a matter of greater importance by all who were well-wishers to the restoration of learning. Particularly Bishop Waynfleet, in founding his three schools, at Waynfleet, Brackley, and within Magdalen College in Oxford, took care that in those different parts of the kingdom the seeds of Greek and human literature might be early sown, to yield a plentiful increase through the whole nation; and in his foundation of Magdalen College, as he provided sufficient salaries for a master and usher to teach boys the rudiments of that tongue, so for the scholars of his house that should grow up to greater maturity in age and learning, he settled a particular professor, to confirm and perfect them in that language.

Instruction in grammar was a main use and purpose of the ancient foundations. And even so late as the erecting and endowing of Jesus College in Cambridge it was, as for a master and six fellows, so for a certain number of scholars to be instructed in grammar.

It may show the great regard had about this time to these studies, that the university students took their degrees in rhetoric and grammar, the manner whereof Mr. Wood tells us, in his account of an eminent grammarian, Robert Whitington. "In the beginning of the year 1513, 5 Henry VIII., he supplicated the venerable congregation of regents, under the name and title of Robert Whytingdon, a secular chaplain, and a scholar of the art of rhetoric, that whereas he had spent fourteen years in the study of the said art, and twelve years in the informing of boys, it might be sufficient for him that he might be laureated. This supplication being granted, he was (after he had composed an hundred verses, which were stuck up in public places, especially on the door or doors of St. Mary's church,) very solemnly crowned, or his temples adorned with a wreath of laurel, that is, doctorated in the arts of grammar and rhetoric, 4. July the same year." And this may discover the error of some, who, not considering the crown of laurel as the ensign of a degree, have been apt to think that a poet laureat of old, as well as of late, had that title and a pension with it from the prince, when it came from the university in commencing the degree of doctor of grammar, as it came thus to Bernard Andreas, tutor of Prince Arthur, to John Skelton, tutor of Prince Henry, &c.

Polydore Vergil and Erasmus, both personally acquainted with the life and motives of Dean Colet, have described the establishment of St. Paul's School.

Polydore Vergil, in the twenty-sixth book of his History of England, speaking of the new foundations of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, adds:—

It was the same spirit of virtue and glory that excited Dr. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, to propagate in some like manner the knowledge of good letters. He being very eminent, as well for his greatness and firmness of mind, as for his goodness and integrity of life, was esteemed among his countrymen (the English) as if he had been a second St. Paul. For being from a child naturally devout and religious, as soon as he grew up, and was perfectly instructed in those arts and sciences which are called the studies of humanity, he applied himself with the utmost intention to divinity, and chose out St. Paul for his

great master and director, in whose writings he was so conversant, both at Oxford and Cambridge, and in Italy, that, becoming a sound divine, and a complete scholar, as soon as he returned from his travels, he began to read public lectures out of the Epistles of St. Paul, in his native city of London, and to preach often in the churches. And because his life was agreeable to his doctrine, people were much the more attentive and complying to him. For he was a man of exemplary temperance, and all other virtues. He eat but once a day. He was not ambitious of honor, nor covetous of worldly wealth; so far from pursuing after riches, that he rather avoided and fled from them, while they notwithstanding pursued and overtook him. It so happened, that of two and twenty children which Henry Colet, his father, (a citizen of great prudence and virtue,) had by Christian, his wife, (an excellent woman, of a good family,) this John was the only survivor, and his father's inheritance came to him. When he was in full possession of it, observing that many of his fellow-natives of that city did, by the mere strength of nature, grow up into considerable men, he concluded they would sooner do so, if they had the help and advantage of being trained up in good literature. And therefore he resolved to lend (at his own expense) that assistance to the children of that city; for which purpose he founded a magnificent school in the east part of St. Paul's churchyard, and appointed two masters, the principal being William Lily, the other John Ryghthuyse, who was to attend the lower boys—both men of learning, good manners, and the greatest diligence. Lily was a man (in the phrase of Horace) *of a pure and unspotted life*, who, after he had bestowed some years in Italy, for the attaining of perfect letters, *i. e.*, the Greek and Latin tongues, upon his return was the first among the English that taught them in any public school. It was somewhat before this time, that Cornelius Vitellius, an Italian, born at Cornaro, a maritime town on the coast of Tuscany, a man of a noble family, and of all agreeable qualifications, taught both these kinds of literature at Oxford.

For those two masters Dean Colet made a suitable provision, by annual salaries, to support them, in teaching without fee or reward forever. And he made it an injunction, that in the room of the upper master, the second should succeed, without just impediment, by which means Ryghthuyse succeeded Lily, and after Ryghthuyse, Master Richard Jones, a very learned and modest man. But as by the benefit of this school the London youth have been very much polished and improved, so the whole kingdom has enjoyed the good effects of a daily progress of languages and school learning.

But the best account is given us by Erasmus, and it is very particular as followeth.

Upon the death of his father, when by right of inheritance he was possessed of a good sum of money, lest the keeping of it should corrupt his mind, and turn it too much toward the world, he laid out a great part of it in building a new school in the churchyard of St. Paul's, dedicated to the child Jesus; a magnificent fabric; to which he added two dwelling-houses for the two several masters, and to them he allotted ample salaries, that they might teach a certain number of boys, free, and for the sake of charity. He divided the school into four apartments. The first, *viz.*, the porch and entrance, is for catechumens, or the children to be instructed in the principles of religion, where no child is to be admitted but what can read and write. The second apartment is for the lower boys, to be taught by the second master or usher; the third for the upper forms, under the head-master, which two parts of the school are divided by a curtain, to be drawn at pleasure. Over the master's chair is an image of the child Jesus, of admirable work, in the gesture of teaching, whom all the boys, going and coming, salute with a short hymn; and there is a representation of God the Father, saying, *Hear ye him*, these words being written at my suggestion. The fourth or last apartment is a little chapel for divine service. The school has no corners or hiding places; nothing like a cell or closet. The boys have their distinct forms, or benches, one above another. Every form holds sixteen, and he that is head or captain of each form has a little kind of desk by way of preëminence. They are not to admit all boys of course, but to choose them in according to their parts and capacities. The wise and sagacious founder saw that the greatest hopes and happiness of the commonwealth were in the training up of children to good letters and true religion, for which noble purpose he laid out

an immense sum of money, and yet he would admit no one to bear a share in this expense. Some person having left a legacy of one hundred pounds sterling toward the fabric of the school, Dean Colet perceived a design in it, and, by leave of the bishop, got that money to be laid out upon the vestments of the church of St. Paul. After he had finished all, he left the perpetual care and oversight of the estate, and government of it, not to the clergy, not to the bishop, not to the chapter, nor to any great minister at court, but amongst the married laymen, to the company of mercers, men of probity and reputation. And when he was asked the reason of so committing this trust, he answered to this effect: That there was no absolute certainty in human affairs, but for his part he found less corruption in such a body of citizens than in any other order or degree of mankind.

Dean Colet, it is plain, had grammar-learning so much at heart, that in the year 1509, as he had been the pious founder of this school, so he was laboring himself to be the perpetual teacher and instructor of it; and therefore, after he had appointed Mr. William Lily to be the chief or high master, who answered Erasmus' character of a good scholar in all respects, he drew up some rudiments of grammar, with an abridgment of the principles of religion, and published them for the standing use and service of Paul's School, entitled "*Rudimenta Grammatices a Johanne Coleto, Decano Ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli London, in Usum Scholæ ab ipso institutæ.*" Which little manual, called Paul's Accidence, the author, Dr. Colet, dedicated to the new master, Lilye, in a short, elegant Latin epistle, dated from his own house the first of August, 1510.

The most remarkable part of this introduction to grammar are the honest and admirable rules that the Dean prescribed for the admission and continuance of boys in his school, which rules and orders were to be read over to the parents, when they first brought their children, for their assent to them, as the express terms and conditions of expecting any benefit of education there.

— The mayster shall reherse these articles to them that offer their chyldren, on this wyse here followynge ——

If youre chylde can rede and wryte Latyn and Englyshe suffycyently, so that he be able to rede and wryte his own lessons, then he shal be admitted into the schole for a scholer.

If youre chylde, after resonable season proved, be founde here unapte and unable to lernynge, than ye warned thereof, shal take hym awaye, that he occupye not oure rowme in vayne.

If he be apt to lerne, ye shal be contente that he continue here tyl he have competent literature.

If he absente vi dayes, and in that mean season ye shew not cause reasonable, (resonable cause is al only sekenes,) than his rowme to be voyde, without he be admitted agayne, and pay iiiid.

Also after cause shewed, if he contenewe to absente tyl the weke of admyssion in the next quarter, and then ye shewe not the contenuance of his sekenes, then his rowme to be voyde, and he none of the schole tyl he be admytted agayne, and paye iiiid. for wryting his name.

Also if he fall thryse into absence, he shal be admytted no more.

Your chylde shal, on Chyldermas daye, wayte upon the boy byshop at Poules, and offer there.

Also ye shal fynde him waxe in winter.

Also ye shal fynde him convenyent bokes to his lernynge.

If the offerer be content with these articles, than let his childe be admytted.

Then follow, in English, The Articles of the Faythe; the seven Sacraments; Charyte, the love of God, the love of thyne own self, the love of thy neighbour, penaunce, howselinge in sekenes, in deth, precepts of lyvinge: (in Latine,) Symbolum Apostolicum; Oratio Dominica; Salutatio Angelica; Oratiuncula ad puerum Jesum Scolæ Præsidem; Mi Domine, Jesu suavissime; qui puer adhuc, anno ætatis tuæ duodecimo, &c."

We give below Dean Colet's "*Institution of a Christian Man, for the Use of his School, prefixed to the Rudiments of the Latin Tongue.*"

The Artycles of Faythe.

I byleve in God the Father almyghty creatour of heven, and of erth, &c.
Then follow the the sacramentes.

Charyte. The Love of God.

In trewe byleve I shall fyrste love God the Father almyghty that made me, and our Lorde Jesu Chryste that redemed me, and the Holy Goost that alway inspireth me. This blessed holy Trinite I shall alway love and honour, and serve with all my herte, mynde, and strength, and fere God alonely, and put my trust in hym alonely.

The love of thyne owne selfe.

Seconde, I shall love my selfe to God warde, and shall abstayne fro all synne as moche as I may, specially from the synnes deedly.

I shall not be proude, nor envyous, nor wrothfull, I shall not be glotenous, nor lecherous, nor slouthfull, I shal not be covetous desiring superfluite of worldly thynges, and yvell company I shall eschewe, and flye as moche as I may.

I shall gyve me to grace and virtue, and connynge in God. I shall pray often, specially on the holy dayes. I shall lyve alway temperatly, and sobre of my mouthe.

I shall fast the dayes commaunded in Christes Chyrche. I shall kepe my mynde fro yveil and foule thoughtes. I shall kepe my mouth from swearyng, lyenge, and foule spekynge.

I shall kepe my handes fro stelyng and pyking. Thynges taken away I shall restore agayne. Thynges founde I shall rendre agayne.

The love of thy neyghbour.

Thyrde, I shal love my neyghbour: that is every man to Godwarde, as my owne selfe. And shall helpe hym in all necessytes spyritually and bodyly, as I wolde be holpen my owne selfe; specially my father and my moder, that brought me into this worlde. The mayster that teacheth me I shall honour and obey.

My felowes that lerne with me I shall love.

Penaunce.

If I fall to synne I shall anone ryse agayne by penaunce and pure confessyon.

Houslynge.

As often as I shall receive my Lorde in sacrament, I shall with all study dispose me to pure clenlynesse and devocyon.

In sycknesse.

Whan I shall dye, I shal call for the sacramentes and rightes of Chrystes churche by tymes, and be confessed, and receyve my Lorde and Redemer Jesu Chryst.

In dethe.

And in peryll of dethe I shal gladly call to be enea ea, and so armed in God I shal departe to hym in truste of his mercy, in our Lorde Chryst Jesu.

Hoc fac, et vives.

Precepyes of lyvynge.

Feare God.
Love God.
Desyre to be with hym.
Serve hym dayly with some prayer.
Brydle the affectyons of thy mynde.
Subdue thy sensual appetytes.
Thrust downe pryde.
Refrayne thy wrathe.
Beware of ryot.
Dispende measurably.
Flye dishonesty.
Be true in worde and dede.
Reverende thy elders.
Obey thy superyours.
Be felowe to thyne equales.
Be benygne and loving to thyne inferyours.
Love all men in God.
Byleve and trust in Christ Jesu, worshyp hym, and hym serve and obey.
Call often for grace of the Holy Goost.
Love peace and equyte.
Thynke on dethe.
Drede the judgment of God.
Trust in Goddes mercy.
Be alway well occupied.
Forget trespaces.
Forgyve gladly.
Chastyse thy body.
Be sobre of thy mouthe.
Be sobre of meat and drinke.
Be sobre in talkynge.
Flye swearynge.
Flye foule language.
Love clenlynesse and chastyte.
Use honest company.
Lose no tyme.
Stand in grace.
Fallyng down dispayre not.
Ever take a fresshe newe good purpose.
Persever constauntly.
Use oft tymes confessyon.
Wasshe cleane.
Sorowe for thy synnes.
Aske often mercy.
Be no slogarde.
Awake quyckly.
Enryche the with vertue.
Lerne dyligently.
Teche that thou hast lerned lovingly.
By this way thou shalt come to grace and to glory. Amen.

Symbolum Apostolorum.

Credo in Deum Patrem, &c.

Oratio Dominica.

Pater noster, qui es in cœlis, &c.

Oratiuncula ad puerum Jesum scholæ præsidem.

Mi Domine Jesu suavissime, qui puer adhuc anno ætatis tuæ duodecimo in Hierosolymitano templo inter doctores illos sic disputasti, ut stupefacti universi tuam superexcellentem sapientiam admirarentur: te quæso, ut in hac tua schola, cui præes, et patrocinaris, eam quotidie discam, et literaturam, et sapientiam, qua possim in primis te, Jesu, qui es ipsa vera sapientia, cognoscere, deinde cognitum eundem te colere, et imitari, atque in hac brevi vita sic ambulare in via doctrinæ tuæ sequax vestigiorum tuorum, ut quo pervenisti ipse ad aliquam ejus gloriæ partem decedens ex hac luce, possim ego quoque tua gratia feliciter pervenire. Amen.

The above Rudiments or Institution of a Christian Man, by Dean Colet, was translated into Latin verse by Erasmus, as a sort of school catechism or instruction, at the request of the Dean. Erasmus writes in a letter to John Nævius, master of the Libian School at Louvain, and adds respecting his friend, "a good man, of singular wisdom, whose flourishing kingdom of England could hardly equal, or afford one other man more pious, or more truly a disciple of Christ," "seeing the sad and degenerate condition of the age, chose out the tender youth to work on, that he might put the new wine of Christ into new bottles."

Erasmus therefore approved of the practice of Speusippus, who caused the pictures of joy and gladness to be set round about his school; "to signify, (as the excellent archbishop Tillotson observes,) that the business of education ought to be rendered as pleasant as may be; and that children stand in need of all enticements and encouragements to learning and goodness imaginable: for, (as one says,) *Metus haud diuturni magister officii*, fear alone will not teach a man his duty, and hold him to it; but rather causes a lasting disgust to both learning and virtue, (and to use Erasmus's words,) *Virtutem simul odisse et nosse.*"

Thus we find Erasmus was of a contrary opinion; and more for the merciful and gentle way of education: who therefore was almost angry with the dean and his two masters. He judged of human nature according to his own share of it; and therefore was for the milder and softer ways of teaching. He seems to wish that boys could play and learn at the same time; and it is with approbation and pleasure that he tells this story of an English gentleman. "One day seeing his little son very fond of shooting, bought him a fine bow and arrows, which was painted with the letters of the Greek and Latin alphabet: and so for the but, or mark to shoot at; the like capital letters were drawn upon it: and when he hit a letter, and could tell the name of it, he had, besides the applause of the bystanders, a cherry, or some such trifle, for his reward."

Erasmus also was a great enemy to that laborious way of trifling and losing time, which had lately obtained in grammar schools; the going round as it were, in a mill, with sweat and noise, and getting by heart so many lines, without understanding the sense of them; too much the custom of idleness in England and Holland. He showed also a very good judgment; that boys should be sent early to a grammar school, before their minds are corrupted with any ill habit of tenderness, slothfulness, or other impediment of learning; and then that they should not be taken away too soon to the university, to be confounded with logic, before they rightly understand their grammar; and, in a manner, to unlearn the little they had learned at school.

Sir Thomas More likewise doth often complain of the then vulgar method of teaching grammar, and the intricate systems of it; particularly of the *Parva Logicalia* of Albertus, full of abstruse and trifling rules to puzzle and confound the poor boys.

But Erasmus was, above all, solicitous for the morals and virtuous dispositions of children. He would have them read no authors but what were clean and chaste, and be in no company but what was innocent and uninfected.

We find by one of the dean's statutes, he was much of his mind; for he orders several Christian authors, (*viz.*, Lactantius, Sedulus, Juvencus, &c.,) to be used in his school, for fear the childrens' morals should be corrupted by some of the heathen writers.

Erasmus also thought boys carried from school, as from their first vessel, that savor or tincture of good and evil that prevailed in all their following course of life, and gave them the right or the wrong bent and turn, to be wise and useful in their generation, or to be a sort of rakes and reprobates for ever.

He used to talk over this subject with dean Colet, upon the occasion of discoursing about the masters and scholars of Paul: and the dean fully declared himself of the same opinion, that boys would imbibe their principles and morals from the books and the company they conversed with. It is probable, that

upon this observation the dean made it a proverbial saying of his, "We are all such as our conversation is, and come habitually to practice what we frequently hear." This apothegm, or wise saying of dean Colet, is remembered by Erasmus in his elaborate collection of Adages; and is preferred before any of the sentences of the ancient philosophers.

On this solid foundation, with a Governing Body removed from the temptation of devoting the funds from their legitimate purpose, and with a liberty of action to meet the altered circumstances of a progressive society—with teachers, books, subjects, and methods of study, in advance of any existing school, St. Paul entered at once on a work of beneficence which entitles its founder to a high place among the benefactors of his country and his race. In the long and brilliant array of Paulines, trained by Lilly and his successors, we distinguish such names as the Norths, [Sir Edward, Francis, Lord Guilford, Dr. John, Sir Dudley, Frederic, Lord North, the premier from 1770 to 1782,] John Leland, William Camden, John Milton, Samuel Pepys, Benjamin Calamy, Roger Cotes, John the Great Duke of Marlborough, Sir Philip Francis, Bishop Hooper, Bishop Bradford, Halley the astronomer, Bishop Fisher, Sir Frederick Pollock, Sir Charles Wetherell, Lord Chancellor Truro, Professor Jowett, &c., &c.

Few public schools can claim to have educated more men who figure prominently in English history than this foundation of John Colet, and with such modifications in its governing body, and in the fundamental ordinances as this wise man anticipated to be necessary and provided for making on the advice of "good lettered and learned men," it will still contribute largely to the scholarship and statesmanship of England.

List of the High or Upper Masters of St. Paul's School.

1512.	William Lilly,	continued	10 yrs.	1657.	S. Cromleholme,	contin.	15 yrs.
1522.	John Ritwyse,	"	10 "	1672.	Dr. Thomas Gale,	"	25 "
1532.	Richard Jones,	"	17 "	1697.	John Postlethwayte,	"	16 "
1549.	Thomas Freeman,	"	10 "	1713.	Philip Ascough,	"	8 "
1559.	John Cooke,	"	14 "	1721.	Benjamin Morland,	"	12 "
1573.	William Malym,	"	8 "	1733.	Timothy Crumpe, d. 1737,		4 "
1581.	John Harrison,	"	15 "	1737.	George Charles, D.D.,	"	11 "
1596.	Rich'd Mulcaster,	"	12 "	1748.	Geo. Thicknesse, res'd,	"	21 "
1608.	Alexander Gill,	"	27 "	1769.	Richard Roberts, D.D.,	"	45 "
1635.	Dr. Alexand'r Gill,	"	5 "	1814.	John Sleath, D. D.,	"	24 "
1640.	John Langley,	"	17 "	1838.	Herbert Kynaston.		

Educational Staff in 1865.

High Master,—Rev. Herbert Kynaston, D. D.
Sub Master,—Rev. J. H. Lupton, M. A.
Third Master,—Rev. E. T. Hudson, M. A.
Assistant Master,—Rev. J. W. Shepard, M. A.
Mathematical Master,—E. A. Hadley, M. A.
French Masters,—M. T. Pagliardini, M. Stievenard.

The Royal Commisioners recommend the appointment by the Court of Assistants, of a Lecturer on Natural Science; and that the High Master be authorized to appoint a German teacher, and masters of Drawing and Music, and that half-yearly prizes be given for proficiency in these subjects, and in Natural Science.

CARDINAL WOLSEY ON STUDIES FOR GRAMMAR SCHOOL—1528.*

Thomas, Cardinal of York, etc., to the Masters of Ipswich School, Greeting.

We suppose no one to be ignorant with what mental effort, zeal, and industry we have always directed our labors to this point; not with a view to our own private advantage, but as far a possible to consult the welfare of our country and of all our fellow-subjects. In which one object we consider we shall reap the richest fruit of patriotism, if with divine blessing we should adorn by cultivation the minds of our countrymen. Influenced therefore by a warmth of affection incredibly great toward our birth-place, which claims our exertions by its own right, we have dedicated a school, not wholly without elegance as a building, as the clearest testimony of our perfect love. And since there seemed but little done in having built a school, however magnificent the structure, unless there should be added skilful masters, we have endeavored by all means to appoint to preside over it two masters duly selected and approved; under whose tuition the youth of Britain, from their earliest year, might imbibe morality and learning; naturally considering that the hope of the whole state rests on this stage of life, as that of the harvest on the blade of corn. And that this might succeed more happily and early, we have provided, with all care, zeal, and diligence, that, in a little treatise on the instruction of boys, you should have the method and plan of teaching principally necessary for this tender age. It will now in turn be your part, who are masters in our new school, here to exercise the boys with diligence in the rudiments of education; that, as well in elegance of literature as in purity of morals, they may advance in due order to higher views. And, if you strive after this object as carefully as we shall exhibit the plan before your eyes, you will not only now, while we earnestly favor your pursuits, lay us under obligation to yourselves, but you will absolutely make us survive on happy terms with all posterity.

From our own palace, Sept. 1, A. D. 1528.

In what order boys, admitted into our academy, should be taught, and what authors should be lessoned to them.

First Class.—In the first place, it has been not improperly resolved that our school be divided into eight classes. The first of these to contain the less forward boys, who should be diligently exercised in the eight parts of speech; and whose now flexible accent it should be your chief concern to form—making them repeat the elements assigned them, with the most distinct and delicate pronunciation—since raw material may be wrought to any shape whatever; and according to Horace,

> 'The odors of the wine that first shall stain
> The virgin vessel, it will long retain;'

on which account it were least proper to deprive this time of life of due care.

Second Class.—Next in order, after pupils of this age have made satisfactory progress in the first rudiments, we should wish them to be called into the second form, to practise speaking Latin, and to render into Latin some English proposition; which should not be without point or pertinence, but should contain some piquant or beautiful sentiment, sufficiently suitable to the capacity of boys. As soon as this is rendered, it should be set down in Roman characters; and you will daily pay attention that each of the whole party have this note-book perfectly correct, and written as fairly as possible with his own hand.

Should you think proper that, besides the rudiments, some author should be given at this tender age, it may be either Lily's *Carmen Monitorium* or Cato's Precepts; that is, with a view of forming the accent.

Third Class.—Of authors who mainly conduce to form a familiar style—pure, terse, and polished—who is more humorous than Æsop? Who more useful than Terence? Both of whom, from the very nature of their subjects, are not without attraction to the age of youth.

* Original Letter in Latin in Barnard's American Journal of Education, vii. 487.

Furthermore, we should not disapprove of your subjoining, for this form, the little book composed by Lily on the genders of nouns.

Fourth Class.—Again, when you exercise the soldiership of the fourth class, what general would you rather have than Virgil himself, the prince of all poets? Whose majesty of verse, it were worth while, should be pronounced with due intonation of voice.

As well adapted to this form, Lily will furnish the past tenses and supines of verbs. But although I confess such things are necessary, yet, as far as possible, we could wish them so appointed as not to occupy the more valuable part of the day.

Fifth Class.—And now, at length, you wish to know what plan of teaching we would here prescribe. Your wish shall be indulged. One point that we think proper to be noticed, as of first importance, is, that the tender age of youth be never urged with severe blows, or harsh threats, or indeed with any sort of tyranny. For by this injurious treatment all sprightliness of genius either is destroyed or is at any rate considerably damped.

With regard to what this form should be taught, your principal concern will be to lesson them in some select epistles of Cicero; as none other seem to us more easy in their style, or more productive of rich copiousness of language.

Sixth Class.—Moreover, the sixth form seems to require some history, either that of Sallust or Cæsar's Commentaries To these might not improperly be added Lily's Syntax; verbs defective and irregular; in short, any you may notice, in the course of reading, as departing from the usual form of declination.

Seventh Class.—The party in the seventh form should regularly have in hand either Horace's Epistles, or Ovid's Metamorphoses, or Fasti; occasionally composing verse or an epistle of their own. It will also be of very great importance that they sometimes turn verse into prose, or reduce prose into meter. In order that what is learnt by hearing may not be forgotten, the boy should reperuse it with you, or with others. Just before retiring to rest he should study something choice, or worthy of remembrance, to repeat to the master the next morning.

At intervals attention should be relaxed, and recreation introduced; but recreation of an elegant nature, worthy of polite literature. Indeed, even with his studies pleasure should be so intimately blended that a boy may think it rather a *game at learning* than a task. And caution must be used, lest by immoderate exertion the faculties of learners be overwhelmed, or be fatigued by reading very far prolonged; for either way alike there is a fault

Eighth Class.—Lastly, when by exercise of this kind the party has attained to some proficiency in conversation-style, they should be recalled to the higher precepts of grammar; as, for instance, to the figures prescribed by Donatus, to the elegance of Valla, and to any ancient authors whatever in the Latin tongue. In lessoning from these, we would remind you to endeavor to inform yourselves at least on the points it may be proper should be illustrated on each present occasion. For example, when intending to expound at length a comedy of Terence, you may first discuss in few words the author's rank in life, his peculiar talent, and elegance of style. You may then remark how great the pleasure and utility involved in reading comedies; of which word you should explain the signification and derivation. Next, you may briefly but perspicuously unravel the substance of the plot; and carefully point out the particular kind of verse. You may afterward arrange the words in more simple order; and wherever there may appear any remarkable elegance; any antiquated, new-modelled, or Grecian phrase; any obscurity of expression; any point of etymology, whether derivation or composition; any order of construction rather harsh and confused: any point of orthography; any figure of speech, uncommon beauty of style, rhetorical ornament, or proverbial expression: in short, anything proper or improper for imitation; it should be crupulously noticed to the young party.

Moreover, you will pay attention that in play-time the party speak with all possible correctness; sometimes commending the speaker when a phrase is rather apposite, or improving his expression when erroneous. Occasionally some pithy subject for a short epistle in their native tongue should be proposed. And, to conclude, you may exhibit, if you please, some formulæ, which, serving as a guide, a given theme may conveniently be treated.

Furnished with the rudiments in our school, boys will easily display the paramount importance of beginning from the best. Do you but now proceed, and enlighten with most honorable studies your well-deserving country.

SHREWSBURY SCHOOL.

The Grammar School at Shrewsbury originated in a movement of Hugh Edwards, a London mercer, but a Shrewsbury man, and Richard Whitaker, one of the bailiffs of the town, to secure a portion of the estates belonging to the suppressed Abby and Collegiate Church of St. Mary, and St. Chad's, to supply the loss of the seminaries attached to them, by a Free Grammar School. A charter was issued February 10, 1551, granting certain prebendal tithes toward the establishment of a school with one master and one under-master to be called '*Libera Schola Grammaticalis Regis Edwardi Sexti*'—'The Free Grammar School of King Edward the Sixth.' The precise meaning of the expression Libera Schola, or Free School, is a matter of controversy. It evidently did not mean literally a *gratuitous* school—in a school which no charge was or or could be made for tuition, for in the original statutes provision is made for the payment of fees. In a controversy which has grown out of the word, Dr. Kennedy the Head Master in 1862, published a pamphlet, with the title *Libera Schola*. He affirms that *Libera* was never used in the sense of 'gratuitous,' either in classical Latin, in post-classical Latin, or in mediæval Latin. As respects classical Latin, he refers to the dictionaries of Facciolati and Scheller, where it is seen, on comparing the examples of '*liber*' and its adverb '*liberi*' with the examples of '*gratuitus*' and the adverb '*gratis*,' that the two former words are never used in the sense of the two latter. '*Liber*,' in fact, he contends, means '*unrestrained*,' '*uncontrolled*,' or exempt, but can not be found to describe a thing not to be paid for. So post-classically he gives many instances of *Liber* in the Latin Vulgate translation of the Bible, in all of which the meaning is '*unenslaved*,' and in none '*gratuitous*.' Finally, as regards mediæval Latin, he points to the valuable glossaries of Dufresne, Ducange, and Charpentier, as well as to Lindenbrog's *Codex Legum*, and declares that, although the word is of the most frequent occurrence, there is not the faintest trace of its use in the sense of '*gratuitous*.' From all which he concludes that *Libera* in the charter of King Edward's schools was designed to distinguish them from other existing schools, most of which were dependent on ecclesiastical power, and were attached and subservient to Chapters and Colleges. In confirmation of this view of the expression it should be remembered that *Liber Homo* in the *Great Charter* meant a 'freeman' as distinguished from a serf, and the adjective *Liber* (*Libera*, *Liberum*) was the term universally employed to confer by Royal Charter a liberty or franchise on various objects and institutions. For instance—

Libera Capella, a Free Chapel (free from ordinary jurisdiction).
Libera Ecclesia, a Free Church (free from incumbency,—personatus).
Libera Villa, a Free Town (free from certain burdens).
Liberum Feudum, Frank-Fee (ditto, ditto).
Libera Firma, Frank-Farm (ditto, ditto).
Liber Taurus, a Free Bull (not liable to be impounded).

So *Libera Warenna*, Free Warren.
Libera Piscaria, Free Fishery.
Libera Chassa, Free Chase.
Libera Eleemosyna, Frank Almoine.

In all which, undoubtedly, the word implies 'free from lordship or control,' 'not liable to services,' by royally-conferred franchise.

Present Condition.

1. The School is now governed by 13 Trustees, of which the Mayor of Shrewsbury is *ex-officio* Chairman. Vacancies are filled by selection of the Corporation from those nominated by the Trustees for each vacancy.

2. The annual value of the property and revenues exceeds 3,000*l.*, and the income of the tuition fees in 1866 was 6,000*l.* There are four ecclesiastical benefices attached to the foundation.

3. There are eight masters under the Head Master—the former receiving in salary and tuition fees over 2,000*l.*, and the latter from 200*l.* to 560*l.*, with some addition from private pupils.

4. The attendance of pupils varies—is now 198, distributed as follows:

Sixth Form,	3 divisions,	Third Form,	2 divisions.
Fifth,	2 "	Second do.	
The Shell,	2 "	First do.	
Fourth Form,	2 "		

5. Latin, Greek, and Mathematics are compulsory on the whole school. The following table of marks in the Sixth Form is an index to the grand valuation of studies in a total of 3,000 marks, viz.:—

1. Translations from Greek and Latin authors	600	for 4	papers.
2. Composition, Greek, Latin, and English	700	" 5	"
3. Philology, Greek, Latin, and English	400	" 2	"
4. Divinity	300	" 2	"
5. History and Geography	400	" 2	"
6. Mathematics (including arithmetic)	600	" 3	"

6. A boy at Shrewsbury rises mainly by proficiency. There are 26 Exhibitions, varying in value from 10*l.* to 63*l.* per annum, tenable from 3 to 8 years—in particular colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. There are more than 20 prizes for Classical, Mathematical, and other attainments.

7. School discipline is maintained in part by 12 *Præpostors*, who are 'privileged to wear hats, to carry a stick, to go beyond the school bounds, and to go home a day earlier than others.' They read lessons in the chapel; call the school roll; conduct negotiations with the Head Master, and can 'set impositions,' but not use physical force. There is no 'individual fagging,' but four fags are allotted to the Præpostor's room, to run messages, lay the breakfast things, &c. These are changed every week. There is a 'Secretary of Discipline' (one of the Masters) who records in a book each boy's merit marks, as well as his penal marks. Four merit marks purchase a half-holiday. The rod can be used only by the Head Master. The greatest number obtainable by one boy in a month is twelve, viz.:—

For good classical work	2	For punctual attendance at chapel	2
" mathematical work	2	For absence of penal marks	2
" French work	2		
" exercises	2	Total	12

The ancient ordinances direct that the scholars shall play only on Thursday, unless there be a holiday in the week, or at the earnest request of some man of honor, or of great worship, credit, or authority. Their play was to be 'shooting in the long bow, and chess play, and no other games, unless it be running, wrestling, or leaping, and no game to be above 1*d.* or match over 4*d.*' It is further provided that on every Thursday 'before they go to play,' the scholars 'shall for exercise declaim and play one act of a comedy.'

There is a play-ground of about three quarters of an acre near the School, with a fives court; and a cricket-ground, rented by the Head Master, five acres in extent, at the distance of half a mile. The games chiefly practiced are cricket, football, fives, quoits, and other athletic sports, as running, leaping, &c.

MERCHANT TAYLORS' GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

The Grammar School of the Merchant Taylors' Company originated in an offer in 1560–1 by Mr. Richard Hills, a member of the fraternity, of the sum of 500*l.* to purchase for the purpose of a school a portion of the spacious mansion of the 'Rose' mentioned in Shakspeare's King Henry VIII.:

—— within the parish
St. Lawrence Poultney.

The school was completely organized with a master, wardens, and assistants before the close of 1561. The statutes for the government of the school were copied from those of Dean Colet for St. Paul's School—the scholars being the children of any nation resident in London. The first High Master—who, by the statutes, must be 'a man in body whole, sober, discrete, honest, virtuous, and learned in good and cleare Latine Literature, and also in Greeke, yf such may be gotten,' was Richard Mulcaster, M. A., of Christ Church, Oxford. Such was his reputation that pupils poured in from all quarters at once, and this immediate success was made permanent by the appropriation of forty-three Fellowships in St. John's College, Oxford, to the scholars of this school—the gift of Sir Thomas White, a member of the company.

System of Probation or Examination—1606–7.

1. A probacon of the whole schoole shall bee made onely by the master of the schoole and the three ushers, and at these three tymes, viz., the first on the eleaventh day of March; the second on the eleaventh day of September; the third on the eleaventh day of December; not being Sundaies, And if anie of the said daies happen on the Sunday, then upon the next day following.

2. The mr of the schoole, eight or nine daies before the said probacon-day, shall admonish all the schollers of the schoole, as well them that bee absent, by messengers, as them that bee present, by himself: first, that they prepare all such necessaries as are required on the probacon-day; secondly, that they com to the schoole, on the said probacon-day, in the morning, at half an houre after six of the clock at the furthest, and so to continue till an eleaven; and in the afternoone, likewise, at half an hour after twelve, and to contynue till five.

3. The mr of the schoole, the day before thè probacon-day, shall see that every scholler in the schoole bee furnished with paper, pennes, and ynck, for the next daies exercise; and also that every ones name, his age, the day, moneth, and yeare of his coming first to schoole, bee written with his own hand on the outside of his paper, or paper-book, or on the topp of his first page.

4. The mr of the schoole shall propound to every form in the schoole, for fowre howres in the forenoone, and as manie in the afternoone of the probation-day, several exercises to bee done in writeing by every one of them within the sett-tyme hereafter mentioned.

5. The mr of the schoole, and the three ushers (while the schollers are doing their work, and dureing the prescribed time) shall carefully, and with a watchfull eye, provide, that no scholler of anie forme do prompt or once lean towards his fellow for help, that the founders may the better know how they proceed, by doing of their own act and exercise, without any help.

6. The mr of the schoole and the three ushers at th' end of every howre (dureing the whole day), shall see that every empty space, and also the last line of every exercise, bee crossed, that afterwards there may bee no adding of anie thing, but that the work of every boy doe stand to be viewed hereafter as hee of himself did perform it in that sett-time; and that the forenoon's worke shall be alwaies taken from the scholars at their going away by the ushers, and delivered to the mr, wch at one a clock shall be delivered to them again to write the rest of their tasks.

7. The mr of the Schoole shall not propound to anie forme the same dialogue, epistle, theme, sentence, or verse, twice in one yeare.

8. No scholler of any forme shall bee urged to write more of the taske prescribed within the lymitted howre than hee is well able to perform.

9. If any scholler shal bee found on three several probation-daies either by his owne negligence, or his friends will, to be absent from the schoole; or having been p'sent, by his over-slender and weak exercises, to be unapted and unmeet to learn, or els a non-proficient, that then everie such scholar, that so shalbe found absent, unapt, or not competently profiting, shalbee (according to the companie's order, heretofore provided in the like behalf,) dismissed the schoole.

10. The mr of the schoole, receaving all the schollers exercises done by them on the said probation-day, shall cause everie formes papers of exercises to bee sowed together into six several volumes or bookes, every forme apart by itself, and afterwards lay them up in some convenient place appointed thereunto. And hee shall not in anie wise diminish any one of them, that the succeeding posterity, as well of the company as of the schoole, by comparing their present exercises with them of former tymes, may see how much and wherein they exceed or come behind them.

11. The mr of the schoole, within fowre daies after the said probacon-day shall enter into a booke, called THE REGISTER OF THE SCHOOLE'S PROBATION, conteining 400 leaves of large paper, in forme of a brief table or callender: Ffirst, that the said tryalls were performed the xith day of that present moneth, according to the orders prescribed; Secondly, all the schollers of the six formes, every form by itself in this order, viz., the name of every boy as hee sitteth in his forme, his age, and time of continuance; next, what books and how far in them hee hath read; lastly, what exercises hee usually makes, with the school-master and three ushers own hands subscribed thereunto: wch table or kalendar thus entered into the said register, the mr of the schoole, accompanied with one of his ushers, shal shewe to the mr and wardens at their hall upon the first or second ordynarie court-day, next after following (the day of probacon being past fowre daies before), to th' end that, yf they so please, they may appoint some persons to repaire to the schoole, to take knowledge and view of the exercises done by every boy on the said probacon-day; and also that they themselves, or some other for them, may presently, or after when they think best, compare the last things registred with the like things registred at former probacons, to see every boye's contynuance either in any forme, or in the schoole, and other like circumstances there mentioned. And the mr and wardens, or som one of them shall subscribe to the register so brought and confirmed under the schoole-mr and ushers hands; and also cause to bee entred into their court-book the day on wch the said mr of the schoole, with one of his ushers, came and presented the same, for testimony to the company as well of the said dutifull p'sentment, as also of their care towards the schoole, and desire they have to know how their schollers doe proceede; and even then shall bee given to the said master of the schoole xxvis. viiid. by the name of a reward to bee distributed equally (for considerations in the giver), to himself, and his three ushers, vis. viiid. to each of them for their good care and pains taken in the premisses, and their further encouragement, PROVIDED alwaies herein, that uppon any fraudulent dealing in the master of the schoole, or the three ushers, the aforesaid reward shall cease, and the blame and shame shall rest with them for their wilfull default.

12. It is thought meete that this probation of the whole schoole shalbee committed unto the honest and faithfull trust and disposition of the mr of the schoole and the three ushers alone, without any association, for these three causes: Ffirst, the ffounders have good experience of their faithfull government and assured confidence of their care of this trust reposed uppon them. Secondly, this triall of the schollers being made by an act onely in writeing, it is without doubt that strange assembly will but hinder them in their said exercises. Thirdly, The watchfull eye of the mr and the 3 ushers onely, wilbee sufficient to make the boyes the more serious and earnest in their work, and cause every boye's act to be entirely his owne worke, without any help; whereas, yf further assembly were, this probacon could not by the mr and the three ushers bee so carefully attended, neither the schollers worke be so heedefully and dutifully intended and done by them as it should.

POSITIONS WHEREIN THOSE PRIMITIVE CIRCUMSTANCES BE EXAMINED, WHICH ARE NECESSARIE FOR THE TRAINING UP OF CHILDREN, EITHER FOR SKILL IN THEIR BOOKE, OR HEALTH IN THEIR BODIE.

WRITTEN *by* RICHARD MULCASTER, *master of the schoole erected in London, anno* 1561, *in the parish of St. Lawrence, Powtneie, by the worshipfull company of the merchant tailers of the said citie.*

The above is the title page in full of one of the earliest Treatises in the English language on the general principles of Education, in which nearly all the conditions of a good school, and of an education at once liberal and practical, as held by the best teachers of the present day, are set forth in a masterly manner. We give the Contents, in which the spelling is conformed to present usage.

The arguments handled in every particular title.

CAP. 1. The entry to the Positions, containing the occasion of this present discourse, and the causes why it was penned in English.

2. Wherefore these Positions serve, what they be, and how necessary it was to begin at them.

3. Of what force circumstance is in matters of action, and how warily authorities be to be used, where the contemplative reason receives the check of the active circumstance, if they be not well applied. Of the alleging of authors.

4. What time were best for the child to begin to learn. What matters some of the best writers handle ere they determine this question. Of lets and liberty, whereunto the parents are subject in setting their children to school. Of the difference of wits and bodies in children. That exercise must be joined with the book, as the schooling of the body.

5. What things they be wherein children are to be trained, ere they pass to the Grammar. That parents and masters ought to examine the natural abilities in children, whereby they become either fit, or unfit, to this, or that kind of life. The three natural powers in children, Wit to conceive by, Memory to retain by, Discretion to discern by. That the training up to good manners, and nurture, doth not belong to the teacher alone, though most to him, next after the parent, whose charge that is most, because his commandment is greatest, over his own child, and beyond appeal. Of Reading, Writing, Drawing, Music by voice, and instrument: and that they be the principal principles, to train up the mind in. A general answer to all objections, which arise against any, or all of these.

6. Of exercises and training the body. How necessary a thing exercise is. What health is, and how it is maintained; what sickness is, how it cometh, and how it is prevented. What a part exercise playeth in the maintenance of health. Of the student and his health. That all exercises, though they stir some one part most, yet help the whole body.

7. The branching, order, and method, kept in this discourse of exercises.

8. Of exercise in general, and what it is, and that it is Athletical for games, Martial for the fields, Physical for health, preparative before, postparative after the standing exercise: some within doors for foul weather, some without for fair.

9. Of the particular exercises. Why I do appoint so many, and how to judge of them, or devise the like.

10 Of loud speaking. How necessary, and how proper an exercise it is for a scholar.

11. Of loud singing, and in what degree it cometh to be one of the exercises.

12. Of loud and soft reading.

13. Of much talking, and silence.

14. Of laughing, and weeping. And whether children be to be forced toward virtue and learning.

15. Of holding the breath.

16. Of dancing, why it is blamed, and how delivered from blame.

17. Of wrestling.

18. Of fencing, or the use of the weapon.

19. Of the top, and scourge.
20. Of walking.
21. Of running.
22. Of leaping.
23. Of swimming.
24. Of riding
25. Of hunting.
26. Of shooting.
27. Of the ball.
28. Of the circumstances, which are to be considered in exercise.
29. The nature and quality of the exercise.
30. Of the bodies which are to be exercised.
31. Of the exercising places.
32. Of the exercising time.
33. Of the quantity that is to be kept in exercise.
34. Of the manner of exercising.

35. An advertisement to the training master. Why both the teaching of the mind and the training of the body be assigned to the same master. The inconveniences which ensue, where the body and the soul be made particular subjects to several professions. That who so will execute any thing well, must of force be fully resolved, in the excellency of his own subject. Out of what kind of writers the exercising master may store himself with cunning. That the first grounds would be laid by the cunningest workman. That private discretion in any executor is of more efficacy than his skill.

36. That both young boys and young maidens are to be put to learn. Whether all boys be to be set to school. That too many learned be burdenous: too few to bear: wits well sorted civil: missorted seditious. That all may learn to write and read without danger. The good of choice, the ill of confusion. The children which are set to learn having either rich or poor friends, what order and choice is to be used in admitting either of them to learn. Of the time to choose.

37. The means to restrain the overflowing multitude of scholars. The cause why every one desireth to have his child learned, and yet must yield over his own desire to the disposition of his country. That necessity and choice be the best restrainers. That necessity restraineth by lack and law. Why it may be admitted that all may learn to write and read that can, but no further. What is to be thought of the speaking and understanding of Latin, and in what degree of learning that is. That considering our time, and the state of religion in our time, law must needs help this restraint, with the answer to such objections as are made to the contrary. That in choice of wits, which must deal with learning, that wit is fittest for our state which answereth best the monarchy, and how such a wit is to be known. That choice is to help in schooling, in admission into colleges, in proceeding to degrees, in preferring to livings, where the right and wrong of all the four points be handled at full.

38. That young maidens are to be set to learning, which is proved by the custom of our country, by our duty towards them, by their natural ability, and by the worthy effects of such, as have been well trained. The end whereunto their education serveth, which is the cause why and how much they learn. Which of them are to learn. When they are to begin to learn. What and how much they may learn. Of whom and where they ought to be taught.

30. Of the training of young gentlemen. Of private and public education, with their general goods and ills. That there is no better way for gentlemen to be trained by in any respect, then the common is, being well appointed. Of rich men's children, which be no gentlemen. Of nobility in general. Of gentlemanly exercises. What it is to be a nobleman or a gentleman. That infirmities in noble houses be not to be triumphed over. The causes and grounds of nobility. Why so many desire to be gentlemen. That gentlemen ought to profess learning, and liberal sciences for many good and honorable effects. Of traveling into foreign countries, with all the branches, allowance, and disallowance thereof: and that it were to be wished, that gentlemen would profess to make sciences liberal in use, which are liberal in name. Of the training up of a young prince.

40. Of the general place and time of education. Public places, elementary, grammatical, collegiate. Of boarding of children abroad from their parents' houses, and whether that be the best. The use and commodities of a large and well situated training place. Observations to be kept in the general time.

41. Of teachers and trainers in general; and that they be either Elementary, Grammatical, or Academical. Of the elementary teacher's ability and entertainment; of the grammar master's ability and his entertainment. A means to have both excellent teachers and cunning professors in all kinds of learning: by the division of colleges according to profession: by sorting like years into the same rooms: by bettering the students' allowance and living: by providing and maintaining notably well learned readers. That for bringing learning forward in her right and best course, there would be seven ordinary ascending colleges for tongues, for mathematics, for philosophy, for teachers, for physicians, for lawyers, for divines. And that the general study of law would be but one study. Every of these points with his particular proofs sufficient for a position. Of the admission of teachers.

42. How long the child is to continue in the elementary, ere he pass to the tongues and grammar. The incurable infirmities which posting haste maketh in the whole course of study. How necessary a thing sufficient time is for a scholar.

43. How to cut off most inconveniences wherewith schools and scholars, masters and parents be in our schooling now most troubled, whereof there be two means, uniformity in teaching and publishing of school orders. That uniformity in teaching hath for companion dispatch in learning and sparing of expenses. Of the abridging of the number of books. Of courtesy and correction. Of school faults. Of friendliness between parents and masters.

44. That conference between those which have interest in children; certainty of direction in places where children use most; and constancy in well keeping that which is certainly appointed, be the most profitable circumstances both for virtuous mannering and cunning schooling.

45. The peroration, wherein the sum of the whole book is recapitulated, and proofs used, that this enterprise was first to be begun by Positions, and that these be the most proper to this purpose. A request concerning the well taking of that which is so well meant.

The occasion of the Publication, and in the English Tongue.

The experience of twenty-two years, and the observation of others still more successful, has satisfied the author that neither he or they have done as much as they could, if they could begin anew with a knowledge of the hindrances in the way, and the remedies for evils executed. The language used (the English) will convey my meaning as well to those who know Latin, and better to those who know it not, who will constitute by far the larger portion of my readers—who will be no Latinists.'

In the second chapter, the author announces his purpose 'to help the whole trade of teaching,' not only 'in the Grammar, but also the Elementarie,'—and especially in the latter, because it is the lowest and first to be dealt with—and as such it is important to settle—'at what time the child is to be set to schoole—what to learne—whether all are to attend, maidens, and young gentlemen—in public or private schooles—of adaptation of wittes, places, times, teachers and orders,' and in dealing with these Positions, I follow nature and reason, custom and experience.

The circumstances of the country, the possibilities under ordinary circumstances, and not the theories of writers, must be regarded in ordering the education of a people.

When Formal Instruction should begin.

'When the child shall begin to learne, must be determined by the strength of witte and hardness of body, in each case, and the continued health of the latter is the main thing to be considered.' 'A strong witte in as strong a bodie,' is the motto of Mulcaster, as it was of Locke ('*a sound mind in a sound body*), two hundred years later, and of Horace (*sans mens in sano corpore*), fifteen hundred years before. The whole training of the school, and especially in its earliest stages, must be based in 'bettering of the body,' and the negligence of the parents for not doing that which in person they might, and in duty they

ought, discharges them almost of the natural love, obedience and gratitude which attaches to children. Nor will it do to let this matter regulate itself; 'the sitting still in school must be exchanged for well appointed exercise,' and 'precocious fruitage is the parents' folly, and the child's infirmitie.'

Branches to be taught.

Chapter V. is devoted to an exposition of the meaning of the Mother Tongue, the ability to read, spell and write the English language, in advance, and, if necessary, to the exclusion of Latin. This is a 'Position' of vital importance. 'To write and read well, which may be jointly gotten, is a pretty good stock for a poor boy to begin the world with all.' 'As cosen germaiñ to faire writing, the ability to draw with pen and pencil' must follow next. 'For pen and penknife, incke and paper, compasse and ruler, will set them both up; and in their young years, while the finger is flexible, and the hand fit for frame, it will be fashioned easily. And commonly they that have any natural towardness to write well, have a knacke of drawing, too, and declaire some evident conceit in nature bending that way.' 'As judgment by understanding is a rule to the minde to discerne what is honest, seemly and suitable in matters of the mind, so drawing with penne or pencile is an assured rule for the sense to judge by, of the proportion and seemliness of all aspectable thinges.' 'And why is it not good to have every part of the body, and every power of the soul, to be fined (polished) to the best,' 'and why ought we not to ground that thoroughly in youth, which must requite us againe with grace in our age?' 'That great philosopher, Aristotle, in the eighth booke and third chapter of his Politicks, and not there onely, as not he alone, joineth writing and reading, which he compriseth under this word γραμματική, with drawing by penne or pencill, which I translate his γραφική, both the two of one parentage and pedigree, as things peculiarly chosen to bring up youth, both for quantitie in profit, and for qualitie in use. There he sayeth, that as writing and reading do minister much helpe to trafficke, to householdrie, to learning, and all publicke dealinges: so drawing by penne and pencill is verie requisite to make a man able to judge, what that is, which he buyeth of artificers and craftsmen, for substance, forme, and fashion, durable and handsome or no: and such other necessarie services, besides the deliteful and pleasant. And as if to anticipate the educational progress of the nineteenth century, he adds to the indispensable programme of the elementary school, the study of Music, both vocal and instrumental—to be begun in childhood when the organs are pliable, and the ear susceptible, and to be practiced all through life, as a medicine for the mind diseased, a lightner of sorrow, and the highest expressions of joy and thanksgiving in all times and in all places. Its abuse in over-indulgence and dissipation is no objection to its true and legitimate use.

Physical Exercises.

The subject of bodily exercises is discussed in the following chapters (from 6 to 34) in all their detail—and with a thoroughness and compass not yet surpassed by our modern gymnastics. It anticipates the hygenic speculations and devices of Jahn, and the indoor muscular practices of Dio Lewis and other advocates of indoor and schoolroom movements. The necessity of a sound body—of robust health, not only to make available great talents and profound learning, but for life's ordinary work by men of ordinary abilities,—the importance of pure air, in the right degree of moisture and temperature, and free from all pestilential vapors,—the attention to clothes adapted to the season, and not interfering with the play of joints and muscles, as well as to diet and drinks, taking those which supply nourishment, and not overload the stomach and fill the system with superfluous humors—all these are dwelt on like a modern physiologist. But to judicious, timely exercises—begun early, and reaching every part of the body, the lungs, the blood, the brains, the bones and muscles. Mulcaster looks for realizing his 'sound wit in a body as strong.' He treats of *Gymnastice*—of exercises athetic for games, martial for the field, physical for the prevention of diseases, and the restoration of health lost or impaired. In his sweep of detail he includes loud speaking, singing, reading,

talking, laughing, and all the modern gymnastics of the voice—dancing, wrestling, scourging the top, leaping, swimming, riding, shooting, and playing the ball—all the games and exercises of the systematized gymnasium, the playground and the field.

PROJECT OF TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR TEACHERS: "SEMINARY OF MASTERS."

There is no diverting to any profession till the student depart from the college of Philosophy, thence he that will go to Divinity, to Law, to Physic, may, yet with great choice, to have the fittest according to the subject. He that will to the school is then to divert. In whom I require so much learning to do so much good, as none of the other three, (honor alway reserved to the worthiness of the subject which they profess) can challenge to himself more; either for pains which is great, or for profit which is sure, or for help to the professions, which have their passage so much the pleasanter, the forwarder students be sent unto them, and the better subjects be made to obey them, as the schooling train is the track to obedience. And why should not these men have both this sufficiency in learning, and such room to rest in, thence to be chosen and set forth for the common service? be either children or schools so small a portion of our multitude? or is the framing of young minds, and the training of their bodies so mean a point of cunning? be schoolmasters in this Realm such a paucity, as they are not even in good sadness to be soundly thought on? If the chancel have a minister, the belfrey hath a master; and where youth is, as it is eachwhere, there must be trainers, or there will be worse. He that will not allow of this careful provision for such a *seminary of masters*, is most unworthy either to have had a good master himself, or hereafter to have a good one for his. Why should not teachers be well provided for, to continue their whole life in the school, as Divines, Lawyers, Physicians do in their several professions? Thereby judgment, cunning, and discretion will grow in them; and masters would prove old men, and such as Xenophon setteth over children in the schooling of Cyrus. Whereas now, the school being used but for a shift, afterward to pass thence to the other professions, though it send out very sufficient men to them, itself remaineth too naked, considering the necessity of the thing. I conclude, therefore, that this trade requireth a particular college, for these four causes. First, for the subject being the means to make or mar the whole fry of our state. Secondly, for the number, whether of them that are to learn, or of them that are to teach. Thirdly, for the necessity of the profession which may not be spared. Fourthly, for the matter of their study which is comparable to the greatest professions, for language, for judgment, for skill how to train, for variety in all points of learning, wherein the framing of the mind, and the exercising of the body craveth exquisite consideration, beside the staidness of the person. . . .

But to turn to my bias again which was the mother and matter to my wish, this college for teachers, might prove an excellent nursery for good schoolmasters, and upon good testimony being known to so many before, which would upon their own knowledge assure him, whom they would send abroad. In the meantime till this come to pass the best that we can have, is best worthy the having, and if we provide well for good teachers, that provision will provide us good teachers.

There remaineth now one consideration in the admitting not of these whom I admit without any exception, for all sufficiency in religion, in learning in discretion, in behavior, but of such as we daily use, and must use, till circumstances be bettered which are in compass of many exceptions. The admitter or chooser considering what the place requireth must exact that cunning, which the place calleth for; the party himself must bring testimony of his own behavior, if he be altogether unknown; and the admission would be limited to such a school in such a degree of learning, as he is found to be fit for. For many upon admission and license to teach in general, overreach too far, and mar too much, being unsufficient at random, though serving well for certain by way of restraint. Thus much for the trainer, which I know will better my pattern if preferment better him; with whom I shall have occasion to deal again in my grammar school where I will note unto him what my opinion is in the particularities of teaching.

The First Part of the Elementarie which entreath Chieflie of the right Writing of the English tung. Lond. 1582. 4to.

No second part is known to have been printed.

The following extracts place Mulcaster among the earliest advocates of the study of the vernacular in the Public Schools of England.

On the Study of English, 1582.

But bycause I take vpon me in this Elementarie, besides som frindship to secretaries for the pen, and to correctors for the print, to direct such peple as teach children to read and write English, and the *reading* must nedes be such as the writing leads vnto, thererfor, (*sic*) befor I medle with anie particular precept, to direct the Reader, I will thoroughlie rip vp the hole certaintie of our English writing, so far furth and with such assurance, as probabilitie can make me, bycause it is a thing both proper to my argument, and profitable to my cuntrie. For our naturall tung being as beneficial vnto vs for our needfull deliuerie, as anie other is to the peple which vse it: & hauing as pretie, and as fair obseruations in it, as anie other hath: and being as readie to yield to anie rule of Art, as anie other is: why should I not take som pains to find out the right writing of ours, as other cuntrimen haue don to find the like in theirs? & so much the rather, bycause it is pretended, that the writing thereof is meruellous vncertain, and scant to be recouered from extreme confusion, without some change of as great extremitie? I mean therefor so to deall in it, as I maie wipe awaie that opinion of either vncertaintie for confusion, or impossibilitie for direction, that both the naturall English maie haue wherein to rest, & the desirous st[r]anger maie haue whereby to learn. For the performance whereof, and mine own better direction, I will first examin those means, whereby other tungs of most sacred antiquitie haue bene brought to Art and form of discipline for their right writing, to the end that by following their waie, I maie hit vpon their right, and at the least by their president deuise the like to theirs, where the vse of our tung, & the propertie of our dialect will not yield flat to theirs. That don, I will set all the varietie of our now writing, & the vncertain force of all our letters, in as much certaintie, as anie writing can be, by these seuen precepts, —1. *Generall rule*, which concerneth the propertie and vse of ech letter: 2. *Proportion* which reduceth all words of one sound to the same writing: 3. *Composition*, which teacheth how to write one word made of mo: 4. *Deriuation*, which examineth the ofspring of euery originall: 5. *Distinction* which bewraieth the difference of sound and force in letters by som written figure or accent: 6. *Enfranchisement*, which directeth the right writing of all incorporate foren words: 7. *Prerogatiue*, which declareth a reseruation, wherein common vse will continew hir precèdence in our En[g]llish writing, as she hath don euerie where else, both for the form of the letter, in som places, which likes the pen better: and for the difference in writing, where som particular caueat will chek a common rule. In all these seuen I will so examin the particularities of our tung, as either nothing shall seme strange at all, or if anie thing do seme, yet it shall not seme so strange, but that either the self same, or the verie like vnto it, or the more strange then it is, shal appear to be in, those things, which ar more familiar vnto vs for extraordinarie learning, then required of vs for our ordinarie vse. And forasmuch as the eie will help manie to write right by a sene president, which either cannot vnderstand, or cannot entend to vnderstand the reason of a rule, therefor in the end of this treatis for right writing, I purpos to set down a generall table of most English words, by waie of president, to help such plane peple, as cannot entend the vnderstanding of a rule, which requireth both time and conceit in perceiuing, but can easilie run to a generall table, which is readier to their hand. By the which table I shall also confirm the right of my rules, that theie hold throughout, & by multitude of examples help som maim (*so*) in precepts. Thus much for the right writing of our English tung, which maie seme (*so*) for a preface to the principle of *Reading*, as the matter of one is the maker of the other.

These extracts might be extended. We add one more with the orthography modernized.

We add brief notices of a few of the Great Public Schools, compiled from Timbs' '*School Days of Eminent Men*,' and Staunton's '*Great Schools of England*.'

HENRY THE SIXTH AND ETON COLLEGE.

Henry VI. was born at Windsor, in 1421, and educated by his uncle, Cardinal Beaufort, in all the learning of the age. Hall, the chronicler, when speaking of the causes which led him to found Eton College, and King's College, Cambridge, says of him: "he was of a most liberal mind, and especially to such as loved good learning; and those whom he saw profiting in any virtuous science, he heartily forwarded and embraced." An ingenious writer of our own time has, however, more correctly characterized the young King's motive: "still stronger in Henry's mind was the desire of marking his gratitude to God by founding and endowing some place of pious instruction and Christian worship." Henry seems principally to have followed the magnificent foundations of William of Wykeham at Winchester and Oxford; resolving that the school which he founded should be connected with a college in one of the Universities, whither the best of the foundation scholars of his school should proceed to complete their education, and where a permanent provision should be made for them. Standing upon the north terrace of Windsor Castle, near Wykeham's tower, and looking towards the village of Eton, upon the opposite bank of the silver-winding Thames, we can imagine the association to have first prompted the devout King's design — in the words of the Charter, "to found, erect, and establish, to endure in all future time, a College consisting of and of the number of one provost and ten priests, four clerks and six chorister boys, who are to serve daily there in the celebration of divine worship, and of twenty-five poor and indigent scholars who are to learn grammar; and also of twenty-five poor and infirm men, whose duty it shall be to pray there continually for our health and welfare so long as we live, and for our soul when we shall have departed this life, and for the souls of the illustrious Prince, Henry our father, late King of England and France; also of the Lady Katherine of most noble memory, late his wife, our mother; and for the souls of all our ancestors and of all the faithful who are dead: (consisting) also of one master or teacher in grammar, whose duty it shall be to instruct in the rudiments of grammar the said indigent scholars and all others whatsoever who may come together from any part of our Kingdom of England to the said College, gratuitously and without the exaction of money or any other thing."

The works were commenced in 1441, with the chapel of the College; and to expedite the building, workmen were "pressed" from every part of the realm. The freemasons received 3*s.* a week each, the stonemasons and carpenters 3*s.*; plumbers, sawyers, tilers, &c., 6*d.* a day, and common laborers 4*d.* The grant of arms expresses this right royal sentiment: "If men are ennobled on account of ancient hereditary wealth, much more is he to be preferred and styled truly noble, who is rich in the treasures of the sciences and wisdom, and is also found diligent in his duty towards God." Henry appointed Waynflete first provost, who, with five fellows of Winchester, and thirty-five of the scholars of that College, became the primitive body of Etonians, in 1443. The works of the chapel were not completed for many years; and the other parts of the College were unfinished until the commencement of Henry the Eighth's reign.

Eton, in its founder's time, was resorted to as a place of education by the

youth of the higher orders, as well as by the class for whose immediate advantage the benefits of the foundation were primarily designed. Those students not on the foundation were lodged at their relations' expense in the town (*oppidum*) of Eton, and thence called *Oppidans*. The scholars on the foundation (since called Collegers) were lodged and boarded in the College-buildings, and at the College expense. There are two quadrangles, built chiefly of red brick: in one are the school and the chapel, with the lodgings for the scholars; the other contains the library, the provost's house, and apartments for the Fellows. The chapel is a stately stone structure, and externally very handsome. The architecture is Late Perpendicular, and a good specimen of the style of Henry the Seventh's reign. In the centre of the first quadrangle is a bronze statue of Henry VI.; and in the chapel another statue, of marble, by John Bacon. The foundation scholars seem to have been first placed in two large chambers on the ground-floor, three of the upper boys in each; they had authority over the others, and were responsible for good conduct being maintained in the dormitory. Subsequently was added "the Long Chamber" as the common dormitory of all the scholars. Dinner and supper were provided daily for all the members of the College; and every scholar received yearly a stated quantity of coarse cloth, probably first made up into clothing, but it has long ceased to be so used.

The King's Scholars or Collegers are distinguished from oppidans by a black cloth gown. The boys dined at eleven, and supped at seven; there being only two usual meals.

King Henry is recorded to have expressed much anxiety for his young incipient Alumni. One of his chaplains relates that "when King Henry met some of the students in Windsor Castle, whither they sometimes used to go to visit the King's servants, whom they knew, on ascertaining who they were, he admonished them to follow the path of virtue, and besides his words would give them money to win over their good-will, saying, 'Be good boys; be gentle and docile, and servants of the Lord.' (Sitis boni pueri, mites et docibiles, et servi Domini.)"

The progress of the buildings was greatly checked by the troubles towards the close of the reign of Henry VI.; and his successor, Edward IV., not only deprived Eton of large portions of its endowments, but obtained a bull from Pope Pius II. for disposing of the College, and merging it in the College of St. George at Windsor; but Provost Westbury publicly and solemnly protested against this injustice, the bull was revoked, and many of the endowments were restored, though the College suffered severely. The number on the foundation consisted of a provost and a vice-provost, 6 fellows, 2 chaplains, 10 choristers, the upper and lower master, and the 70 scholars. The buildings were continued during the reign of Henry VII., and the early years of Henry the Eighth, whose death saved Parliament from extinguishing Eton, which was then confirmed to Edward VI.

"Among the Paston Letters is one written in 1467, by 'Master William Paston at Eton, to his Worshipful Brother, John Paston, acknowledging the receipt of 8*d.* in a letter, to buy a pair of slippers; 13*s.* 4*d.* to pay for his board, and thanking him for 12lb. of Figgs and 8lb. of Raisins, which he was expecting by the first barge: he then narrates how he had fallen in love with a young gentlewoman to whom he had been introduced by his hostess, or dame; and he concludes with a specimen of his skill in Latin versification."

A MS. document in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, shows the general system of the school, the discipline kept up, and the books read in the various forms, about the year 1560. The holidays and customs are also enumerated; great encouragement was then shown to Latin versification, (always the pride of Eton,) and occasionally to English, among the students; care was taken to teach the younger boys to write a good hand. The boys rose at five to the loud call of 'Surgite;' they repeated a prayer in alternate verses, as they dressed themselves, and then made their beds, and each swept the part of the chamber close to his bed. They then went in a row to wash, and then to the school, where the under-master read prayers at six; then the præpositor noted absentees, and one examined the students' faces and hands, and reported any boys that came unwashed. At seven, the tuition began: great attention was paid to Latin composition in prose and verse, and the boys conversed in Latin. Friday seems to have been flogging day. Among the books read by the boys in the two highest forms are mentioned Cæsar's Commentaries, Cicero De Officiis and De Amicitiâ, Virgil, Lucian, and, what is remarkable, *the Greek Grammar;* a knowledge of Greek at this period being a rare accomplishment even at our universities. Its study was, however, gaining ground in Elizabeth's reign; and in a book published in 1586, it is stated that at Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, boys were then 'well entered in the knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues and rules of versifying.' Throughout this MS. record is shown the antiquity of making the upper boys responsible for the good conduct of the lower, which has ever been the ruling principle at Eton — in the schools, at meal-times, in the chapel, in the playing-fields, and in the dormitory; and there was a præpositor to look after dirty and slovenly boys.

Of scholars' expenses at Eton early in the reign of Elizabeth, we find a record in the accounts of the sons of Sir William Cavendish, of Chatsworth. Among the items, a breast of mutton is charged tenpence; a small chicken, fourpence; a week's board five shillings each, besides the wood burned in their chamber; to an old woman for sweeping and cleaning the chamber, twopence; mending a shoe, one penny; three candles, ninepence; a book, Esop's Fables, fourpence; two pair of shoes, sixteenpence; two bunches of wax-lights, one penny; the sum total of the payments, including board paid to the bursars of Eton College, living expenses for the two boys and their man, clothes, books, washing, &c., amount to 12*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.* The expense of a scholar at the University in 1514 was but five pounds annually, affording as much accommodation as would now cost sixty pounds, though the accommodation would be far short of that now customary. At Eton, in 1857, the number of scholars exceeded 700.

The College buildings have been from time to time re-edified and enlarged. The Library, besides a curious and valuable collection of books, is rich in Oriental and Egyptian manuscripts, and beautifully illustrated missals. The Upper School Room in the principal court, with its stone arcade beneath, and the apartments attached to it, were built by Sir Christopher Wren, at the expense of Dr. Allstree, provost in the reign of Charles II. We have engraved this school-room from an original sketch; it is adorned with a series of busts of eminent Etonians.

The College Hall interior has been almost entirely rebuilt through the munificence of the Rev. John Wilder, one of the Fellows, and was re-opened in October, 1857: these improvements include a new open-timber roof, a louvre, win-

dows east and west, a gothic oak canopy, and a carved oak gallery over the space dividing the hall from the buttery. The oak panelling around the room is cut all over with the names of Etonians of several generations.

Among the Eton festivals was, the *Montem*, formerly celebrated every third year on Whit-Tuesday, and believed to have been a corruption of the Popish ceremony of the Boy Bishop. It consisted of a theatrical procession of pupils wearing costumes of various periods, for the purpose of collecting money, or "salt," for the captain of Eton, about to retire to King's College, Cambridge. To each contributor was given a small portion of salt, at an eminence named therefrom Salt-Hill; the ceremony concluding with the waving of a flag upon this hill or *Montem*.* Boating and cricket are the leading recreations at Eton: the College walks, or playing-fields, extended to the banks of the Thames, and the whole scene is celebrated by Gray, the accomplished Etonian, in his well-known *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College*, commencing—

> "Ye distant spires, ye antique towers
> That crown the watery glade."

"Waynflete was the first Provost of Eton. Among the eminent scholars are Archbishop Rotherham, and Bishop West; Croke, the celebrated Hellenist, one of the first who taught the Greek language publicly in any university north of the Alps; Bishop Aldrich, the friend of Erasmus; Hall, the chronicler; Bishop Foxe; Thomas Sutton, founder of the Charterhouse; Sir Thomas Smith, and Sir Henry Savile, provosts; Admiral Sir Humphrey Gilbert; Oughtred, the mathematician; Tusser, the useful old rhymer; Phineas and Giles Fletcher, the poets; the martyrs, Fuller, Glover, Saunders, and Hullier; Sir Henry Wotton, provost; Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex; Waller, the poet; Robert Boyle; Henry More, the Platonist; Bishops Pearson and Sherlock; the ever-memorable John Hales, 'the Walking Library;' Bishops Barrow and Fleetwood; Lord Camden; the poets Gray, Broome, and West; Fielding, the novelist; Dr. Arne, the musical composer; Horace Walpole; the Marquis of Granby; Sir William Draper; Sir Joseph Banks; Marquis Cornwallis; Lord Howe; Richard Porson, the Greek Emperor; the poets Shelley, Praed and Milman; Hallam, the historian; and W. E. Gladstone, the statesman.

The Premiers of England, during the last century and a half, were mostly educated at Eton. Thus, Lord Bolingbroke, Sir William Wyndham, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Townshend, Lord Lyttleton, Lord Chatham, the elder Fox, Lord North, Charles James Fox, Mr. Wyndham, the Marquis Wellesley, Lord Grenville, Canning, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Grey, and the Earl of Derby—were all Etonians.

Among the celebrities of the College should not be forgotten the periodical work entitled *The Etonian*, the contributors to which were Eton scholars, and the author-publisher was the Etonian Charles Knight—a name long to be remembered in the commonwealth of English literature."

King's College, which Henry founded in 1441, at Cambridge, to be recruited from Eton, is the richest endowed collegiate foundation in that University.

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* The last Montem was celebrated at Whitsuntide, 1844. The abolition of the custom had long been pressed upon the College authorities, and they at length yielded to the growing condemnation of the ceremony as an exhibition unworthy of the present enlightened age. A memorial of the last celebration is preserved in that picturesque chronicle of events, the Illustrated London News, June 1, 1844.

THOMAS ARNOLD AND RUGBY SCHOOL.

MEMOIR BY SAMUEL ELIOT, LL. D.

"If he is elected to the head-mastership of Rugby," wrote one of Arnold's friends in the year 1827, "he will change the face of education all through the public schools of England." High-sounding prediction, and yet fulfilled to the letter. "A most singular and striking change," wrote another friend of Arnold, after his death in 1842, "has come upon our public schools;"—the writer being the head-master of Winchester school,—"I am sure that to Dr. Arnold's personal earnest simplicity of purpose, strength of character, power of influence, and piety, which none who ever came near him could mistake or question, the carrying of this improvement into our schools is mainly attributable."

Rugby school was originally a simple grammar school, designed for the benefit of the town of Rugby and its neighborhood. Any person who has resided for the space of two years in the town of Rugby, or at any place in the county of Warwick within ten miles of it, or even in the adjacent counties of Leicester and Northampton to the distance of five miles from it, may send his sons to be educated at the school, without paying any thing whatever for their instruction. But if a parent lives out of the town of Rugby, his son must then lodge at one of the regular boarding-houses of the school; in which case, the expenses of his board are the same as those incurred by a boy not on the foundation.

Boys placed at the school in this manner are called foundationers, and their number is not limited. In addition to these, there are 260 boys, not on the foundation; and this number is not allowed to be exceeded.

The number of masters is ten, consisting of a head-master and nine assistants. The boys are divided into nine, or practically into ten classes, succeeding each other in the following order, beginning from the lowest: first form, second form, third form, lower remove, fourth form, lower fifth, fifth and sixth. It should be observed, to account for the anomalies of this nomenclature, that the name of sixth form has been long associated with the idea of the highest class in all the great public schools of England; and, therefore, when more than six forms are wanted they are designated by other names, in order to secure the magic name of sixth to the highest form in the school. In this the practice of our schools is not without a very famous precedent; for the Roman augurs, we are told, would not allow Tarquinius Priscus to exceed the ancient and sacred number of three, in the centuries of Equites; but there was no objection made to his doubling the number of them in each century, and making in each an upper and a lower division, which were practically as distinct as two centuries. There is no more wisdom in disturbing an old association for no real benefit, than in sparing it when it stands in the way of any substantial advantage.

Into these ten classes the boys are distributed in a threefold division, according to their proficiency in classical literature, in arithmetic and mathematics, and in French. There is an exception made, however, in favor of the sixth form, which consists in all the three divisions of exactly the same individuals. All the rest of the boys are classed in each of the divisions without any reference to their rank in the other two; and thus it sometimes happens that a boy is in the fifth form in

the mathematical division, while he is only in the third or fourth in the classical, or, on the other hand, that he is in a very low form in the French division, while he is in a high one in the classical and mathematical. The masters also have different forms in the three different divisions. The masters of the higher classical forms may teach the lower forms in mathematics or French; and the masters of the higher forms in either of those two departments may have the care of the lower forms in the classical arrangement. Each half year is divided into two equal periods, called language time and history time. The books read in these two periods vary in several instances,—the poets and orators being read principally during the language time, and history and geography being chiefly studied during the history time. This will be more clearly seen from the following table (see page 554) of the general work of the school for a whole year.

Every year, immediately before the Christmas holidays, there is a general examination of the whole school in the work that has been done during the preceding half-year. A class-paper is printed containing the names of those boys who distinguish themselves; and in order to gain a high place on this paper, it is usual for the boys to read some book in one or more of their several branches of study, in addition to what they have read with the masters in school. In this manner they have an opportunity of reading any work to which their peculiar taste may lead them, and of rendering it available to their distinction in the school.

There are exercises in composition, in Greek and Latin prose, Greek and Latin verse, and English prose, as in other large classical schools. In the subjects given for original composition in the higher forms, there is a considerable variety. Historical descriptions of any remarkable events, geographical descriptions of countries, imaginary speeches and letters, supposed to be spoken or written on some great question or under some memorable circumstances; etymological accounts of words in different languages, and criticisms on different books, are found to offer an advantageous variety to the essays on moral subjects to which boys' prose composition has sometimes been confined.

Three exhibitioners are elected every year by the trustees of the school, on the report of two examiners appointed respectively by the vice-chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge. These exhibitions are of the value of £60 a year, and may be held for seven years at any college at either university, provided the exhibitioner continues to reside at college so long; for they are vacated immediately by non-residence.

One scholar is also elected every year by the masters, after an examination held by themselves. The scholarship is of the value of £25 a year, and is confined to boys under fourteen and a half at the time of their election. It is tenable for six years, if the boy who holds it remains so long at Rugby. But as the funds for these scholarships arise only from the subscriptions of individuals, they are not to be considered as forming necessarily a permanent part of the school foundation.—*Miscellaneous Works*, pp. 341–48.

The foregoing description, written six years after Arnold became headmaster, and eight years before his death, represents the school in a transition state,—his reforms begun but not completed. "You need not fear my reforming furiously," he wrote to one of his nearest friends, at the very time he was entering upon his charge, "there, I think I can assure you; but of my success in introducing a religious principle into education, I must be doubtful; it is my most earnest wish, and I pray God that it may be my constant labor and prayer; but to do this would be to succeed beyond all my hopes; it would be a happiness so great, that I think the world could yield me nothing comparable to it. To do it, however imperfectly, would far more than repay twenty years of labor and anxiety." No purpose of reform could be loftier; none, therefore, could be at once more trying and more sustaining. Arnold appreciated all the difficulty of his undertaking

TABLE.—Course of Study in Rugby Grammar School, under Dr. Arnold.

	CLASSICS.			MATHEMATICS.	FRENCH.
	Language.	Scripture.	History.		
1st Form.	Latin Grammar.' Latin Delectus.	Church catech. New Test. history, abridged.	*Markham's* England. vol. 1.	Tables; four rules; simple and compound Reduction.	*Hamel's* Exercises, to auxiliary verb.
2d Form.	Latin Grammar. Latin Delectus. Eutropius.	St. Luke. Genesis.	*Markham's* England, vol. 2.	Review of 1st Form. Rule of three; practice.	*Hamel's* Exercises, to auxiliary verb; the conjugations; *Gaultier's* Geography.
3d Form.	*Matthiae's* abridged Greek gram.; *Valpy's* Gr. exercises; do., do. delectus; Florilegium; trans. into Latin.	Exodus, Numbers, Judges, St. Matthew, Samuel.	Eutropius; Physical Geography, (of Soc., for Diff. of Useful Knowledge.)	Rule of three; practice; vulgar fractions; interest.	*Hamel's* Exercises, part I, continued; irregular verbs. Elizabeth, ou les exiles en Siberie.
Lower Remove.	Gr. gram; *Valpy's* ex.; Greek iambics; easy iambics of tragedies; Virgil, Ecl., Cic. De Senect.	St. Matthew, in Gr. Testament. Acts, English.	Justin, parts; Xenophon, Anabasis, parts; *Markham's* France, to Philip of Valois.	Vulgar fractions; interest; decimal fractions; square root.	*Hamel*, continued and reviewed. *Jussieu*, Jardin des Plantes.
4th Form.	Æschyl., Prometheus. Virg., Æn. 2 & 3. Cic. de Amicit.	Acts, Greek. St. John, Eng. Old Testament History.	Xenophon, Hellenics, part; Florus, parts; History Greece, (Soc. for D. of U. K.) Markham's France, rest; Italian and German Geography, details.	Decim., invol., evol., Algebraic add., subtr., mult., & div; binom. theor., Euclid, 1, prop. I—XV.	*Hamel*, 2d part; La Fontaine's fables.
Upper Remove.	Sophocles, Philoct., Æschylus, Eumen., Iliad. 1 & 2, Æneid, 4 & 5; Horace, parts; Cic. Epist., parts.	St. John, Gr.; Deut. & Peter, Eng.; Psalms, select.	Parts of Arrian, and of Patere., bk. 2. Sir J. Mackintosh's Eng.	Equation of payment, discount, simple equations. Euclid, rest of Book I.	Translations, English into French; La Font. fables.
Lower Fifth.	Æschyl., Sept., cont. Theb.; Sopho., Œd., Tyr.; Iliad, 3 & 4; Æn., 6 & 7; Cicero's Epist., parts; Hor., parts.	St. John; Tim. & Titus; Bible Hist., 1 Kings to Nehemiah.	Arrian, parts; Herodotus, parts; Livy, 2 & 3, parts; *Hallam*. Middle Ages; France, Spain, Greeks, Saracens. European geography, physical and political.	Exchange, alligation, simple equation with two unknown quantities, problems; Euclid, Book III.	Syntax, idioms. Play of Molière; into Eng. and then back into French.
5th Form.	Æsch., Agam., Iliad, 5, 6; Odys., 9; Demosthenes, Sept. in Aphob., 1; Æn., 8; Horace, parts; Cic. in Verr.	Corinthians 1 & 2. Paley, Hor. Paulin.	Parts of Herodotus, Thucydides, & Livy; Hallam, Middle Ages, State of Society.	Quadratic equations, Trigonometry, Euclid, through Book VI.	Pascal, Pensées.—Translations, English into French.
6th Form.	Parts of Virgil and Homer; one or more Greek tragedies, and of orations of Demosth.; Cic. in Verr.; part of Aristot. Eth.	One Prophet, Septuagint version. Parts of New Test.	Parts of Thucydides, Arrian, Tacitus, Russell's Modern Europe.	Euclid, 3—6; simple and quadratic equations, plain trigonometry, conics.	Parts of Guizot,—Revol. de l'Angleterre; and of Mignet, Revol. Franç.

The general school hours throughout the week are as follows:—

Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.—First lesson, seven to eight; second lesson, quarter past nine to eleven; third and fourth lessons, quarter past two to five.

Tuesday and Thursday.—First and second lessons as on Monday. Eleven to one, composition. Half holiday.

Saturday.—As on Tuesday and Thursday, except that there is no composition from eleven and one.

There are various other lessons, at additional hours, for different classes.

"I came to Rugby," was his remark, "full of plans for school reform; but I soon found that the reform of a public school was a much more difficult thing than I had imagined." But there was no shrinking; on the contrary, the earnestness and the rapidity with which the head-master pressed on, were such as to excite apprehensions on the part even of his friends, while they who doubted or opposed his course, broke out into objections and menaces sufficient to shake the resolution of a less resolute man. Arnold was strong, however, both in the principles which led him to reform and in those which guided him in reform. There was nothing indiscriminate or turbulent in his movements. "Another system," he said in reference to the constitution of the school, "may be better in itself, but I am placed in this system, and am bound to try what I can make of it." So, without attempting to overthrow, Arnold continued his efforts to repair and to uprear, with a degree of considerateness and of prudence remarkable in one so ardent and so determined. "That's the way," wrote one of his pupils, "that all the doctor's reforms have been carried out when he has been left to himself,—quietly and naturally; putting a good thing in the place of a bad, and letting the bad die out; no wavering and no hurry,—the best thing that could be done for the time being, and patience for the rest."

Instead of singling out one reform after another, we shall attempt a more connected delineation of him who wrought them all. It would be difficult, indeed, to say what there was in the school which Arnold did not reform,—if not by outward change, at least by the inward spirit infused into the whole body of which he was the head. As a matter of fact, therefore, as well as of expression, the portrait of Arnold should be drawn, not simply as that of the reformer, but rather as that of the teacher and the administrator,—the head-master of Rugby school.

In his relation to the trustees of the school, Arnold at once took the position that he must be independent of all interference from them. It was his duty, he said, "not only to himself, but to the master of every foundation school in England," to resist every intrusion into his own province; he, and not the trustees, was the master; he, and not they, must do the master's work and hold the master's authority. He had no mind, on the other hand, to shake off any just control. To the trustees, in their proper places, he looked with a respect and a submission that could not have been greater; nor could the intercourse between him and them have been, as a general rule, more agreeable or more amicable than it was. The point with him was simply this,—that if he was to possess the confidence of the trustees

so far as to be placed or to be retained in the mastership, he must possess it in such measure as to be his own master as well as the master of the school. Fortunately, the constitution of Rugby school favored the independence of the head-master.

There was the same sort of claim on Arnold's part to independence in relation to the parents of his pupils. He bore with no meddling; he deferred to no pretense from them; their putting their boys under him was not putting themselves above him. Yet no teacher was ever readier to recognize his true responsibility to the parents of his scholars. "It is a most touching thing to me," he said, "to receive a new fellow from his father, when I think what an influence there is in this place for evil as well as for good. * * * If ever I could receive a new boy from his father without emotion, I should think it was high time to be off." Nor did the feeling wear away with the residence of the pupil. The letters from Arnold to the parents of those who were with him are amongst the most convincing proofs of his constant watchfulness and constant faithfulness as a teacher.

To exhibit the relations between Arnold and his pupils will require fuller treatment. His idea of a teacher embraced, as we have seen, a variety of qualities, on which he was as intent in practice as in theory. "When I find that I can not run up the library stairs, I shall know that it is time for me to go," he said in reference to that freshness of frame which he deemed essential to freshness of mind, or at any rate to the freshness of mind required in the teacher. Exactly the same principle appears in his pursuit of fresh studies and his cultivation of fresh powers. "I do not judge of them," he said of his private pupils, "as I should if I were not taking pains to improve my own mind." Nor was the most industrious of the Rugby boys half so hard a student as his master. "The qualifications which I deem essential to the due performance of a master's duties here," wrote Arnold to a sub-master on his appointment, "may in brief be expressed as the spirit of a Christian and a gentleman; that a man should enter upon his business not ἐκ παρέργου, (as a subordinate work,) but as a substantive and most important duty; * * * that he should be public-spirited, liberal, and entering heartily into the interest, honor and general respectability and distinction of the society which he has joined; and that he should have sufficient vigor of mind and thirst for knowledge, to persist in adding to his own stores without neglecting the full improvement of those whom he is teaching." All that Arnold thus proposed for the teacher, he proposed, with the necessary qualifications, for the pupil. He was quite as anxious about the

physical as he was about the intellectual condition of his boys; "and whenever," says one of them who became his biographer, "he saw they were reading too much, he always remonstrated with them, relaxed their work, and if they were in the upper part of the school, would invite them to his house in the half-year or the holidays to refresh them." As for the minds of the boys, he had but one wish,—that they should be at work. Their cleverness was altogether an inferior consideration; even the amount of their attainments was comparatively unimportant, so that they were doing what they could. "If there be one thing on earth which is truly admirable," he said, "it is to see God's wisdom blessing an inferiority of natural powers, where they have been honestly, truly, and zealously cultivated." "Its great business," he wrote of education, "as far as regards the intellect, is to inspire it with a desire of knowledge, and to furnish it with power to obtain and to profit by what it seeks for;" words in which we may trace the features of the pupil who would have satisfied Arnold,—the boy who wished and who strove to learn. But far above all intellectual, as above all physical development, was the moral excellence after which he would have teachers and pupils alike exerting themselves. "What we must look for here," he said to the boys, "is, 1st, religious and moral principles; 2dly, gentlemanly conduct; 3dly, intellectual ability." "It must be," he declared at a time when the school was rife with disorder, "it must be a school of Christian gentlemen." "I hold all the scholarship that man ever had," he wrote to a friend, "to be infinitely worthless in comparison with even a very humble degree of spiritual advancement." To this point—the religious element of Arnold's system—we shall revert; it has been alluded to in this place only to complete the outlines of the teacher and the pupil after Arnold's design.

We have no wish to represent Arnold as faultless. The appreciation of his strong points is our object; and we pass by the detection of his weak ones. He had his failings both as a man and as a teacher; and the ideal of the relations between him and his pupils was seldom entirely attained. But we must refer to his biography or to his educational works for an account of his errors; our few pages are hardly ample enough to describe his virtues.

"What a sight it is," writes one of the Rugby men,—"the doctor as a ruler." It was the first and the chief aspect in which he appeared to his pupils. He was not merely the master but the headmaster, the presiding spirit of the establishment, the source of law and authority, of honor and dishonor. It was often said of Arnold that he was born to be a statesman. Of all the signs to this effect, above

his writings, above his exertions as a citizen, his administration of Rugby school may be safely set down as the most remarkable. The school was a state on a small scale; its magistrates the masters, its citizens the three hundred pupils; each with his own tastes, his own powers, his own circumstances; not easily managed by himself, and much less easily directed in the midst of his two hundred and ninety-nine associates. No state was ever better ruled on the whole; none was more carefully guarded from evil and shame; none more consistently guided to nobleness and truth.

Higher still was the position of Arnold as the chaplain of the school. When this office fell vacant, a year or two after he joined the school, he asked it from the trustees on the ground that, as head-master, he was "the real and proper religious instructor of the boys." Pray let it be remarked before we go further, that he did not make his religious instructions depend upon his being in the chaplaincy. He had begun to preach to the boys, as well as to give a religious tone to his daily teachings, from the very first year of his mastership; and what he began, he continued. Nay more; he would not make his instructions in religious matters depend even on his being a clergyman. Had he been a layman, he would not have preached as often, but he certainly would have addressed the boys on their Christian duties from time to time; while the religious atmosphere of his own recitation-room would have been quite as constant and quite as effective. "The business of a schoolmaster," was a frequent expression with him, "no less than that of a parish minister, is the cure of souls." In this spirit, and not merely in that of a clerical functionary, he assumed the chaplain's office. How well he discharged it, not merely in the chapel, but throughout the school, may be gathered from a pupil's life-like report of his preaching and his influence.

More worthy pens than mine have described that scene. The oak pulpit standing out by itself above the school seats. The tall gallant form, the kindling eye, the voice, now soft as the low notes of a flute, now clear and stirring as the call of the light infantry bugle, of him who stood there Sunday after Sunday, witnessing and pleading for his Lord, the King of righteousness and love and glory, with whose spirit he was filled, and in whose power he spoke. The long lines of young faces rising tier above tier down the whole length of the chapel, from the little boy's who had just left his mother to the young man's who was going out next week into the great world rejoicing in his strength. It was a great and solemn sight, and never more so than at this time of year, when the only lights in the chapel were in the pulpit and at the seats of the præpostors of the week, and the soft twilight stole over the rest of the chapel, deepening into darkness in the high gallery behind the organ.

But what was it after all which seized and held these three hundred boys, dragging them out of themselves, willing or unwilling, for twenty minutes on Sunday afternoons? True, there always were boys scattered up and down the school, who, in heart and head, were worthy to hear and able to carry away the deepest and wisest words then spoken. But these were a minority always,

generally a very small one, often so small a one as to be countable on the fingers of your hand. What was it that moved and held us, the rest of the three hundred reckless childish boys, who feared the doctor with all our hearts, and very little besides in heaven or earth; who thought more of our sets in the school than of the church of Christ, and put the traditions of Rugby and the public opinion of boys in our daily life above the laws of God? We couldn't enter into half that we heard; we hadn't the knowledge of our own hearts or the knowledge of one another, and little enough of the faith, hope, and love needed to that end. But we listened, as all boys in their better moods will listen, (aye, and men too for the matter of that,) to a man who we felt to be with all his heart and soul and strength striving against whatever was mean and unmanly and unrighteous in our little world. It was not the cold clear voice of one giving advice and warning from serene heights, to those who were struggling and sinning below, but the warm living voice of one who was fighting for us and by our sides, and calling on us to help him and ourselves and one another. And so, wearily and little by little, but surely and steadily on the whole, was brought home to the young boy, for the first time, the meaning of his life; that it was no fool's or sluggard's paradise into which he had wandered by chance, but a battle-field, ordained from of old, where there are no spectators, but the youngest must take his side, and the stakes are life and death. And he who roused this consciousness in them, showed them at the same time, by every word he spoke in the pulpit, and by his whole daily life, how that battle was to be fought; and stood there before them their fellow-soldier and the captain of their band. The true sort of captain too for a boys' army, one who had no misgivings and gave no uncertain word of command, and, let who would yield or make truce, would fight the fight out, (so every boy felt,) to the last gasp and the last drop of blood. Other sides of his character might take hold of and influence boys here and there, but it was this thoroughness and undaunted courage which more than any thing else won his way to the hearts of the great mass of those on whom he left his mark, and made them believe first in him, and then in his Master.—*School Days at Rugby*, pp. 154–57.

Let us listen to some of the teachings from that chapel pulpit; they will more than bear out the enthusiasm of the account just given concerning them.

And therefore he who thinks that to provide schools is to provide education, or that to provide schools where the Bible and Catechism are taught is to provide religious education, will, undoubtedly, be disappointed, when he sees the fruit of his work. Be sure that the saving men's souls is no such easy matter; our great enemy is not so easily vanquished. It is not the subscription of some pounds, or hundreds of pounds, nor the building a schoolhouse, nor the appointing a schoolmaster, nor the filling the school with all the children in the parish, which will deliver all those childrens' souls from death, and mortify in them all the lusts of their evil nature, and foster and perfect all the works of the Spirit of God. Schools can not, as a matter of certainty, do this, but let us see what they can do.

They can give elementary religious instruction. As every child can be taught to read and write, so every child can be taught to say his catechism, can be taught to know the main truths of the gospel, can be taught to say hymns. There is no doubt, I suppose, that schools can certainly compass as much as this, and this is, I think, by no means to be despised. For although we know but too well that the learning this and much more than this, is very far from saving our souls certainly or generally, yet it is no less true that without this we are much worse off, and with this much better off. It is at least giving a man a map of the road, which he is going, which will keep him in the right way if he uses it. The map will not make his limbs stronger, nor his spirits firmer; he may be tired or he may be indolent, and it is of no use to him then. But suppose a man furnished with a very perfect map of a strange country, and that on his day's journey he has wasted many hours by going off his road, or by stopping to eat and to revel, and by and by the evening is coming on, and he knows not where he is, and he would fain make up for his former carelessness, and get to his journey's end before night comes on. The map, which hitherto has been carried uselessly, becomes then his guide and his best friend. So it has been known to be often with religious instruction. Neglected, like the map, while the morning was fair, and we cared

not about our onward journey; when life has darkened, and troubles have come, and a man has indeed wanted light and comfort, then the instruction of his school has been known to flash upon his mind, and more especially what he has learnt in psalms and hymns, which naturally cleave the easiest to the memory. When he would turn he has known where to turn. This has very often happened as the fruit of early religious instruction, when that instruction has been in no way accompanied with education. And therefore, as all our church schools can undoubtedly give to all the elements of religious instruction, as well as teach all to write and read, they deserve, I think, our most earnest support; and it is our part to help according to our best ability in providing every portion of the kingdom, and every one of our countrymen, with the means of certainly obtaining so much of good.

I have said that schools can certainly give religious instruction, but that it is not certain that they will give religious education. I dwell on this distinction for two several reasons: first, because it concerns us all in our own private relations, to be aware of the enormous difference between the two; secondly, because, confounding them together, we either expect schools to educate, which very likely they will not be able to do, and then are unreasonably disappointed; or else, feeling sure that the greater good of education is not certainly to be looked for, we do not enough value the lesser good of instruction which can be given certainly, and thus do not encourage schools so much as we ought. Elementary instruction in religion as in other things, may be certainly given to all who have their common natural faculties; that is, as I said, the catechism and hymns may be made to be learnt by heart, and the great truths of Christ's Gospel may be taught so as to be known and remembered. But even instruction, when we go beyond the elements of learning, can not be given to all certainly; we can not undertake to make every boy, even if we have the whole term of his boyhood and youth given us for the experiment, either a good divine, or a good scholar, or to be a master of any other kind of knowledge. This can not be done, although, as far as instruction is concerned, schools have great means at their command, nor do other things out of school very much interfere with their efficacy. But to give a man a Christian education, is to make him love God as well as know him, to make him have faith in Christ, as well as to have been taught the facts that He died for our sins and rose again; to make him open his heart eagerly to every impulse of the Holy Spirit, as well as to have been taught the fact as it is in the Nicene Creed, that He is the Lord and giver of spiritual life. And will mere lessons do all this,—when the course of life and all examples around, both at home and at school, with a far more mighty teaching, and one to which our natural dispositions far more readily answer, enforce the contrary? And therefore the great work of Christian education is not the direct and certain fruit of building schools and engaging schoolmasters, but something far beyond, to be compassed only by the joint efforts of all the whole church and nation,—by the schoolmaster and the parent, by the schoolfellow at school, and by the brothers and sisters at home, by the clergyman in his calling, by the landlord in his calling, by the farmer and the tradesman, by the laborer and the professional man, and the man of independent income, whether large or small, in theirs, by the queen and her ministers, by the great council of the nation in parliament; by each and all of these laboring to remove temptations to evil, to make good easier and more honored, to confirm faith and holiness in others by their own example; in a word, to make men love and glorify their God and Saviour when they see the blessed fruits of His kingdom even here on earth. And to bring this to ourselves more closely as private persons, let us remember that if we send our children to school, although we give up their instruction to the schoolmaster, yet we can not give up their education. Their education goes on out of school as well as in school, and very often far more vigorously. We shall see this, if we remember again that the great work of education is to make us love what is good, and therefore not only know it, but do it.

I speak of us as a society, as a school, as a Christian school, as a place, that is, to which the sons of Christian parents, and of no other, are sent to receive a Christian education. Such a society is beyond all doubt in its idea or institution a temple of God; God's blessing is upon it, Christ and Christ's Spirit dwell in the midst of it.

It is very fearful to think of the sin and the shame of letting this temple of God be

profaned, of letting it be so overrun with evil that from a house of prayer it should have become a den of thieves. But, is it not also an enkindling and encouraging thought, to dwell on the blessing of not suffering it to be so profaned; of driving out in Christ's power the evil that would most corrupt us; of being indeed a temple of God, wherein his praise should be not only spoken with our lips, but acted in our lives?

I think that this is very encouraging and enkindling to every one who wishes to serve God. But by "encouraging and enkindling," I mean of course, encouraging and enkindling to exertion. It is but folly to say, "How delightful would it be if it were so!" and not rather to say, "This is indeed so glorious and blessed a thing, that I will labor heart and soul that it shall be so."

I well know that such labor becomes us, the older part of our society, most of all, and that our sin is the heaviest of all if we neglect it. But it is no less true that you have your share in the work also, and that more depends upon you than upon us. Nor is your sin light if you neglect it; I mean that every one of you has a duty to perform toward the school, and that over and above the sin of his own particular faults, he incurs a sin, I think even greater, by encouraging faults, or discouraging good in others; and farther still, that he incurs a sin, less I grant than in the last case, but still considerable, by being altogether indifferent to the conduct of others, by doing nothing to discourage evil, nothing to encourage good.

The actual evil which may exist in a school consists, I suppose, first of all in direct sensual wickedness, such as drunkenness and other things forbidden together with drunkenness in the scriptures. It would consist, secondly, in the systematic practice of falsehood,—when lies were told constantly by the great majority, and tolerated by all. Thirdly, it would consist in systematic cruelty, or if cruelty be too strong a word, in the systematic annoyance of the weak and simple, so that a boy's life would be miserable unless he learnt some portion of the coarseness and spirit of persecution which he saw in all around him. Fourthly, it would consist in a spirit of active disobedience,—when all authority was hated, and there was a general pleasure in breaking rules simply because they were rules. Fifthly, it would include a general idleness, when every one did as little as he possibly could, and the whole tone of the school went to cry down any attempt on the part of any one boy or more, to shew anything like diligence or a wish to improve himself. Sixthly, there would be a prevailing spirit of combination in evil and of companionship; by which a boy would regard himself as more bound to his companions in ties of wickedness, than to God or his neighbor in any ties of good;—so that he would labor to conceal from his parents and from all who might check it, the evil state of things around him; considering it far better that evil should exist, than that his companions doing evil should be punished. And this accomplice spirit, this brotherhood of wickedness, is just the opposite of Christian love or charity; for as St. Paul calls charity the bond of perfectness, so this clinging of the evil to one another is the bond of wickedness; it is that without which wickedness would presently fall to pieces and perish, and which preserves it in existence and in vigor.

Let these six things exist together, and the profanation of the temple is complete—it is become a den of thieves. Then whoever passes through such a school may undoubtedly, by God's grace, be afterward a good man, but so far as his school years have any effect on his after life, he must be utterly ruined. An extraordinary strength of constitution, or rather a miracle of God's grace, may possibly have enabled him to breathe an air so pestilential with impunity; but although he may have escaped, thousands have perished, and the air in its own properties is merely deadly.

The sixth evil I left for separate consideration, because it appeared to require a fuller notice. And its very name, if we attend, will make it probable that it does so. I called it the spirit of combination and companionship, whereas the other evils of which I spoke were such things as idleness, falsehood, drunkenness, disobedience; names very different in their character from combination and companionship. They are very different in this, that when we speak of idleness or falsehood we mean things altogether evil, which are plainly and altogether to be avoided and abhorred; but when we speak of combination or companionship, we name things not in their own nature evil, things which have a good sense as well as a bad sense; things, therefore, not plainly and altogether, but only upon con-

sideration and beyond a certain point to be avoided and condemned. Here, therefore, the subject must be gone into more carefully; we must not blame indiscriminately, but opening gently as it were, what lies in a tangled mass before us, we must so learn, if we can, to separate the evil from the good.

What I have called the spirit of companionship, is that feeling by which we are drawn toward our equals, while we are conscious that they and we stand in a certain relation to a common superior. I mean that the feeling of companionship, as I am now taking it, implies that, besides the persons so feeling it, and who are always more or less on an equality with each other, there exists also some superior party, and that his superiority modifies the mutual feeling of the parties on an equality. Thus the feeling of companionship amongst brothers and sisters, supposes that they have all parents also, to whom they stand in another relation, and not in that of companionship; the same feeling amongst the poor supposes that they have also something to do with the rich, the same feeling amongst subjects supposes that they have a government, and if it could exist amongst all mankind toward each other as men, then it would imply the existence of God, and that he interfered in the affairs of mankind. The first element then in this sense of companionship is sympathy, a feeling that we are alike as in many other things, so also in our relation to some other party; that our hopes and fears with respect to this party are in each of us the same. And thus far the feeling is natural and quite blameless, sympathy being a very just cause why we should be drawn together. But then this sympathy is accompanied very often with a total want of sympathy so far as regards our common superior; as we who are each other's companions have with respect to him the same hopes and fears, so we often think that he and we have not the same hopes and fears, or in other words the same interest, in any degree at all; but that his interest is one thing, and ours is the very contrary.

So that while there is a sympathy between us and our companions, there is also between us and our superior the very contrary to sympathy, we conceive ourselves placed toward him in actual opposition.

But if he too could be taken into our bond of sympathy, if we could feel that his interests and ours are also the same, no less than ours and our companions', then the feeling of companionship, if I may so speak, being extended to all our relations, would produce no harm at all, but merely good: it would then, in fact, be no other than the perfection of our nature,—perfect love.

Let companionship expand into communion. You are companions of one another, with many natural sympathies of age, of employment, of place, and of constitution of body and mind. But you are companions of us too, companions in our common work, which is your good, earthly and eternal; you are companions of all God's saints who are engaged in the same warfare; you are companions —high and most presumptuous as the word were in itself, yet God's infinite love has sanctioned it—you are companions of Him who is not ashamed to call us brethren, who bore and bears our nature, who died as we shall all die. Bear all these relationships in mind, and then, as I said, companionship is become communion, the bond of wickedness is become the bond of perfectness, we are one with each other, and with Christ, and with God.—*Sermons; last volume, pp.* 55, 57, 58, 66, 67, 68, 74, 75, 76, 77, 82, 83, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94.

But it was not in preaching alone, as we have said, that Arnold gave religious instruction to his pupils. "No direct instruction," says one of them, "could leave on their minds a livelier image of his disgust at moral evil, than the black cloud of indignation which passed over his face when speaking of the crimes of Napoleon, or of Cæsar, and the dead pause which followed, as if the acts had just been committed in his very presence. No expression of his reverence for a high standard of Christian excellence could have been more striking than the almost involuntary expressions of admiration which broke from him whenever mention was made of St. Louis of France."

So, through all the studies under his direction, there streamed the ray of light from his own lofty faith, breaking in upon the darkest passages of history or of literature, bringing out all the brighter ones, and aiding those who sat beholding, to a faith as lofty and as illumining as that of their master. When he found, one day, that the change from the chamber of a dying pupil to the recitation room was very marked, he announced to his class that he should hereafter begin their lessons with a prayer, this being additional to the prayers for the entire school; his object, as he said, being to make his school work so really religious, that "the transition to it from a death-bed would be slight." It was by these means, even more than by those of the chapel, that his religious reforms were extended, so that his system of education was confessed to be "not based upon religion, but itself religious." From any praises of his system, as he conceived it, he would not have shrunk; he did not regard it as his so much as his Lord and Master's. But from any declaration that the system was carried out in his school, he recoiled at once. "I dread," he would say, "to hear this called a religious school. I know how much there is to be done before it can really be called so." This very consciousness of imperfection proved the greatness of the perfection at which he aimed; and, more than any thing which he did, perhaps, that which he was seen to be endeavoring to do, bore up his pupils to the heights where he was pausing, only to ascend above them.

Comparatively a small number of the boys at Rugby knew Arnold as their every-day teacher. To those of the younger classes he gave no school instruction beyond hearing their lessons at intervals. But his influence was not the less universal; it was felt in the course of instruction as marked and as carried out; his being the selection of the studies, and his the system on which they were pursued. On these topics we must, of course, enlarge.

A reference to the tabular view of studies already given will show the materials of which Arnold made up his course. Foremost amongst them, the great staple of culture, stand the classics. At first disposed to abridge the time usually given to these studies, Arnold was afterwards inclined to enhance rather than diminish their importance. When he entered upon his Rugby duties, a general clamor had arisen against classical instruction, as assuming a place altogether above its merits or its advantages; and his avowed purposes as a reformer, led him to regard himself, as they led others to regard him, in some sort pledged to confine this branch of education to more restricted limits. But as his experience increased, and the resources of the classical department opened more and more beneath his manage-

ment, he not only acknowledged, but applied them with greater appreciation and stronger confidence. "He was the first Englishman," says his pupil and biographer, "who drew attention in our public schools, to the historical, political and philosophical value of philology, and of the ancient writers, as distinguished from the mere verbal criticism and elegant scholarship of the last century." Nor was this all which gave life to classical study in his hands. He entered into the spirit of the great authors of antiquity; if he was reading a historian with his class, he too, was a historian for the time; if they were studying a poet, he showed them by his own expressive earnestness, what it was to share a poet's feeling and a poet's power; whatever, in short, the text-book, it was to the teacher and to all his responsive pupils, the living companionship of the writers, as much so as if the writer were their contemporary and their countryman. "Do'nt you find the repetition of the same lessons irksome?" was a question to which Arnold could honestly reply, "No, there is a constant freshness in them; I find something new in them every time I go over them." Where would be the still prevailing distrust of the classics if they were taught in this way? Who would stay to wrangle about the philology or the mental discipline involved in the study, if it thus comprehended not only all that lived in the past, but all that is yet living in the present?

Let Arnold speak for himself.

It may freely be confessed that the first origin of classical education affords in itself no reasons for its being continued now. When Latin and Greek were almost the only written languages of civilized man, it is manifest that they must have furnished the subjects of all liberal education. The question therefore is wholly changed, since the growth of a complete literature in other languages; since France, and Italy, and Germany, and England, have each produced their philosophers, their poets, and their historians, worthy to be placed on the same level with those of Greece and Rome.

But although there is not the *same* reason now which existed three or four centuries ago for the study of Greek and Roman literature, yet there is another no less substantial. Expel Greek and Latin from your schools, and you confine the views of the existing generation to themselves and their immediate predecessors: you will cut off so many centuries of the world's experience, and place us in the same state as if the human race had first come into existence in the year 1500. For it is nothing to say that a few learned individuals might still study classical literature; the effect produced on the public mind would be no greater than that which has resulted from the labors of our oriental scholars; it would not spread beyond themselves, and men in general after a few generations would know as little of Greece and Rome, as they do actually of China and Hindoostan. But such an ignorance would be incalculably more to be regretted. With the Asiatic mind, we have no nearer connection or sympathy than that which is derived from our common humanity. But the mind of the Greek and of the Roman is in all the essential points of its constitution our own; and not only so, but it is our own mind developed to an extraordinary degree of perfection. Wide as is the difference between us with respect to those physical instruments which minister to our uses or our pleasures; although the Greeks and Romans had no steam-engines, no printing-presses, no mariner's compass, no telescopes, no microscopes, no gunpowder; yet in our moral and po-

litical views, in those matters which most determine human character, there is a perfect resemblance in these respects. Aristotle, and Plato, and Thucydides, and Cicero, and Tacitus, are most untruly called ancient writers; they are virtually our own countrymen and contemporaries, but have the advantage which is enjoyed by intelligent travelers, that their observation has been exercised in a field out of the reach of common men; and that having thus seen in a manner with our eyes what we can not see for ourselves, their conclusions are such as bear upon our own circumstances, while their information has all the charm of novelty, and all the value of a mass of new and pertinent facts, illustrative of the great science of the nature of civilized man.

Now, when it is said, that men in manhood so often throw their Greek and Latin aside, and that this very fact shows the uselessness of their early studies, it is much more true to say that it shows how completely the literature of Greece and Rome would be forgotten, if our system of education did not keep up the knowledge of it. But it by no means shows that system to be useless, unless it followed that when a man laid aside his Greek and Latin books, he forgot also all that he had ever gained from them. This, however, is so far from being the case, that even where the results of a classical education are least tangible, and least appreciated even by the individual himself, still the mind often retains much of the effect of its early studies in the general liberality of its tastes and comparative comprehensiveness of its views and notions.

All this supposes, indeed, that classical instruction should be sensibly conducted; it requires that a classical teacher should be fully acquainted with modern history and modern literature, no less than with those of Greece and Rome. What is, or perhaps what used to be, called a mere scholar, can not possibly communicate to his pupils the main advantages of a classical education.

The knowledge of the past is valuable, because without it our knowledge of the present and the future must be scanty; but if the knowledge of the past be confined wholly to itself, if, instead of being made to bear upon things around us, it be totally isolated from them, and so disguised by vagueness and misapprehension as to appear incapable of illustrating them, then indeed it becomes little better than laborious trifling, and they who declaim against it may be fully forgiven.—*Miscellaneous Works*, pp. 348–350.

The studies which Arnold introduced or developed at Rugby, were not numerous. The table shows how prominent a place was assigned to Scriptural instruction, including exegesis and church history; besides which we find history, modern as well as ancient, geography, mathematics, and the modern languages, of which not only French, but German, was taught. Arnold laid no great stress upon any of these studies but the first, the Scriptural; not that he neglected or undervalued any of them, but that he was not disposed to agree with those who thought the introduction of such a branch as modern history, for example, to be in itself a proof of progress. The "favorite notion of filling boys with useful information" was no favorite with him. "It is not so much an object," he said, "to give boys 'useful information,' as to facilitate their gaining it hereafter for themselves, and to enable them to turn it to account when gained." Modern history, therefore, was not to be made much of at the expense of ancient history, or of any other study which was equally essential to the end in view. "I assume it certainly," he wrote in relation to the study of modern languages, "as the foundation of all my view of the case, that boys at a public school will never learn to speak or pronounce French well under any circumstances. But to most of our boys, to

read it will be of far more use than to speak it; and if they learn it grammatically as a dead language, I am sure that whenever they have any occasion to speak it, as in going abroad, for instance, they will be able to do it very rapidly." Whether we agree or not with all these statements, they show the consistency of him who made them.

The sixth form of the school was that which Arnold himself instructed. He taught them on the principles which he maintained for the whole school. There was no effort to cram them with facts or with rules, no long-winded discourse of any kind or upon any subject. If he was lecturing, he spoke to the point. If he was hearing a recitation, he said as little as possible, teaching the boys by questions rather than by explanations, and so keeping them at work for themselves. In neither case, however, was there any thing like an appearance of isolation or of indifference on his part; his pupils saw that he was working with them, and that what he would not do was simply working for them, while they sat idle. His great aim was to develop the intellect of every boy, to teach each one exactly in such a way as to make him independent so far as was desirable. "You come here not to read, but to learn how to read," was one of his sayings expressive of his leading principle of instruction. "I call that the best theme," he observed, "which shows that the boy has read and thought for himself," and to enable every one thus to read and think for himself was always the grand object. "My own lessons with the sixth form," he writes to an intimate friend, "are directed now, to the best of my power, to the furnishing rules or formulæ for them to work with, viz.: rules to be observed in translation, principles of taste as to the choice of English words, as to the keeping or varying idioms and metaphors, &c.; or in history, rules of evidence or general forms, or for the dissection of campaigns, or the estimating the importance of wars, revolutions, &c. This, together with the opening, as it were, the sources of knowledge, by telling them where they can find such and such things, and giving them a notion of criticism, not to swallow things whole, as the scholars of an earlier period too often did,—this is what I am laboring at, much more than giving information."

We gladly give way to his biographer to complete the portrait of Arnold as the teacher of the sixth form.

It has been attempted hitherto to represent his principles of education as distinct from himself, but in proportion as we approach his individual teaching, this becomes impracticable; the system is lost in the man; the recollections of the head-master of Rugby are inseparable from the recollections of the personal guide and friend of his scholars. They will at once recall those little traits which, however minute in themselves, will to them suggest a lively image of his whole

manner. They will remember the glance, with which he looked round in the few moments of silence before the lesson began, and which seemed to speak his sense of his own position and of theirs also, as the heads of a great school; the attitude in which he stood, turning over the pages of Facciolati's Lexicon, or Pole's Synopsis, with his eye fixed upon the boy who was pausing to give an answer; the well known changes and of his voice and manner, so faithfully representing the feeling within. They will recollect the pleased look and the cheerful "Thank you," which followed upon a successful answer or translation; the fall of his countenance with its deepening severity, the stern elevation of the eyebrows, the sudden "Sit down," which followed upon the reverse; the courtesy and almost deference to the boys, as to his equals in society, so long as there was nothing to disturb the friendliness of their relation; the startling earnestness with which he would check in a moment the slightest approach to levity or impertinence; the confidence with which he addressed them in his half-yearly exhortations; the expressions of delight with which, when they had been doing well, he would say that it was a constant pleasure to him to come into the library. * *

The interest in their work, which this method excited in the boys, was considerably enhanced by the respect which, even without regard to his general character, was inspired by the qualities brought out prominently in the ordinary course of lessons. They were conscious of (what was indeed implied in his method itself) the absence of display, which made it clear that what he said was to instruct them, not to exhibit his own powers; they could not but be struck by his never concealing difficulties and always confessing ignorance; acknowledging mistakes in his edition of Thucydides, and on Latin verses, mathematics or foreign languages, appealing for help or information to boys whom he thought better qualified than himself to give it. Even as an example, it was not without its use, to witness daily the power of combination and concentration on his favorite subjects which had marked him even from a boy; and which especially appeared in his illustrations of ancient by modern, and modern by ancient history. The wide discursiveness with which he brought the several parts of their work to bear on each other; the readiness with which he referred them to the sources and authorities of information, when himself ignorant of it; the eagerness with which he tracked them out when unknown,—taught them how wide the field of knowledge really was. In poetry it was almost impossible not to catch something of the delight and almost fervor, with which, as he came to any striking passage, he would hang over it, reading it over and over again, and dwelling upon it for the mere pleasure which every word seemed to give him. In history or philosophy, events, sayings, and authors would, from the mere fact that he had quoted them, become fixed in the memory of his pupils, and give birth to thoughts and inquiries long afterward, which, had they been derived through another medium, would have been forgotten or remained unfruitful. The very scantiness with which he occasionally dealt out his knowledge, when not satisfied that the boys could enter into it, whilst it often provoked a half-angry feeling of disappointment in those who eagerly treasured up all that he uttered, left an impression that the source from which they drew was unexhausted and unfathomed, and to all that he did say gave a double value.—*Life and Correspondence*, pp. 91, 93, 94.

A closer relation than that between the teacher and the mere pupil existed between the head-master and his sixth form. According to the common practice in the public schools of England, the upper class constituted a band of sub-masters, as it were, intermediate between their instructors and their schoolmates, invested with a power "to be exercised by them," as Arnold describes it, "over the lower boys for the sake of securing a regular government amongst the boys themselves." To enforce this power, certain members of the class, called præpostors, were authorized to inflict personal chastisement on those who resisted them. Against this system, involving as

it did the custom of fagging, (to which we shall presently advert,) a very strong feeling had been aroused at the time of Arnold's removal to Rugby; and amongst the reforms which many anticipated from him, none, perhaps, was more generally looked for than the abolition or at any rate the modification of the authority vested in the sixth form. He checked the abuses that he discovered, but he did no more; on the contrary he maintained the system, asserting that "a government amongst the boys themselves being necessary, the actual constitution of public schools places it in the best possible hands." But Arnold understood it as something more than a means of discipline. "He who wishes really to improve public education," he said, "would do well to direct his attention to this point, and to consider how there can be infused into a society of boys such elements as, without being too dissimilar to coalesce thoroughly with the rest, shall yet be so superior as to raise the character of the whole. It would be absurd to say that any school has as yet fully solved this problem. I am convinced, however, that in the peculiar relation of the highest form to the rest of the boys, such as it exists in our great public schools, there is to be found the best means of answering it." Accordingly Arnold employed the boys of the sixth form not only as aid-de-camps to ensure order in the school, but as missionaries to infuse a higher spirit and a nobler purpose. His dependence, to the proper degree, on their coöperation, his making them his fellow-workers and his chosen friends, was touching to behold. "When I have confidence in the sixth," he once said to them, "there is no post in England which I would exchange for this; but if they do not support me, I must go."

We have not yet mentioned one of Arnold's strongest reasons for keeping up the authority of the sixth form,—the influence which the exercise of it would have upon its possessors. "They look upon themselves," he said, "as answerable for the character of the school, and by the natural effect of their position, acquire a manliness of mind and habits of conduct infinitely superior, generally speaking, to those of young men of the same age who have not enjoyed the same advantages." A precisely similar motive induced him to retain the system of fagging. "The discipline," he says, "to which boys are thus subjected, and the quickness, handiness, thoughtfulness and punctuality, which they learn from some of the services required of them, are no despicable part of education."

Fagging, as is well known, is the subjection of the younger boys of a school to the elder ones; but it is a subjection to regularly constituted authority, that is, to the members of the upper class or classes.

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This was not exposing the younger boys, according to Arnold's view, to abuse from their seniors. He writes as follows:—

It is important to distinguish such acts of oppression as belong properly to the system of fagging, from such as arise merely from superior physical force, and consequently exist as much, I believe, a thousand times more, in those schools where there is no legal fagging. For instance, your correspondent* complains of the tyranny practiced at Winchester at bed-time, "tossing in the blanket, tying toes, bolstering, &c." These, indeed, are most odious practices, but what have they to do with fagging? I have known them to exist at private schools, where there was no fagging, to a degree of intolerable cruelty. In college, at Winchester, where there were two or three præfects in every chamber, I scarcely remember them to have been practiced at all during the period of which I can speak from my own experience. And this is natural; for the boys who delight in this petty tyranny are very rarely to be found amongst the oldest in a school, and still less amongst those who have raised themselves to the highest rank in it; they are either middle-aged boys, from fourteen to sixteen, or such older boys as never distinguish themselves for any good, and who, never rising high in the school, are by a system of fagging, and by that only, restrained from abusing their size and strength in tyranny. Other abuses which your correspondent mentions, such as toasting, lighting fires, &c., arise so far from a system of fagging, that this system, when ill-regulated, allows a certain well-defined class of boys to exact services which otherwise would be exacted merely by the strongest. But I said, what every one must be aware of, that the government of boys, like every other government, requires to be watched, or it will surely be guilty of abuses. Those menial offices, which were exacted from the juniors at Winchester, were only required of them because the attendance of servants was so exceedingly insufficient, and the accommodations of the boys in many particulars so greatly neglected. If you do not provide servants to clean the boys' shoes, to supply them with water of a morning, or to wait on them at their meals, undoubtedly the more powerful among them, whether the power be natural or artificial, will get these things done for them by the weaker; but supply the proper attendance, and all this ceases immediately. There will remain many miscellaneous services, such as watching for balls at cricket or fives, carrying messages, &c., which servants undoubtedly can not be expected always to perform, and which yet belong to that general authority vested in the boys of the highest form. They belong to that general authority, and are therefore now claimed as rightfully due; but if there were no such authority, they would be claimed by the stronger from the weaker. For I assume it as a certain fact, that if you have two or three hundred boys living with one another as a distinct society, there will be some to command, as in all other societies, and others to obey; the only difference is, that the present system first of all puts the power into the best hands; and, secondly, by recognizing it as legal, is far better able to limit its exercise and to prevent its abuses, than it could be if the whole were a mere irregular dominion of the stronger over the weaker.—*Miscellaneous Works*, pp. 374, 375.

In the same article from which the preceding defence of fagging has been extracted, Arnold explains his retention of flogging.

The total abandonment of corporeal punishment for the faults of young boys appears to me not only uncalled for, but absolutely to be deprecated. It is of course most desirable that all punishment should be superseded by the force of moral motives; and up to a certain point this is practicable. All endeavors so to dispense with flogging are the wisdom and the duty of a schoolmaster; and by these means the amount of corporeal punishment inflicted may be, and in fact has been, in more than one instance, reduced to something very inconsiderable. But it is one thing to get rid of punishment by lessening the amount of faults, and another to say, that even if the faults are committed, the punishment ought not to be inflicted. Now it is folly to expect that faults will never occur; and it is very essential toward impressing on a boy's mind the natural imperfectness and subordination of his condition, that his faults and the state of his character being different from what they are in after life, so the nature of his punishment should

* Of the Journal of Education, for which Arnold was writing.

be different also, lest by any means he should unite the pride and self-importance of manhood with a boy's moral carelessness and low notions of moral responsibility.

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"The Oxford coach, sir," explained Hall.
"Hah! yes, the Regulator," said the doctor.
"And I tumbled on my face, trying to get up behind," went on East.
"You're not hurt, I hope," said the doctor.
"Oh no, sir."
"Well, now, run up stairs, all three of you, and get clean things on, and then tell the housekeeper to give you some tea. You're too young to try such long runs. Let Warner know I've seen you. Good night."
"Good night, sir." And away scuttled the three boys in high glee.—*School Days at Rugby*, pp. 168, 169.

There was one reform in the way of discipline, on which Arnold was resolved from the outset. It was the introduction, as far as possible, of the principle on which he had acted in his private instruction at Laleham, with regard to the admission and retention of pupils. How far he carried this out, in relation to the admission of boys to Rugby, is not altogether clear in his writings, or in the writings concerning him. But we are told, again and again, that he would never retain a pupil whose stay in the school he considered inadvisable for the pupil himself, or for his fellow pupils. It was not merely expulsion for serious offenses; this existed at Rugby before Arnold's time. His reform consisted in removing a boy on grounds hitherto considered objectionable, but not so much so as to permit his dismissal; what others would have done, had they been bold enough or earnest enough, Arnold did,—here was his reform. It might be a case where the interests of the boy removed, were alone considered; it being deemed desirable, simply on his own account, that he should be educated under different influences. Or it might be for the sake of the school, or of two or three in it, that some boy, whether guilty or not of great wrong doing, was dismissed, in contradiction of all precedent, before Arnold made precedents of his own. He did not pursue this system without exciting remonstrance, and more than remonstrance; but he persisted, declaring that "till a man learns that the first, second and third duty of a schoolmaster, is to get rid of unpromising subjects, a great public school will never be what it might, and what it ought to be."

It would be doing great injustice to Arnold to pass by the relations between him and his assistant teachers. One of his noblest reforms was to raise the position of the under masters from that of little better than menials to that of trusted and honored associates in instruction. He increased their salaries, exalted their services; establishing an altogether new connection between them and the boys under their charge, and giving them all the credit that they deserved, never engrossing it for himself, but rather rejoicing when it was so entirely theirs, that boys came, as he thought, to receive their instructions rather than his own. "I am more and more thankful," is

the language attributed to one of them, "every day of my life, that I came here to be under him." "I think," he wrote himself, "I have a right to look rather high for the man whom I fix upon, [for a vacant mastership,] and it is my great object to get here a society of intelligent, gentlemanly, and active men, who may permanently keep up the character of the school." Admirable as Arnold was in many respects, he was in none more admirable than in this consideration for his assistants; in none, certainly, was he more different from the great majority of principals, who, if they really regard their subordinates in any other light than that of instruments to promote their own interest, do themselves gross injustice. Simple policy ought to teach them better; simple honesty ought to open their hands and their hearts in favor of those whom they are wont so much to wrong.

With this, we close our all too rapid sketches of Arnold as the head-master of Rugby school. But our account of him as a teacher is by no means complete. Rugby was not the solitary sphere of his exertions in behalf of education. If it had been, his labors in it might have been, nay, would have been, less effective than they were; an activity like his would have been wasted rather than concentrated, by being pent up within a single channel.

It was about midway in his Rugby career that he was offered by government a fellowship in the Senate of the London University. His acceptance of the office was shortly followed by a notice of his intention to propose that the examinations for degrees should include the Scriptures. Without this, he maintained the University would have no claim to be called a Christian institution. But with it, others maintained, the charter of the University which provides for the admission of all denominations, will be violated; the institution will at once become sectarian. Arnold did not give way.

Personal Influence of Dr. Arnold.

The personal influence of Dr. Arnold over his scholars was less, perhaps, than some of his biographers would represent. Dean Stanley, in his 'Life,' admits very fairly that to many—the majority—he was but little known in his inner character, and could not therefore impress them as he did the few who were brought into more immediate connection with him. With all his great qualities, he was not always successful in winning the love of those who knew him only in his character of head master; it was, perhaps, not in the nature of the circumstances that it should have been so. He was respected, and he was feared. No doubt, in after life, the views we take of those who once had authority over us undergo, in many cases, a wholesome change; we see much in them to love and to admire, to which our selfish wills once blinded us; but the question is now of Arnold's actual personal influence over the mass of his scholars at the time, not of their estimate of him in after life. His direct appeals to the conscience of individual boys on religious matters were few: he knew, and perhaps

rather over estimated, because he so dreaded it and hated it, the danger of producing unreality. None could be more ready than he was with words of kindly counsel or hearty sympathy if it was sought, or if peculiar circumstances gave opportunity for it; and in a large school it would often be difficult, and in some cases might not be thought advisable, to do more. But it might be gathered from some expressions of Dr. Arnold's more enthusiastic eulogists that every boy in the school was of necessity brought into personal contact with him, and had the opportunity of that appeal from heart to heart which from such a man was invaluable. Whether this has ever been successfully attempted by any head master of any public school, may well be questioned; it is certainly an injustice to assume it in the case of Dr. Arnold to the implied discredit of others.

On one point of his school discipline especially, there has always been a great misapprehension in the public mind. It is not uncommon to see ascribed to him the whole system—with its evil as well as its good—of governing the school by an aristocracy of its own members, the præpostors of the Sixth form. Some unfortunate occurrences in another public school were at the time attributed openly to the importation there of 'Arnold's system' by one of his pupils. The præpostorial or monitorial form of government was no more Arnold's invention than Rugby School was. He found it existing there, certainly ever since Dr. James's accession, most probably long before. He strengthened and encouraged it; he inspired into his own Sixth form much of his own manly principle and love of truth; and he upheld, through evil report and good report, the institution of fagging, as the only possible protection in a large public school against 'the evils of anarchy, or, in other words, the lawless tyranny of physical strength.' In the same spirit, and with the same disregard of popular squeamishness, he maintained corporal punishment as a stern necessity; protesting against 'that proud notion of personal independence which is neither reasonable nor Christian,' which 'encourages a fantastic sense of the degradation of personal correction.'

Dr. Arnold's Successors.

To Dr. Arnold succeeded Archibald Campbell Tait, Tutor of Balliol College (now Bishop of London), for eight years; then Dr. Goulburn for seven and a half, when he also resigned; and in 1858 Dr. Temple, (now Bishop of Exeter), was elected. In more than one case, in these elections, the claims of Rugbeian candidates were set aside, wisely or unwisely, by the trustees. The prosperity of the school, on the whole, under the men of their choice, has been their best justification. But these governments are too modern to be critically discussed in these pages. Even '*de mortuis*,' it has been sought here to speak '*nil nisi bonum*;' and a discreet silence may well be preserved in the case of living bishops and dignitaries. Only let us not forget Rugby's *annus mirabilis* under Goulburn; when the school carried off, in 1857, nearly every open university scholarship both at Oxford and Cambridge; or that Dr. Tait raised the numbers to the highest point which had been yet reached—493; or that Dr. Temple, to his great credit, abolished the 'goal-keeping' at football, which made a cold winter half holiday a misery to many small boys who are now men. The time may come when their own pupils will speak of *their* days as the golden age of Rugby, even as the scholars of Arnold do now: all honor to the generous and scholar-like spirit which will see no failing in the old master or the old school!

EXISTING CONDITION—THE FOUNDATION.*

I. *Constitution.*—The foundation of Lawrence Sheriff originally comprised two Trustees, a Schoolmaster, and four Almsmen. There are now a Head Master, seven Assistant Classical Masters, a Mathematical Master, a Writing Master, a Drawing Master, a Librarian, five Fellows, twenty Exhibitioners, a Chaplain, an Organist, a Chapel Clerk, a Verger, and twelve Almsmen.

II. *Revenues.*—The endowment of Rugby School consists of houses and lands in Middlesex and Warwickshire; together with Three *per cent.* Consols, and Three *per cent.* Reduced Stock, the incomings from which, on an average of a late seven years, amount to 5,653*l.* 14*s.* 11*d.* Of this sum 255*l.* 3*s.* are annually expended on the twelve almsmen, who now represent the four almsmen for whom the Founder made provision.

III. *Governing Body.*—By inquisition under the Great seal, the two Trustees have been increased to twelve, who by Act of Parliament of 1777 are a self-electing body, clothed with almost unlimited powers over the property, the appointment of Masters, and the instruction and discipline of the School. Practically, the management of the School is delegated to the Head Master, and the election to Exhibitions is surrendered to Examiners from Oxford and Cambridge, who test the proficiency of candidates.

IV. *The Head Master.*—The 'Schoolmaster' of Lawrence Sheriff was to be 'a discreet and learned man, chosen to teach grammar; and, if it conveniently may be, to be a Master of Arts.' By the Act of 1777, it was made an indispensable requirement that the Head Master should be 'a Master of Arts of Oxford or Cambridge, a Protestant of the Church of England.' It was further enacted that in the choice of such Master a preference should be given to such as are duly qualified and have received their education at the School. Strange to say, though Rugby has supplied many eminent Head Masters to other Schools, not a single Rugbeian has been elected Head Master of Rugby since the passing of the Act mentioned.

The original stipend appointed by Lawrence Sheriff for the Master of his School was 12*l.* per annum. This was increased in 1653 to 40*l.*, and in 1780 to 113*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, where it now stands. But he was also allowed 3*l.* for each Foundation, but which was advanced in 1828 to six guineas, and a tuition fee of 6*l.* 6*s.* for each non-foundationer, and he is allowed to charge 73*l.* per annum for about fifty boarders. The Head Master receives for salary 113*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, 1,322*l.* 12*s.* from fees in School instruction, 1,277*l.* 10*s.* from profits of board, and 243*l.* 12*s.* from fees for entrance into School; making a total of 2,957*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.* in addition to a handsome residence, good garden, and four acres of pasture ground.

V. *Assistant Masters.*—The first provision for an Usher was made in 1653, and in 1780, there were five Assistant Classical Masters, which in 1819 had increased to nine, and in 1865 to eighteen (13 Classical, 3 Mathematical, 2 Modern Languages, exclusive of Writing Master and Dancing Master).

The Assistants derive their official income from five sources: First, the stipend of 120*l.* from the Trustees. Second, the profits of boarding-houses. Third, School instruction fees paid on behalf of each boy in the School. Fourth, private tuition fees. Fifth, extra tuition fees.

* Compiled from Report of Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Revenues and management of certain Colleges and Schools—1865.

The total emoluments of Head Master and Assistants in 1865 were:

	£	s.	d.
Head Master	2,957	0	8
Classical Assistants	13,062	5	1½
Mathematical	2,645	14	5½
Modern Language	1,521	4	3
One Additional Boarder	13	0	0
Reserve	154	0	0¾
	£20,353	4	6½

VI. *Fellows.*—By the Act of 1777, it was provided that in the case of the removal of any Usher on account of old age or infirmity, the Trustees might allow him any annual sum not exceeding 40*l.* determinable at their will and pleasure. Fifty years afterward, the Trustees were empowered by the Act of 7 George IV. c. 28, to establish endowments in the nature of Fellowships for life, or any shorter period, and to any amount not less than 100*l.* or more than 300*l.* *per annum*, for the benefit of Ushers who might have served ten years. There are at the present moment five such Fellows enjoying these endowments. These five Fellows receive, altogether, 700*l.* *per annum* from the School revenues.

VII. *Pupils, Classes, and Number.*—The School comprises two classes of pupils: Foundationers, or boys entitled to certain privileges in the way of gratuitous education; and Non-foundationers, or those who receive their board and education at fixed charges.

Of the former class, there are at present sixty-one; of the latter, about 425, or 430, who are distributed into three schools, called the Upper School, Middle School, and Lower School, in the following proportions:—187 in the Upper, 255 in the Middle, and 48 in the Lower School.

Foundationers.—No boy is eligible for admission on the Foundation whose parents have not resided at least two years in Rugby, or within ten miles of Rugby, if in the county of Warwickshire, or within five miles in any other county. The candidate must be under fifteen years of age, be able to read the English language, and fit to begin learning the elements of Latin, and he must produce a certificate of good conduct from his former Master. The privileges to which Foundationers are entitled have been increased considerably since the foundation of the School. By the Founder's 'Intent,' they have a right to instruction in German and Latin. Under the Act of 1777, they are entitled to tuition in Greek, Latin, writing, arithmetic, and the Catechism. By subsequent orders of the Trustees, passed with the sanction of the Court of Chancery, they have been gratuitously supplied with all the classical instruction given in the school classes, with the addition of class instruction in modern languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, and drawing. They are not entitled to private or extra tuition of any kind, and they stand in this respect on the same footing with other boys. The Trustees pay out of the funds of the estate 23*s.* yearly for each boy on account of fires and lights. Most of this class reside with their parents, and in social position are undistinguishable.

Non-Foundationers.—Although no provision is made in the original statutes for the admission of any pupils other than on this foundation, yet as the emoluments of the masters depend on outsiders, there is no limit to their admission except the capacity of the boarding-houses. The number of this class generally exceeds three hundred, and their payments for tuition and board constitute the main resource for the salaries of masters.

THE SCHOOL.

The School is divided into four parts: the Classical, Mathematical, Modern Languages, and Natural Philosophy Schools.

The Classical School.

The Classical School is divided into three Sub-Schools, called the Upper, Middle, and Lower Schools. Each of these again is divided into Forms, and they again are separated into divisions. In the whole School, comprising the three Schools mentioned, there is now a series of twelve such divisions. These divisions, however, do not form twelve classes, because, in some cases, the teaching of two or three divisions is undertaken by one Master, while in other cases, a single division is broken up into two classes, each of which has a Master. Two such classes are called 'Parallel Divisions.' The following table exhibits the arrangement of the School.

Upper School.
Sixth Form.
The Twenty.
The Fifth Form.
Lower Fifth. Lower Fifth.

Middle School.
1st Upper Middle. | 1st Upper Middle.
2d Upper Middle. | 2d Upper Middle.
3d Upper Middle.
Lower Middle. Lower Middle.

Lower School.
Remove.
Lower Remove.
Fourth. } One Master.
Third. }
Second. }
First. }

As a general rule, boys in two parallel classes of the same division do the same work, as they hold the same rank in the School. The parallel system—the object of which is to lessen the number of forms a boy has to pass in going through the School—was first tried by Dr. Tait. It was abandoned for some time, but was revived by his successor, Dr. Temple. 'I found,' says Dr. T., 'when we had so many Forms, one under another, two bad effects—the clever boys went up through the Forms with a system of promotion so rapidly, that no one master saw a boy of that sort for more than a quarter of a year; he never got hold of him at all, and the result was to encourage a great deal of superficial working. On the other hand, slower boys got disheartened by the sight of the terrific ladder which they had to climb—they had a sort of feeling that they would never get to the top.'

Five of the larger Forms are now subdivided, not into an Upper and Lower, but into two parallels, both doing the same work, both holding the same rank in the school, but each having its separate Master. For all purposes of promotion there are still one large Form, an equal number from each parallel being moved up at each remove into the Form next above.

Sixth Form.
The Twenty.

(*Parallels.*)	Fifth.	(*Parallels.*)
Lower Fifth.	=	Lower Fifth.
1st Upper Middle	=	1st Upper Middle.
2d Upper Middle	=	2d Upper Middle.
1st Lower Middle	=	1st Lower Middle.
2d Lower Middle	=	2d Lower Middle.

Remove.
Fourth.
Third.
Second.

All the boys learn Classics, and are taught by fourteen Masters, one of whom, however, gives a considerable portion of his time to the Mathematical School. The time spent by each boy in the class-rooms of the Classical School during the week is on the average, throughout the Upper School, somewhat more than fourteen hours; throughout the Middle School somewhat more than twelve hours; throughout the Lower School eighteen hours and a half, inclusive of the preparation which takes place in School.

The instruction comprises the Greek and Latin languages; History, including the history of the Jews, Greece, Rome, and England, and Divinity. About one hour in the week is devoted to the class-teaching in History and Geography; two hours to Divinity, except in the Sixth Form, when another hour is dedicated to this subject; and all the remaining hours to the construing, repetition, and occasional translations of the Classical languages. The rest of the Classical work, consisting of composition, is usually done out of school-hours with the assistance of the tutor.

All the tutorial work of the School is confined to nine of the Assistant Masters, of whom five are boarding-house keepers. The parents of those who board with the Head Master and the non-classical Assistant Masters have the ostensible privilege of selecting the tutor for their sons, but this freedom is again limited by the law which forbids any tutor to take more than fifty paying pupils, and by the custom of assigning particular tutors to particular boarding-houses with which they are not otherwise connected.

Although the class instruction and the so-called private tuition constitute all the classical teaching at Rugby, a boy is required or encouraged to teach himself something beyond what he acquires for the hearing of the Master or Tutor. He is expected to bring up for examination in the Classical School, at least once in the year, a subject of History and one of Geography which he has mastered by his own unassisted reading in the holidays.

The stimulants by which the boys in the Classical School are urged to exertion are, Promotions in the School, Distinctions, Prizes, Scholarships, and Exhibitions.

Mathematical School.

The arrangement of this School is partly dependent upon the arrangement of the Classical School. The four main subdivisions of the one having the same names and containing the same boys as do the corresponding portions of the other. That is to say:—

1. Sixth Form.
2. Upper School.
3. First and Second Middle Schools.
4. Third Upper Middle and Lower Middle Schools.
5. Lower School.

So far the places of the boys in the Mathematical depend upon their places in the Classical School. Each of these Schools, however, is subdivided into 'sets' which do not respectively correspond either as to the number or the order of the boys contained in them with the divisions or classes of the Classical School.

The Lower School is taught arithmetic by the Writing Master or his assistant. The four lower sets out of five in the Lower Middle School take two

hours' instruction from the Mathematical Master and two hours from the Writing Master; but on reaching the fifth and highest set of the Lower Middle School, boys pass into the hands of the Mathematical Masters exclusively. The principles of arithmetic, however, are taught by these Masters throughout the School directly in the lower sets, indirectly by means of examination papers in the higher.

Each boy in the School on the average passes three hours a week in the Mathematical Classes.

Boys desirous of cultivating Mathematics to a higher degree than their opportunities in class admit, usually take private instruction of a Tutor, who gives two hours in the week to his pupils.

Each boy's promotion in the Classical School depends upon Mathematical proficiency to the extent of twelve marks in the hundred. A separate list of the boys, according to their order in the Mathematical School, is published periodically, and has considerable effect in urging them to excel in this department; but a boy's promotion in the Mathematical is mainly dependent upon his promotion in the Classical School; for, however high in the Mathematical sets, he can not advance into a higher part of the Mathematical School, until his promotion into the corresponding part of the Classical School permits it.

Modern Language School.

The Modern Language School at Rugby is arranged upon the same principle as the Mathematical School, and consists in a series of divisions identical with those of the Classical School, each of which is again broken up into a series of sets in which boys are arranged according to proficiency. These sets, less numerous than the Mathematical, amount to nineteen, thus throwing the whole School into somewhat larger classes. The actual arrangement of the boys in the sets of this School more closely corresponds with their position in the Classical School than does their arrangement in the sets of the Mathematical School, although there is the same freedom of movement and promotion in both; a fact which indicates a greater degree of correspondence between the aptitude of boys to learn modern languages and that to learn classics, than between their aptitude for either of these studies and their aptitude for mathematics.

Natural Philosophy School.

This School was instituted in 1859 by providing a Physical Science Lecture-room and Laboratory. Boys in general are not admitted to Lectures in Natural Philosophy until they reach the Middle School. The present teacher has established this practice in the belief that boys, before the age at which they commonly reach that point in the School, are not well qualified for it. Nor are the boys in any part of the School compelled to learn it. It is, in fact, regarded as a substitute for Modern Languages, to which parents may have recourse if they think fit. This alternative, too, is encumbered with the condition that an extra fee of 6*l.* 6*s.* per annum, not required for the teaching of Modern Languages, must be paid for instruction in Physical Science. It is formally permissible, however, to study both Modern Languages and Physical Science, but the practice is discouraged, probably as being supposed to distract the mind with too many pursuits.

In analogy with the organization of the Schools of Mathematics and Modern Languages, the main divisions of the School of Natural Philosophy correspond

with those of the Classical School. The sub-schools, however, in this department are few and comprehensive, being only two in number, one of which embraces the Sixth Form and whole Upper School, the other the whole Middle School. Again, they are not subdivided into sets or classes as are the sub-schools in Mathematics and Modern Languages. Each division or sub-school is taught together in one class, in which the boys are arranged in order corresponding with their divisions or classes in the Classical School.

The instruction given in this School consists of subjects formerly comprehended under the name of Chemistry, *i.e.*, Chemistry and Electricity. Lectures, following the arrangement, and explaining the details of some approved text-book, such as 'Fownes' Chemistry,' are given twice in the week to each class. They are illustrated by experiments and diagrams, and brought home to individual boys by questions framed to test their understanding of the Lecture. Notes taken at the time of the Lecture are subsequently expanded into reports drawn up by the boys out of school, and containing sketches of the apparatus. These are shown up once in a fortnight at least, and are then corrected by the Lecturer, as a classical exercise might be by a tutor.

To boys who distinguish themselves in the Natural Philosophy branch of the Christmas Examinations, in any Form, either a first or second class is awarded; the value of which, in contributing to a prize, is equal to the same grade of honor in any other branch except that of pure Classical Scholarship.

Drawing and Music.—Any boy may learn drawing if he wish to do so. If on the Foundation, he pays nothing for the tuition; if not on the Foundation, he pays 4*l.* 4*s.* per annum. In the case of Music, the learners, whether Foundationers or not, pay 4*l.* 4*s.* per annum each.

TOTAL TIME WORK.

The time of a boy at Rugby School, thus allotted in the compulsory School-work to attendance before his teachers in each week, amounts on an average to,—

Classical.....	about 17	Including private tuition.
Mathematics.....	3	Exclusive of private tuition, which is variable.
Modern Languages....	2	
Total.....	22 hours.	

Rugby begins to stir about 6:30 in summer; that is to say, prayers begin at 7 to a second; and half an hour is not to much to dress and get into school.* In winter, first lesson is at eight; and for a month before and a month after the Christmas holidays, breakfast is taken before going into school, *i.e.*, at 7:30. This has been found not only an effectual remedy for the old excuse of 'staying out' (going on the sick list) on a cold wet morning, but a really useful sanitary precaution. Second lesson is from 9:15 to 11:15; another from 12:30 to 1:30; then comes dinner; then third lesson and fourth (with no real interval) from 2:30 to 6. This is the work for whole school days—Monday, Wednesday, and Friday; the three alternate days are nominally half-holidays, when there is no lesson after 11:15. But the only real half-holiday is the Saturday; for the Tuesdays and Thursdays are cut up by the finishing and correcting the composition for the Middle and Lower Schools—occupying from half an hour to two and a half, according to proficiency; and upon both Tuesdays and Thursdays

* There is indeed a terrible bell which begins ten minutes only before morning school, and to this last moment a sleepy lower-boy (who is not an elaborate dresser) too often defers his getting

there is a composition lesson from 12 to 1:30. These hours, however, are not all spent in school, and must be taken as indicating generally the time assumed to be employed in preparing the lessons as well as saying them. Besides these public lessons every boy has to find three hours a week out of his play time for his private tutor. Every third Monday is also a half-holiday, called 'Middle Week'—modern Rugbeians say, 'because it never was the middle of any thing.' Altogether, the school work claims about five or six hours *per diem*, on an average, from a boy below 'the Twenty;' in the higher Forms, of course, the amount varies according to individual industry.

Examinations.

The Sixth Form is annually examined in June by Examiners appointed by the Vice-Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge. The rest of the School at that time, and the whole of the School in December, are examined by the Masters, the Examinations comprehending all the subjects upon which instruction has been given.

At the June Examination, all the boys in the Upper School below the Sixth Form are examined. They have the same papers, and the answers to each paper are looked over by the same Examiner. The marks gained by each boy are added together, and are called his Examination Marks. To these are added the Marks which he has accumulated during the half year, which are called his Form Marks.

Precisely the same plan is followed in examining the Middle School. At Christmas, the Forms are examined separately as Forms. The Masters are divided into Committees of two, and each Committee examines two Forms, one high in the School, the other low. The two Modern Language Masters examine the whole School in Modern Languages. The four Mathematical Masters examine the whole School in Mathematics.

At Christmas six Honor lists are published; namely, in Divinity, Classics, History, and Geography, Mathematics, Modern Languages, and Natural Philosophy.

EXHIBITIONS, SCHOLARSHIPS, AND PRIZES.

Since 1854 there are twenty-one Exhibitions of varying value (from 40*l.* to 80*l.* a year,) tenable for four years at either University. Five Exhibitioners are

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up. The horrors of such a practice, especially on cow-fair mornings, are so vividly set forth in the following parody, that it may be well to quote it as a warning:—

THE SONG OF THE BELL.

With hair disheveled and waste,
  With eyelids heavy and red,
A fellow rises at early morn
  From his warm and cosy bed.
    Splash! splash! splash!
Through dirt and cows and mud,
  And still he hears the dismal crash,
The bell's far distant thud.

    Dress! Dress! Dress!
While I listen to the chime.
    Dress! Dress! Dress!
Four minutes to the time.
    Vest and collar and coat,
    Coat and collar and vest,
The stomach is faint, the hand is numbed,
  But we can not stay to rest.

New Rugbeian (School Magazine), vol. i. p. 85.

now regularly chosen every year to fill five Exhibitions of the several values of 80*l.*, 70*l.*, 60*l.*, 50*l.* and 40*l.*, tenable for four years, on the single condition of residing at some College or Hall in Oxford or Cambridge during that time. The examination is open to all who have been members of the School for three years. Besides the work of the half-year, candidates are required to bring up for examination some Classical author prepared entirely by themselves, and to translate into English passages of Greek and Latin not before seen, in addition to composition in the Classical languages. When the holder of an Exhibition ceases to fulfill the required conditions, the remainder of his Exhibition is offered to competition at the annual examination.

Two Scholarships, instituted by the Masters, one of 30*l.* the other of 20*l.* value, are awarded annually for pure scholarship, and are open to all boys who have not reached the Sixth Form, or who reached it only six months before the examination. Prizes for Classics, chiefly in the Sixth Form, to the total value of 53*l.* are given annually in books.

There is a Divinity Prize, value 3*l.* 3*s.* a year, founded by Dr. Robertson, for boys not placed in the Sixth Form before Midsummer; and a Prize of 4*l.* value, for knowledge of the Bible, is open to all the School below the Sixth Form. Her Majesty the Queen has founded an annual Prize of a gold medal for an English Historical Subject.

A Prize is given to any boy in every Form throughout the School who obtains a first class in the final examination at Christmas, either in Divinity, Classical Scholarship, History, or Geography; a second class also contributes to entitle its winner to a Prize, and therefore some further distinction in one of the subsidiary Schools is requisite to give full effect to this lower degree of distinction.

A Prize is given in February, by the Rev. C. B. Hutchinson, of 3*l.* 3*s.* value, for proficiency in History, which is open to the Twenty and the Fifth.

In the Mathematical School there are several Prizes of small amount, bestowed by the Mathematical Masters. Those for Modern Languages have already been mentioned.

There are also small Prizes given by the French and German Masters, for excellence in those languages; by the Master of Natural Philosophy School to the best Chemical Analyst; and a Prize by the Drawing Master, for the best Sketches from Nature, and from copies.

Monitorial System—Fagging—Punishments.

The discipline of Rugby School is largely dependent on the Sixth Form of boys, or, as they have always been called, 'Præpostors.' In School, it is their duty, in rotation, to keep order while names are called over; to call over names in their own boarding-houses at dinner, at locking up, and at evening prayers. They also read prayers in the evening, if the Master of the boarding-house is absent. They have powers to enforce obedience to all the rules of the School, to put down ill practices, as the breaking of bounds, frequenting of public-houses, turbulence, and drinking or smoking, by setting impositions to boys in all Forms below the Sixth, and by inflicting personal chastisement on any boy below the Fifth, of not more than five or six strokes of a stick or cane across the shoulders.

As the use of the fist is forbidden, they commonly carry canes when they are on duty in 'calling over,' and, on such occasions, use them even in the Master's

presence. In cases where the rarer punishment of 'licking' is resorted to, it is inflicted in private, or before the whole of the Sixth; and, for the worst sort of offenses, before the whole boarding-house; nor will any degree of age or size, on the part of the delinquent, warrant him in personally resisting the punishment. The power of a Præpostor is somewhat controlled, however, by the right of appeal to the Sixth Form and to the Head Master, which every boy possesses, and his claim to which immediately arrests the Præpostor's hand. The sixth Form, althoughly strictly charged with the superintendence of the Forms below itself, is a check also upon the members of its own body; and the same offense for which a Sixth Form boy would punish a lower boy, he would report, if committed by a colleague, to the whole Sixth Form, on which the Form, as a body, would request the Head Master to degrade or remove the offender.

Fagging.—The right to fag is limited to the Sixth Form. The three divisions next below the Sixth are exempt from being fagged, but they are not admitted to the privilege of fagging. The fixed services consist in sweeping and dusting the studies of the Sixth, attending their call at supper for half an hour, making toast, running on messages, and attending at games. At cricket a Sixth Form boy may call upon any fag to field for him, if he chooses, but this particular service is dying out. At foot-ball all fags must attend. In the 'runs,' 'hounds,' and 'brook-leaping,' they are also compelled to take part, but a medical certificate of unfitness, countersigned by the Head Master, gives exemption.

Punishments.—The punishments in use are:—

1. Solitary confinement for an hour, or two hours. Used only in the Lower School.

2. Caning on the hand. Used both in the Lower and Middle School; but in the Upper Forms of the latter very rarely.

3. Latin or Greek to be written out or translated, or learnt by heart.

4. Flogging, which is administered for serious offenses; such as lying, foul language, or persistence in any misconduct. From this punishment the Sixth Form is exempt by the rules, the Fifth by the courtesy of the School.

5. Request to the parents to remove the offender.

6. Expulsion; which is effected by the Head Master sending for the boy, and saying to him, 'You are no longer a member of the School.'

The three first of these punishments are inflicted by the Assistant Masters; the three last by the Head Master only.

Sports and Pastimes.

Contiguous to the School, is the 'School-close,' of more than thirteen acres of grass on a light soil. It is open on three sides, and contains a gymnastic ground, good racket courts, and on one side of it a cold bath of spring water, which for many years has been kept for the use of the boys.

The management of this close, and the regulation of the sports, are commonly committed to an Assembly called the 'Big-Side Levee,' consisting of all the boys in the Upper School, led by the Sixth. The games most popular at Rugby are football, cricket, and rackets. Football is played there under different rules from those of other public schools, and with extraordinary vehemence and spirit.

The author of a visit to Rugby writes: 'There are few more lively sights than the School-close on the day of one of the great matches—the "Sixth"

against the rest of the School, or the "Old" against the "Present Rugbeians." Each side plays in jerseys and flannels, with velvet caps of distinctive colors, which old Rugbeians are disposed to regard as modern vanities, but which certainly add very much to the picturesqueness of the game, and, no doubt, increase its interest in the eyes of the ladies, who, since the late Queen Dowager set the example, crowd the grounds on bright afternoons whenever a match of any special interest is to be played; sometimes, in their enthusiasm, venturing outside those mysterious posts which mark out the "line of touch," and thus occasionally getting mixed up with the combatants, to their own detriment and the general confusion.'

Boarding-Houses.

Inclusive of the School-house which forms part of the block of School buildings, and is kept by the Head Master, there are eight boarding-houses at Rugby. The Head Master's house was designed, and long used for the reception of fifty, but, by repeated additions within the last forty years has been made to contain seventy-three boys.

The remaining seven boarding-houses, all now kept by Assistant Masters, contain, on an average, forty-six boys each; the most capacious holding fifty, and the smallest forty-two boarders. Separate from his bedroom each boy has a study, which, while in the Lower or Middle School, he is liable to share with another boy, but of which he has undivided possession on entering the Upper School. Brothers are invariably put together; others are associated at the discretion of the boarding-house Master, who takes into consideration their position in the School, their age, character, and wishes in their choice of a companion. The usual size of a study is seven feet square. In these studies, which in the School-house are warmed by hot air, and in the boarding-houses by fire, boys of the Middle and Upper Schools prepare their lessons. Those below the Middle School learn them commonly in school, and in the presence of a Master. Each boy provides the furniture of his study, generally by purchasing what he finds in the room from the last occupant at a valuation, on which the boarding-house Master keeps a check.

Expenses for Tuition, Board, and Residence.

The expenses of a boy at Rugby are:

I. NECESSARY.

Charges in	Annually. £	s.	d.		Entrance. £	s.	d.
Assistant Master's Boarding-house	58	14	3	....	2	2	0
School Instruction	15	5	6	....	2	2	0
Classical Private Tuition	10	10	0	....	1	1	0
Miscellaneous Charges	5	9	0				
	90	18	9		5	5	0

II. OPTIONAL.—*Private Tuition.*

	Annually £	s.	d.		Entrance. £	s.	d.
In Mathematics	10	10	0	....	1	1	0
Modern Languages	6	6	0				
Laboratory Instruction	6	6	0				
Natural Philosophy	5	5	0				
Drawing	4	4	0				
Music	4	4	0				
Drill	4	4	0				
Dancing (variable).							

The above charges are for a resident Non-Foundationer, and are the same for a resident Foundationer, with the exception of 16*l.* 5*s.* for school instruction and about half the miscellaneous charges.

SAMUEL MOODY AND THE DUMMER SCHOOL.

MEMOIR.*

SAMUEL MOODY, whose privilege it was to inaugurate, in 1763, the Grammar School, for which William Dummer—for ten years the acting governor of the Province of Massachusetts, made provision in his will by setting apart his dwelling-house and farm, in Newbury, for this purpose—the rents and profit to be employed in erecting a school-house, and in support of a master† for ever—was born in York, in the District of Maine, in 1720.

William Moody, the immigrant ancestor, was one of the first settlers near the mouth of the Parker. Here lived his son Samuel, some of whose descendants have been distinguished. Another son, Joshua, of Portsmouth and Boston, was a christian minister of the noblest type,—a mild, unbigoted, heroic Puritan,—who resisted on the Piscataqua the tyranny of Cranfield, and who afterwards in Boston, during that reign of terror, the witchcraft delusion, did all he could to stem the torrent of superstitious frenzy. Caleb, third son of the pioneer, was a freeman and representative of Newbury, who showed his mettle in opposition to the usurpations of Andros, and was imprisoned for it. This patriot confessor was the great grandfather of Master Moody. His grandfather, Samuel Moody, was that singular man, who for half a century served and ruled the first parish of York, and who was so famous through all New England, for his exalted piety, his implicit faith, and his intense oddity. Nor was 'Faithful Moody' more of a phenomenon in those days of eccentricity and wonder, than his son Joseph, known throughout the country as 'Handkerchief Moody.' After graduation at Harvard, he settled in York—became town-clerk, Register of Deeds—County Judge—and performed every duty acceptably and well. Unfortunately for him he had an uncommon 'gift of prayer;'—his

* By Nathaniel Cleaveland, LL.D., Preceptor of the Dummer Academy from 1821 to 1840, in the Historical Discourse delivered August 12, 1864, on the completion of its First Century

† The appointment of the Master was intrusted to a Committee of five Byfield (the parish of Newbury in which the farm was situated) pew-holders, chosen annually at the regular parish meeting, and acting in conjunction with the minister of the time being. He was elected for life, and removable from incompetency and immorality by the overseers of Harvard College.

father, in consequence, over-persuaded him to go into the pulpit—and got him settled in Upper York. From that ill-judged step and ill-starred hour, his mind began to grow unsettled, and a miserable hallucination, like that which tormented the poet Cowper, took possession of his soul. From this time he seldom appeared in public, and never without that mysterious bandanna drawn before his face, from which he derived his sobriquet. This amiable monomaniac was the father of our Preceptor. This glance at the family tree shows that it was no common current that ran in his veins, and accounts, in some measure, both for what was healthy and what was morbid in his cerebral organization.

The future 'master' Moody graduated at Harvard, in 1747, and immediately took charge of the York grammar school, which he raised to a high degree of celebrity. Though this was only a public town school, its reputation was such that it attracted scholars from other places. Many who rose to usefulness and honor passed through the plastic hands of Mr. Moody, during the 16 or 17 years that he taught in York. I shall only allude to Joseph Willard, who owed to Mr. Moody the idea and the possibility of obtaining a liberal education, and who laid, under Moody's careful training, the foundations of that ability and learning, which made him the best Greek scholar of his day, and qualified him to preside over the oldest seat of learning in the country.

No document or record remains to show the terms and conditions under which Mr. Moody took the charge. Still we know very nearly what they must have been. He had the Mansion House to live in, and might turn it to profitable account by boarding some of the boys. He had also all that he could get from a large and valuable farm. He was permitted moreover to collect from his pupils a moderate tuition fee—at least such was his practice. Being unmarried, he brought hither from Newburyport, his brother Joseph, who had been more observant of the primal duty. Joseph took charge of the Mansion House,—boarded the Master—boarded the boys,—and carried on the farm. It was a very convenient arrangement. Joseph seemed to have been steward, major domo, and outside manager general. Samuel had, literally, no care beside his school. This soon filled up. For a good many years, there were from 70 to 80 boys in the school, and from 20 to 25 boarders in the Mansion House.

For nineteen years Mr. Moody literally conducted the school in every respect. The Trustees under the will did nothing, and had nothing to do. The Parish Committee was annually chosen, but

their office was little more than a sinecure;—and the overseers of the College were never called upon to consider the delicate question of senile incompetence. But, although matters thus far had worked well, it was becoming evident that they could not always go on thus. To what extent the Parish Committee could exercise the visitatorial and the supervisory power, was not made clear by the will, and had been a question of much doubt and discussion in the parish. Mr. Moody himself was getting old, and could not hold out much longer. To accomplish fully the benevolent intentions of Mr. Dummer, a good deal more was needed than he had provided for—more, perhaps, than it had been in his power to provide for. And hence the act of incorporation. The petition came from Dr. Chauncey, the only survivor of the three original Trustees.

By the act of incorporation, fifteen persons a majority, non-residents, of Byfield Parish, were elected a board of Trustees, to control the property, appoint teachers, and generally to manage the school. Mr. Moody was continued in office under the original tenure—but the name of the school was changed to Academy, and that of master to Preceptor. And in March, 1790, Mr. Moody took final leave of the school, for which his power of usefulness was gone, and survived his retirement six years. He was yet strong in body, and rode much on horseback around the country, calling on friends and former pupils; his large heart still beating with benevolent impulse, and his over-active brain full of grand, impracticable schemes for the advancement of education, and the benefit of mankind. His death, which occurred at Exeter in December 1795, was a fitting close to so remarkable a life—it came

> "With no fiery throbs of pain,
> No cold gradations of decay;"

but instantly, as he was walking the room, discoursing earnestly and volubly in Latin.

CHARACTER AND METHODS AS A TEACHER.*

A large and somewhat coarse exterior—motions which had more of vigor than of grace—that easy power of command which marks some men as if 'born to rule'—that liveliness of feeling, thought, manner, and speech, which more, perhaps, than any other quality commends manhood to boyhood—a professional zeal bordering on enthusiasm—the zeal which gives to its possessors a facility and an influence that minds more evenly balanced rarely attain—a sturdy will, persevering energy, great earnestness, and evident sincerity;—

* At the time Mr. Cleaveland drew the following sketch, but one of Master Moody's pupils was known to be living; but he had listened with "ear attent." to the narratives of many who had been his scholars and trustees, and among them, Chief Justice Parsons.

such, I conceive to have been the prominent characteristics of Master Moody, as he appeared in his best days.

I have no reason to think that his scholarship extended over a wide range of subjects. To mathematics and natural science, to common arithmetic, even, he made no pretension, and these branches, when taught here, were never taught by him. He read the French language with ease and accuracy, so far as the sense was concerned, though it may be doubted whether his pronunciation conformed to Parisian usage. It was in Latin and Greek—especially the former—that his strength as a scholar and teacher mainly lay. To these he gave his undivided attention and his whole soul. He was no Bentley, or Porson, or Heyne. He never wrote, I am confident, a sentence of verbal criticism, or a line of classical annotation. There is no reason to suppose that he had read many of the ancient authors—still less that he was in the habit of gratifying a cultivated taste by excursions in the flowery fields of Greek and Roman literature. To fit his boys for College and to fit them well, was his ambition and pride, and though a majority of his pupils stopped short of the collegiate course, still he believed, that even for them there was no other discipline of equal value. His acquaintance with the text-books necessary to this end was minute, thorough and remarkably exact. Within those limits he was always and every where at home. So far, at least, no question of interpretation, of syntax, or of prosody, ever found him unprepared. These habits of accuracy, of readiness, and of freshness, he kept up by constant exercise and unremitted application. One fact—incredible as it seems—I had from authentic sources. He was in the habit of studying the French and Latin dictionaries, in regular course from A to Z.

The promptness and the exactness for which he was so remarkable, were the qualities which he required in his pupils, and which he labored, not in vain, to create. Of his peculiar methods and appliances, a few only are remembered. His views of order in a school-room differed from those which usually prevail. Silence, there, he thought, was more distracting than noise. Accordingly, he not only permitted, but encouraged his scholars to study audibly. The buzz of sixty or seventy boys loudly conning their various tasks, not only filled the room, but could be heard at some distance from the house. New comers unused to the practice were disturbed at first, but soon fell in with the current, and liked it well. This confused murmur made the recitation of classes and remarks of teachers inaudible to the rest, and thus favored abstraction and at-

tention. But surely under the cover of such a hubbub, there must have been a deal of talk and play among the boys. This was my thought when I heard the story, and it may be yours. But I mistook. So quick was the master's ear, that, no matter how intently occupied himself, he seldom failed to detect the unlawful tone—the surreptitious interlude—while his equally quick eye and hand soon arrested the unlucky offender.

I have no reason to think that his discipline was uniform or always judicious. Wayward and impulsive, he sometimes failed to control himself. But youth can appreciate, and not unwillingly forgives, even the passionate outbreaks of an honest, kindly, whole-souled instructor. For the indolent and vicious he had a large and diversified list of penalties, some of which were amusing to the lookers-on, if not always to the culprits. He would sometimes relax the reins of authority, allowing his scholars to close their books, while he told some diverting story—after which there would be a saturnalian license of the tongue,—the master himself, transformed for the moment into a laughing, rollicking boy. And then, a single tap of his finger—a glance from his 'altered eye,' would quell the uproar, and put order, duty, reverence, again upon the throne.

Though he lived long before the days of gymnastic apparatus and instruction, he looked carefully after the amusements, the health, and the safety of his boys. In the matter of bathing, his regulations were strict and peculiar. The time and the place were fixed by him. The state of the tide was carefully observed, and if the favorable moment happened to come in the midst of school hours, he suspended work for awhile, and sent the boys to bathe—so important in his view was the salubrious immersion. For greater safety he divided the school into two bands. The smaller lads and mere novices in swimming went by themselves to the Little River—a comparatively shallow stream—while all who could be trusted in deeper water ran off in the opposite direction and plunged into the broader estuary.

We have it on abundant testimony that with the exception of his closing years at Byfield, his entire career as an instructor was preëminently successful. He could not, indeed, transmute lead to gold, nor was he so foolish as to attempt it. But he well knew how to mold and make the most of his intellectual material which came into his hand. The test of the ability is found in the unusually large proportion of his pupils who rose to distinction and usefulness in all the walks of life. The vivid, the ineffaceable impression which he made on every mind that came under his direc-

tion,—evinced as it was by lifelong expressions of admiration and gratitude,—is an evidence of worth, that nothing can impeach.

He had certain qualities of intellect, heart, and temperament, which made it comparatively easy for him to curb or to stimulate the youthful mind. His knowledge, if not very extensive, was positive, precise, and at his fingers' ends. During his first twenty years as master of Dummer School, he *was* master to all intents and purposes. Uncontrolled by outside directors, he devised his own modes of procedure, and carried them into effect without help and without interference. No mistaken notions of parents or of trustees compelled him to promise—much less to undertake—the absurd task of carrying young boys through the whole circle of the sciences. He had the good sense to see that in the earlier stages of education—if not, indeed, in every stage—manner and quality are infinitely more important that variety and quantity. Fortunately he was in a position to give practical efficiency to his theoretic convictions. At that age when by the happy constitution of our nature, words are most readily caught and most tenaciously retained; when the memory is in advance of the judgment, and when linguistic acquisitions are easier and more agreeable than ever afterward, he set his boys to studying Latin. He knew that the thorough prosecution of one solid study, could not fail to prepare the pupil for successful application in all other departments of learning. It was all-important that he should begin right. I have heard many an ingenious and able argument in favor of classical learning, and have listened to those who, in their advocacy of what they were pleased to call a practical education, denounce as wasted time and worse than useless, all attention to the ancient languages, on the part of boys not destined to some learned profession. But to my mind, one such example and illustration as that we are now considering, goes far towards settling the question. Master Moody's boys came to this school from every class in society, and every condition in life, and with the usual variety of disposition and of talent. After a few years of judicious, careful, thorough training, chiefly in the Latin language, they left for the farm, the sea, the counting room, or the professions, with or without the College course. Of these men, an unusual proportion were successful in life, and not a few became distinguished. They carried away from this spot, not, indeed, a large stock of acquired knowledge—but what was incomparably more valuable—minds so formed to habits of independent thought and of careful, exact, thorough learning, as made all subsequent acquisition comparatively easy and certain.

During the earlier period of my residence here, I was honored one day with a call from that truly great man, Jeremiah Mason. The conversation soon turned upon Master Moody,—his peculiar methods and wonderful power as an educator of boys. Many questions were put to me—more, I am sure, than I could satisfactorily answer. Mr. Mason told me that he had known several of the able and eminent men, who had been trained here, and that he had often heard them talk in glowing and grateful terms of their eccentric but admirable instructor. He instanced, especially, Mr. Rufus King, with whom he had served as Senator in Washington, as one from whose lips he had repeatedly heard the praises of Master Moody. Whatever were his merits or his peculiarities, added Mr. Mason, the teacher, whom such men as Parsons and King so esteemed and so remembered, must have had abilities and excellence of no ordinary character.

If, wondering at the great and long enduring influence, which he exerted over his pupils, you should ask me in the words of Lovell Edgeworth—

'How did he rule them—by what arts?'

Edgeworth should give the answer:

"He knew the way to touch their hearts."

There was no lesson which he urged more frequently or more successfully on his boys, than that of resolute confidence in their own abilities. *Crede quod possis et potes*, was the cheery, soul-strengthening maxim which he had constantly on his lips, and which no pupil of his ever forgot.* Imbued himself with the noblest views of life and duty, punctual, upright, conscientious and benevolent—and, more than all, a christian, humble and sincere;—his best endeavors, aims, and influence were of the moral kind. Without this, those pupils would never have turned out the men they were.

I can allude—and only allude to a few of the most prominent names in the roll of Master Moody's pupils. I have already mentioned Theophilus Parsons and Rufus King. They stand indeed at the head of the list—the men of whom Moody was with reason most proud. Yet how unlike:—the latter, able, showy, ambitious—powerful in the Senate—skillful in diplomacy—and as much at his ease in the drawing-rooms of Princes, as when he was playing with his comrades on this school-green—plunging foremost of the divers from Thurlow's Bridge—or sitting and chatting at old Deacon

* Judge Parsons often quoted this maxim of Master Moody, and impressed it on his young friends with the assurance that its observance had much to do with his own success in life. Judge Parsons taught the Town Grammar School at Falmouth (now city of Portland), for three years, from June 1770 to Sept. 8, 1773, receiving from the town £5. 6s. 8d. ($17.97) per month, and from 2 to 6s. of each pupil per term.

Hale's long table. Parsons, with a power of intellect and stores of knowledge which made him appear like a colossus among pigmies, yet seemingly unconscious of it all—looking with contempt on popular favor, and indifferent even to fame—sternly just—implicitly obedient to the voice of duty—and wholly unconcerned as to the color, quality, and condition of his wardrobe.

Mr. King left Byfield for college in 1774, and removed from Newburyport to New York in 1788. Some twenty years after this, a handsome coach drawn by four fine horses was seen to stop in the road opposite Deacon Hale's,—a portly gentleman followed by two or three young ladies sprang from the vehicle, came quickly to the house, the door of which stood open—went directly up stairs, and somewhere on the wood, or on the lead, pointed to the name 'Rufus King,' cut there by his own hand nearly forty years before.

The pronunciation of Latin words according to the rules of quantity was one of the points which Moody enforced with great strictness. Sometimes, in later years, when Parsons was on the Bench, and some lawyer misplaced the accent in his Latin quotation, the Judge would lean forward and whisper to the Reporter 'This brother of ours did not learn his Latin under Master Moody.'

Professor Pearson, Webber, and Smith, were all of them natives of Byfield. In their efforts for an education, the advent and presence of Dummer School was undoubtedly the moving cause. For what those eminent men achieved in behalf of good learning, at Andover, in Cambridge, and at Hanover, how much was due to their incomparable instructor here!

The distinguished lawyer William Prescott and Chief Justice Samuel Sewell were fitted for College here; so also were Judge Samuel Tenney of Exeter, and Nathaniel Gorham.

From a host of other men who rose to distinction in civil and political life, I take only the name of Samuel Phillips of Andover:—not for the positions of trust and honor which he held with so much credit to himself and advantage to the community,—but for his agency in establishing those two noble institutions, Phillips (Exeter) and Phillips (Andover) Academies. The funds came, indeed, from his father and his uncle—but it was wealth which would have descended to himself. He not only consented to the investment, but advised and urged it—an example of disinterestedness which has seldom been equaled in our selfish world. We rejoice in the prosperity of these great schools. But, is it certain that they owe nothing:—is it certain that they do not owe every thing to Gov. Dummer and Master Moody?

MASTER TISDALE AND THE LEBANON SCHOOL.

THE SCHOOL.

THE LEBANON SCHOOL, which was the *schola illustris* of eastern Connecticut under Master Tisdale, from 1749 to 1787, was a private enterprise of twelve citizens of Lebanon, of whom Jonathan Trumbull, the Revolutionary Governor, the 'Brother Jonathan' of Washington's heart, was one, who in 1743, combined to secure better advantages for their children than the common school or transient teachers could give. By the articles of agreement, it was started 'for the education of our own children and such others as we shall agree with. A Latin scholar is to be computed at 35*s.* old tenor, for each quarter, and a reading scholar at 30*s.* for each quarter—each one to pay according to the number of children that he sends, and the learning they are improved upon—whether the learned tongues, reading and history, or reading and English only.' In this school were educated the four sons and the two daughters of Jonathan Trumbull,—the former, with Elisha Ticknor, Zebulon Ely, Joseph Lyman, Jeremiah Mason, and many others, who became eminent in professional and public life, were here fitted for Dartmouth, Harvard, and Yale College.

THE MASTER.

NATHAN TISDALE for thirty years, from 1749 to 1787, the great classical teacher of Lebanon, was born in the town where he achieved his reputation, in 1731, and received his first degree in arts from Harvard College, in July, 1749, and in the same year began his career as a teacher. Of his methods of instruction and discipline we have no information beyond local traditions, and reminiscences of his pupils, examples of which we give below. The inscription on his tomb, as given by Stuart in his life of Jonathan Trumbull, reads as follows:

"READER, as thou passest, drop a tear to the memory of the once eminent instructor, Nathan Tisdale, a lover of science. He marked the road to useful knowledge. A friend to his country, he inspired the flame of patriotism. Having devoted his whole life, from the 18th year of his age, to the duties of his profession, which he followed with distinguished usefulness in society, he died, Jan. 5, 1787, in the 56th year of his age."

Reminiscences of Pupils,—Col. John Trumbull.

Col. John Trumbull, the painter, was a pupil of Mr. Tisdale, and in his autobiography printed in 1841, thus writes of the school, and incidentally of the education of that period.

My native place [*b.* June 6, 1756), Lebanon, was long celebrated for having the best school in New England, (unless that of Master Moody in Newburyport, might, in the opinion of some, have the precedence). It was kept by Nathan Tisdale, a native of the place, from the time when he graduated at Harvard to the day of his death, a period of more than thirty years, with an assiduity and fidelity of the most exalted character, and became so widely known that he had scholars from the West India Islands, Georgia, North and South Carolina, as well as from the New England and northern colonies. With this exemplary man and excellent scholar, I soon became a favorite. My father was his particular friend; and my early sufferings, as well as my subsequent docility, endeared me to him. The school was distant from my father's house not more than three minute's walk, across a beautiful green, so that I was constant in my attendance; besides which, it was an excellent rule of the school to have no vacations, in the long idleness and dissipation of which the labors of preceding months might be half forgotten. Whether my mind, which had so long been repressed by disease, sprang forward with increased energy so soon as the pressure upon the brain was removed, I know not; but I soon displayed a singular facility in acquiring knowledge, particularly of languages, so that I could read Greek at six years old, at which age I remember to have had a contest with a boy several years my senior, the late Rev. Joseph Lyman, pastor of Hatfield in Massachusetts. We read the five first verses of the Gospel of St. John; I missed not a word—he missed one, and I gained the victory. I do not mean to say that, at this time, I possessed much more knowledge of the Greek language, than might be taught to a parrot; but I knew the forms of the letters, the words, and their sounds, and could read them accurately, although my knowledge of their meaning was very imperfect.

My taste for drawing began to dawn early. It is common to talk of natural genius; but I am disposed to doubt the existence of such a principle in the human mind; at least, in my own case, I can clearly trace it to mere imitation. My two sisters, Faith and Mary, had completed their education at an excellent school in Boston, where they both had been taught embroidery; and the eldest, Faith, had acquired some knowledge of drawing, and had even painted in oil, two heads and a landscape. These wonders were hung in my mother's parlor, and were among the first objects that caught my infant eye. I endeavored to imitate them, and for several years the nicely sanded floors, (for carpets were then unknown in Lebanon), were constantly scrawled with my rude attempts at drawing.

About the same time music first caught my attention. I heard a Jews-harp, delicious sound! which no time can drive from my enchanted memory! I have since been present at a commemoration of Handel, in Westminster Abbey, and have often listened with rapture to the celestial warblings of Catalini—I have heard the finest music of the age in London and in Paris—but nothing can obliterate the magic charm of that Jews-harp, and even at this late moment, its sweet vibrations seem to tingle on my ear.

My father's mercantile failure when I was nine or ten years old, conspired with my bodily weaknesses to nourish feelings and habits of retiracy and study. I became silent, diffident, bashful, awkward in society, and took refuge in still closer application to my books and my drawing. The want of pocket-money prevented me from joining my young companions in any of those little expensive frolics which often lead to future dissipation, and thus became a blessing; and my good master Tisdale had the wisdom so to vary my studies, as to render them rather a pleasure than a task. Thus I went forward, without interruption, and at the age of twelve might have been admitted to enter college; for I had then read Eutropius, Cornelius Nepos, Virgil, Cicero, Horace and Juvenal, in Latin; the Greek Testament and Homer's Iliad in Greek, and was thoroughly versed in geography, ancient and modern, in studying which I had the

advantage (then rare) of a twenty inch globe. I had also read with care Rollin's History of Ancient Nations, also his history of the Roman republic, Mr. Crevier's continuation of the History of the Emperors, and Rollin's Arts and Sciences of the Ancient Nations. In arithmetic alone I met an awful stumbling-block. I became puzzled by a sum in division, where the divisor consisted of three figures—I could not comprehend the rule for ascertaining how many times it was contained in the dividend; my mind seemed to come to a dead stand—my master would not assist me, and forbade the boys to do it, so that I well recollect the question stood on my slate unsolved nearly three months, to my extreme mortification. At length the solution seemed to flash upon my mind at once, and I went forward without further let or hindrance, through the ordinary course of fractions, vulgar and decimal, surveying, trigonometry, geometry, navigation, &c. &c., so that when I had reached the age of fifteen and a half years, it was stated by my good master that he could teach me little more, and that I was fully qualified to enter Harvard College in the middle of the third or Junior year.

In the meantime my fondness for painting had grown with my growth, and in reading of the arts of antiquity I had become familiar with the names of Phidias and Praxiteles, of Zeuxis and Apelles. These names had come down through a series of more than two thousand years, with a celebrity and applause which accompanied few of those who had been devoted to the more noisy and turbulent scenes of politics or war. The tranquillity of the arts seemed better suited to me than the more bustling scenes of life, and I ventured to remonstrate with my father, stating to him that the expense of a college education would be inconvenient to him, and after it was finished I should still have to study some profession by which to procure a living; whereas, if he would place me under the instruction of Mr. Copley (then living in Boston, and whose reputation as an artist was deservedly high), the expense would probably not exceed that of a college education, and that at the end of my time I should possess a profession, and the means of supporting myself—perhaps of assisting the family, at least my sisters. This arrangement seemed to me not bad; but my father had not the same veneration for the fine arts that I had, and hoped to see me a distinguished member of one of the learned professions, divinity in preference. I was overruled, and in January, 1772, was sent to Cambridge, under the care of my brother, who in passing through Boston indulged me by taking me to see the works of Mr. Copley. His house was on the Common, where Mr. Sears's elegant granite *palazzo* now stands. A mutual friend of Mr. Copley and my brother, Mr. James Lovell, went with us to introduce us. We found Mr. Copley dressed to receive a party of friends at dinner. I remember his dress and appearance—an elegant looking man, dressed in a fine maroon cloth, with gilt buttons—this was dazzling to my unpracticed eye!—but his paintings, the first I had ever seen deserving the name, riveted, absorbed my attention, and renewed all my desire to enter upon such a pursuit. But my destiny was fixed, and the next day I went to Cambridge, passed my examination in form, and was readily admitted to the Junior class, who were then in the middle of the third year, so that I had only to remain one year and a half in college. My first anxiety was to know the actual studies and recitations of my class, and I soon found that I had no superior in Latin—that in Greek there were only two whom I had to fear as competitors, Mr. Pearson, who afterward became the professor of oriental languages, and Mr Theodore Parsons, brother of the late eminent judge, who died a few years after we graduated. This advanced state of my acquirements rendered unnecessary any exertion of study to maintain my footing with my class, and I was in no small danger of dropping into a course of idleness and vanity, and thence perhaps into low company and base pursuits, when I fortunately learned that a French family, who had been removed with the other inhabitants of Acadie, by the political prudence of England, poor but respectable, were living in Cambridge, and had in some instances taught the French language. I went immediately to Père Robichaud, as the worthy man was called, and was admitted as a scholar. This family, besides the parents, comprised several children of both sexes, some about my own age; in such society I made good progress, and there laid the foundation of a knowledge of the French language, which in after life was of eminent utility.

The principal college studies to which I paid much attention were moral and natural philosophy. Dr. Winthrop was professor of the latter, and to his lectures I listened with great attention and pleasure. Electricity was of very recent discovery, and was a source of great admiration and delight Chemistry as yet was unknown as a science, and formed no part of our studies.

Not long after my return to Lebanon a letter came by the post, and was first put into the hands of my father. He brought it to me, and said, 'John, here is a letter which I can not read; I suppose it must be for you; what language is it?' 'Oh yes, sir, it is from my friend Robichaud—it is French, sir.' 'What, do you understand French? How did you learn it? I did not know that it was taught in college.' 'It is not, sir, but I learned it in this gentleman's family.' 'And how did you pay the expense? You never asked me for extra allowance.' 'No, sir; I paid this out of my pocket-money.'

In the autumn of this year, 1773, my excellent friend, Master Tisdale, had a stroke of paralysis, which disabled him entirely from performing his duties. He earnestly solicited me to take charge of his school until the event of his illness should be known; with the approbation of my father I did so, and during the winter had under my care seventy or eighty scholars, from children just lisping their A, B, C, to young men preparing for college, among whom were some my seniors. It was an arduous task, but a very useful one. In the spring, Mr. Tisdale recovered so far as to be able to resume his invaluable labors.

In the summer of 1774, the angry discussions between Great Britain and her colonies began to assume a serious tone.*** I sought for military information; acquired what knowledge I could, soon formed a small company from among the young men of the school and the village, taught them, or more properly we taught each other, to use the musket and to march, and military exercises and studies became the favorite occupation of the day.

Of these youthful companions, several became valuable officers in the war which soon followed. Two brothers, my very particular friends and companions, Judah and Roger Alden, distinguished themselves. Judah commanded a company with which, in 1777, he covered the retreat of a reconnoitering column in West Chester country, and was killed in the defense of a bridge over the Bronx. Roger rose to the rank of major.

Young Trumbull owed his rapid promotion from adjutant and a member of the military family of General Spencer, to second aid-de-camp of the commander in chief, General Washington, to his success in drawing a plan of the enemy's works on Boston neck.

Elisha Ticknor, the originator of the grade of Primary Schools in the system of public instruction in Boston, was born in Lebanon, in 1757, and was educated by Master Tisdale. His father removed to New Hampshire in 1774, and the son graduated at Dartmouth in 1783. For the next two years he taught the Moor's Charity School, and after a short service at Pittsfield, Mass., became master of the Grammar School at the South End, in Boston. In 1795, he went into business, as a grocer, from which he retired in 1812, with a moderate property and simple tastes, taking an active interest in education and town affairs, generally—calling attention to institutions of public as well as of individual interest—the establishment of the Mutual Fire Insurance Company, and the Boston Savings Bank. As early as 1805, he called public attention to the operation of the School Regulations, by which the grammar schools were closed to children under seven years of age, and to all who could not read; and proposed a new grade of schools for all children below that age, so that poor and ignorant parents, who could not or would not avail themselves of the private dame schools, could be prepared to enter the recognized public schools. The measure was not adopted till June, 1818, when eighteen Primary Schools were established.

Autobiography—School Life.

JEREMIAH MASON, one of the finest productions of the family and local surroundings, and as well as of the school of Lebanon, was born, April 27, 1768, in that part of the town of Lebanon, then known as the parish of Goshen. He was seven years old when the tidings of the fight of Lexington was brought to his neighborhood by a horseman, on his telegraphic mission through the Eastern portion of Connecticut. His autobiography adds:—

My father lived in a retired situation with no near neighbors and suffered much inconvenience and loss from want of schoolhouse and teacher. When a school was kept, it was in a room in some private dwelling. Till after the age of fourteen, I attended only three winters, and not longer than three months each winter; and intructors and pupils were of only ordinary attainments. Considerable pains were taken in the family to indoctrinate children in the rudiments of reading, spelling, and writing, by having the older instruct the younger. Most, if not all, the children were sent from home, for short periods to better schools; by this means, the older children became, in some degree, competent to instruct the younger. No set times for study and instruction were fixed on, but the instruction was given when it might happen to be convenient, and of course, was of little value. My mother was careful to have us well drilled in the Westminster Catechism, which was faithfully committed to memory, and Mr. Stowe, our parish minister, came regularly once a year, and examined us.

As soon as I had sufficent strength, I was kept industriously at work on the farm, like other farmer's boys, until I had lived or dreamed my way through my fourteenth year. I had no special liking for hard work, and often importuned my father to let me go off to school. He always replied that he intended I should go, and that I should go soon. My elder brother, James Fitch, at the urgent request of my mother's father, whose name he bore, had been sent to school with intent that he should prepare for college, but on attempting the study of the dead languages, he took a strong dislike to it and abandoned it. At length my father, tired with my reiterated importunity, which was always enforced by the advice of my mother, consented that I should go to school; accordingly, late in the fall of 1782, my father applied to Master Tisdale, to receive me in his school in the old parish of Lebanon, about six miles from our house, which I entered. I boarded with my sister Mrs Fitch, who lived near a mile from the school, but that was considered to be no objection, and it truly was not. Most scholars live at greater distances.

Master Tisdale's School.

Master Tisdale's school had acquired great celebrity, and was attended by scholars from a distance. He graduated at Cambridge, was a good scholar, and had kept the school, I believe, for forty years, and had become quite aged, and was probably less efficient, than he had been. He was, however, still a very competent instructor and worthy man, and I have always retained a grateful regard for his memory. The schoolhouse was a capacious brick building, planned and erected under the auspices of the elder Governor Trumbull, and furnished excellent accommodations.

I was very backward for my age, in all school learning. I read poorly and spelt worse; my hand-writing was bad, and in arithmetic, I knew very little. I have always regretted the loss of the time spent at work on the farm at home. Had I been placed at school six or eight years earlier, it would probably have been of advantage to me. I was aware of my deficiency and went to studying with good resolution and diligence. In the course of a few months, I commenced the study of Latin, and soon after, that of the Greek language. In less than two years, I was declared by Master Tisdale, fitted for college.

[Mr. Mason entered Yale College, in 1785, and his *Autobiography* gives the following reminiscences of his student life.]

LEICESTER ACADEMY PRIOR TO 1800.

LEICESTER ACADEMY was founded mainly through the efforts of Col. Ebenezer Crafts, of Sturbridge, who applied to the General Court, in 1783, for an Act incorporating himself and fifteen others, representing seven towns in the county of Worcester, 'for the purpose of establishing at Leicester, an academy like that at Andover,' 'whereby advantages may arise, not only to individuals, but to the public in general, in the education of youth.' In March, 1784, the trustees were incorporated 'for the purposes of promoting true piety and virtue, and for the education of youth in the English, Latin, Greek, and French languages, together with writing, arithmetic, and the art of speaking; also, practical geometry, logic, philosophy, and geography, with such other liberal arts and sciences as opportunity may hereafter permit.' The following paragraphs from Gov. Washburn's History of the Leicester Institution exhibits the internal economy of our New England Academies.

Student Life—Subjects, Methods, and Aids of Instruction.

INSTRUCTION in Leicester Academy began June 7, 1784—the first meeting of the Trustees for organizing, having been held on the 7th of April, previous, after public exercises in the church, and an 'elegant repast'—as is the worst of corporate bodies in these latter days. After electing officers, two committees were appointed—'one to procure a teacher who could instruct in the Latin and Greek languages, geography, logic &c., and the other, the English language, writing, arithmetic, public speaking &c.' The building was erected by Mr. Aaron Lopez, who removed to Leicester with several families of Jews from Newport, on the breaking out of the war. In 1782, the buildings were sold at auction, and purchased by Col. Crafts 'for an Academy by which the education of youth may be promoted for the advancement of individuals and of the public in general.' The south-west 'parlor,' in the academy building, was appropriated to the Latin department of the school; and the south-east parlor, for the English department; while the intermediate rooms, upon the front of the building, was reserved as common for both schools for declamations, and occasions when the pupils of both schools were to assemble, and it served, at the same time, the purposes of a 'Commons Hall.'*

The south-west chamber was appropriated to the use of the preceptor, while the other parts of the building were set apart for the use of the steward, and as lodging rooms for such students as should take their board in 'commons.'

Benjamin Stone was employed, under this arrangement, as principal preceptor, at a salary of £50, he being at the expense of his own support; and the school was opened, under his charge and tuition, on Monday, June, 1784. Mr. Stone was a native of Shrewsbury, where he died in 1832. He graduated at Harvard, in 1776. After a short engagement at Leicester, he became a preceptor of the academy at Westford.

No preceptor of the English department was employed until the succeeding autumn, when Thomas Payson was appointed, and entered upon its duties.

The school commenced with three pupils, two from Sturbridge, and one from Leicester. Soon after, Eli Whitney, of Westboro', whose name has been so widely known as the inventor of the cotton gin, joined the school, and the number of students, during the summer after the academy was opened, in-

* One of the early preceptors in the English department, writes in 1853: "I boarded in commons, assisted in carving and distribution, and never ate a meal of victuals in calm, leisurely and undisturbed manner. I taught and lived in the old, rickety, inconvenient, Jewish house. We had an old-fashioned box stove, no dry wood, all green and wet; teachers and students were inflated and annoyed all day with steam and smoke,—old crowded seats—what would young persons now think, were they thus used!"

creased to about twenty. Upon the opening of the autumn term, with two preceptors, the number rose to between seventy and eighty.

The names of the three who constituted the entire school at its opening, were Samuel C. Crafts, Ephraim Allen, and Samuel Swan.

The subject of instruction prior to 1800 were such as were required for entering Harvard College, and admission then did not include a knowledge of arithmetic or geography. The preliminary examination by the preceptor, teacher of English, and the Vice-President, could only have touched on the first rudiments. Dr. Jackson, the eminent physician of Boston, who was English teacher in 1796, writes: 'the studies were not of the most elevated character. I believe that all my pupils had learned the English alphabet before I saw them. I taught spelling, reading, writing, English grammar, and arithmetic, and perhaps, to a few of the pupils, some of the higher branches.'

In a public notice of the Academy, for the 4th of July, 1785, 'it being the day of the annual meeting of the Trustees of the Academy in Leicester, the youth of that seminary entertained a large and respectable audience with specimens of their literary improvements.'

One of the Trustees (Hon. A. Bigelow), writes in 1851: 'while a member of the academy, which must have been about 1790, he took part in the dramatic performances on occasion of one of these exhibitions, which occupied the entire day and evening, and in which pupils of both sexes took parts. And among the dramas acted on the occasion, was Addison's Cato, entire.

Dr. Pierce, who came there in 1793, describes one of these exhibitions. 'Plays were acted in the meeting-house, which was crowded to its full capacity. Scenery was constructed. On one of these days, I distinctly recollect a play excited great attention, entitled the 'Scolding Wife,' all parts of which were well sustained, but the heroine of which acted her part to universal admiration. At that time, a Congregational minister in this county played behind the scene, on a viol, the bass of a song in the 'Scolding Wife,' which was a component part of the play.'

In 1795, a committee of the Trustees recommended that the exhibitions aforesaid, in future, consist of Greek, Latin and English orations, forensic disputations, dialogues upon historical, scientific, sentimental, or moral subjects, and specimens of reading in the English language, or such of the above as may comport with the proficiency of the pupils in literature, and a reasonable length of time for the performances.'

The school appears to have been destitute of any thing in the way of 'apparatus' till 1798, when measures were taken by the trustees to purchase a 'set of globes,' a 'prospect glass,' and a 'microscope,' and to ascertain the expense of a telescope.

Soon after, in the same year, a committee were authorized 'to purchase an electrical machine, a thermometer, and a set of surveying instruments.

The earliest geography of which I have any account, as used in school, was 'Morse's,' what was called 'Abridgment;' and that was studied and recited *memoriter* without the aid of maps. This mode of teaching geography was in use as late as 1810 and '11, up to which time I have great doubt if an atlas, or collections of maps, had ever been seen in the academy.

About the year 1813, Chemistry began to be studied a little, and recitations were had from the 'Conversations,' the only text-book for schools then accessible. But no experiments or illustrations were had, except, perhaps, showing how the flame of a taper would be extinguished by burning it under a tumbler inverted over a cup of water. In 1815, the subject of making this a regular study in the academy, was first considered by the trustees.

The text-books used in the Latin department prior to 1800 were, Latin Grammar, Corderius, Erasmus, Eutropius, Cicero's Orations, Virgil, and a Treatise on 'Making Latin,' Greek Grammar, and Testament. From 1810 to 1815, the following were used: In Latin, were Adam's Grammar, Æsop's Fables, Eutropius, Virgil, and Cicero's Select Orations; in Greek, Gloucester Grammar, Græca Minora, Greek Testament, and portions of Græca Majora, Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary, and Schreveli's Greek Lexicon, with Latin definitions, were the dictionaries in use.

From the commencement of the school the pupils consisted of both sexes—

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the female pupils pursuing the studies of the English department. It was not till after 1830 that any considerable number engaged in the study of the languages. The trustees found it difficult to make the system of the academy popular for girls. The prevailing sentiment in the public mind seemed to be in favor of schools where 'accomplishments' and the 'polite branches' should hold a more prominent place in the female education. Many were the boarding schools which flourished for a while, under the influence of this sentiment, and many were the 'wrought samplers' and 'painted mourning-pieces' which were hung up in the parlors of our good citizens, as a kind of certificate that their daughters had shared in the benefits of one of those schools that once obtained a hold upon the public mind, where the acquisition of the 'solid' branches of learning was mingled with most of the 'fine' and 'polite arts,' and the whole accomplished in an incredibly short period.

The custom of the female pupils to take part in the exercise of declamation was discontinued within a few years after the establishment of the school.

The attendance of the pupils upon morning and evening devotions in the academy, and the public religious exercises upon the Sabbath, and days of public fast and thanksgiving, have been uniformly required.*

By the original system of organizing the schools, the principal preceptor was understood to be charged with the general management and direction of the institution, although I can find few, if any, instances, where the Latin preceptor had occasion to interfere with the discipline of the English department. Dr. Jackson incidentally remarks that, while he was connected with the academy, 'the schools were conducted quite independently of each other. I believe Mr. Adams never entered my room, and that I never entered his.' 'He gave me his advice very kindly, but I believe that he had no right to control me; certainly he never did.'

In order, however, to remove all questions of conflict of jurisdiction, the subject was acted upon by the trustees in 1821, when it was expressly declared by them, that it was the duty of the principal preceptor to superintend the government of the English, as well as the Latin, school; to arrange, direct and regulate the studies of the English students; to acquaint himself with their proficiency, by occasional examinations; and, in common with the assistant, to watch over their moral and general deportment.

The assistant had authority, concurrent with the principal, to preserve order in the English school when under his immediate care, and to inflict such punishments, when necessary, as are consistent with the usages and laws of the academy.

Except with masters fresh from 'the old country,' and who at home were hard specimens of a bad class of teachers, American school discipline, as a general rule, was never characterized by hard and cruel severity; and yet our older schools are not without their traditions of outrageous, grotesque, and laughable punishments, both in respect to instruments, and their applications. The names of some 'flagellators' have passed into the keeping of American literature. The sway of rod, birch, and ferule has been known in our colleges, and has not yet been surperseded by judicious classification of pupils, a wise distribution of studies, and the frequent resort to timely recreation and physical exercise. Although there are instances of sharp, severe, and even cruel treatment by female teachers, the employment of refined and well educated young women as principals and assistants in our public schools has had a marked influence in ameliorating discipline The more direct responsibility of teachers, for their appointment and continuance in office, to parents and the public, made up largely of the parents of pupils, has always proved a check on the abuse of the authority necessarily lodged with the master.

* From the erection of the meeting-house till an organ was obtained, about 1826, the students occupied the seats in the gallery, from the center of the front around to the center of the west gallery. After that, they occupied the seats in the east gallery. In 1802, the trustees hired a seat, for the English preceptor, in a pew in the gallery belonging to N. Beers, overlooking the students. The meeting-house was without any stove, or means of warming it; and an extract from the same letter already quoted from, will give some idea of what "going to meeting" then was. "I shudder now, in June, with the cold, while thinking what I then suffered on the Sabbath, when I was posted as a sentinel, in the north-west corner pew in the church, to observe the students' conduct in the time of worship."

A WELL ORDERED LIFE—PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

First in Peace, First in War, First in the Hearts of his Countrymen.

AMONG the manuscripts of Washington still in existence, there is one, written before he was thirteen years of age, entitled

RULES OF CIVILITY AND DECENT BEHAVIOR.

The rules are written out in the form of maxims to the number of one hundred and ten, and form a minute code of regulations for good conduct in respect to manners and minor morals.

1. Every action in company ought to be with some sign of respect to those present.

2. In the presence of others sing not to yourself with a humming noise, nor drum with your fingers or feet.

3. Sleep not when others speak, sit not when others stand, speak not when you should hold your peace, walk not when others stop.

4. Turn not your back to others, especially when speaking; jog not the table or desk on which another reads or writes; lean not on any one.

5. Be no flatterer; neither play with any one, that delights not to be played with.

6. Read no letters, books, or papers in company; but when there is a necessity for doing it, you must ask leave. Come not near the books or writings of any one so as to read them, unless desired, nor give your opinion of them unasked; also, look not nigh when another is writing a letter.

7. Let your countenance be pleasant, but in serious matters somewhat grave.

8. Show not yourself glad at the misfortune of another, though he were your enemy.

9. When you meet with one of greater quality than yourself, stop and retire, especially if it be at a door or any strait place, to give way for him to pass.

10. They that are in dignity, or in office, have in all places precedency; but whilst they are young they ought to respect those that are their equals in birth, or other qualities, though they have no public charge.

11. It is good manners to prefer them to whom we speak before ourselves, especially if they be above us, with whom in no sort we ought to begin.

12. Let your discourse with men of business be short and comprehensive.

13. In visiting the sick, do not presently play the physician, if you be not knowing therein.

14. In writing, or speaking, give to every person his due title, according to his degree and the custom of the place.

15. Strive not with your superiors in argument, but always submit your judgment to others with modesty.

16. Undertake not to teach your equal in the art himself professes; it savors of arrogancy.

17. When a man does all he can, though he succeeds not well, blame not him that did it.

18. Being to advise, or reprehend any one, consider whether it ought to be in public or in private, presently or at some other time, and in what terms; and in reproving show no signs of choler, but do it with sweetness and mildness.

19. Take all admonitions thankfully, in what time or place soever given; but afterwards, not being culpable, take a time or place convenient to let him know it that gave them.

20. Mock not, nor jest at any thing of importance; break no jests that are sharp-biting, and if you deliver any thing witty, and pleasant, abstain from laughing thereat yourself.

21. Wherein you reprove another be unblamable yourself; for example is more prevalent than precepts.

22. Use no reproachful language against any one, neither curse, nor revile.

23. Be not hasty to believe flying reports to the disparagement of any.

24. In your apparel, be modest, and endeavor to accommodate nature, rather than to procure admiration; keep to the fashion of your equals, such as are civil and orderly with respect to times and places.

25. Play not the peacock, looking every where about you to see if you be well decked, if your shoes fit well, if your stockings sit neatly, and clothes handsomely.

26. Associate yourself with men of good quality, if you esteem your own reputation, for it is better to be alone, than in bad company.

27. Let your conversation be without malice or envy, for it is a sign of a tractable and commendable nature; and in all causes of passion, admit reason to govern.

28. Be not immodest in urging your friend to discover a secret.

29. Utter not base and frivolous things amongst grave and learned men; nor very difficult questions or subjects among the ignorant; nor things hard to be believed.

30. Speak not of doleful things in time of mirth, nor at the table; speak not of melancholy things, as death, and wounds, and if others mention them, change, if you can the discourse. Tell not your dreams, but to your intimate friend.

31. Break not a jest where none takes pleasure in mirth; laugh not aloud, nor at all without occasion. Deride no man's misfortune, though there seem to be some cause.

32. Speak not injurious words neither in jest nor earnest; scoff at none, although they give occasion.

33. Be not forward, but friendly and courteous; the first to salute, hear, and answer; and be not pensive when it is time to converse.

34. Detract not from others, neither be excessive in commending.

35. Go not thither, where you know not whether you shall be welcome or not. Give not advice without being asked, and when desired, do it briefly.

36. If two contend together, take not the part of either unconstrained, and be not obstinate in your opinion; in things indifferent be of the major side.

37. Reprehend not the imperfections of others, for that belongs to parents, masters, and superiors.

38. Gaze not on the marks or blemishes of others, and ask not how they came. What you may speak in secret to your friend, deliver not before others.

39. Speak not in an unknown tongue in company, but in your own language, and that as those of quality do, and not as the vulgar; sublime matters treat seriously.

40. Think before you speak, pronounce not imperfectly, nor bring out your words too hastily, but orderly and distinctly.

41. When another speaks, be attentive yourself, and disturb not the audience. If any hesitate in his words, help him not, nor prompt him without being desired; interrupt him not, nor answer him, till his speech be ended.

42. Treat with men at fit times about business; and whisper not in the company of others.

43. Make no comparisons, and if any of the company be commended for any brave act of virtue, commend not another for the same.

44. Be not apt to relate news, if you know not the truth thereof. In discoursing of things you have heard, name not your author always. A secret discover not.

45. Be not curious to know the affairs of others, neither approach to those that speak in private.

46. Undertake not what you can not perform, but be careful to keep your promise.

47. When you deliver a matter, do it without passion, and with discretion, however mean the person be you do it to.

48. When your superiors talk to any body, hearken not, neither speak, nor laugh.

49. In disputes be not so desirous to overcome, as not to give liberty to each one to deliver his opinion, and submit to the judgment of the major part, especially if they are judges of the dispute.

50. Be not tedious in discourse; make not many digressions, nor repeat often the same manner of discourse.

51. Speak not evil of the absent, for it is unjust.

52. Make no show of taking great delight in your victuals; feed not with greediness; cut your bread with a knife; lean not on the table; neither find fault with what you eat.

53. Be not angry at table, whatever happens, and if you have reason to be so, show it not; put on a cheerful countenance, especially if there be strangers, for good humor makes one dish of meat a feast.

54. Set not yourself at the upper end of the table; but if it be your due, or that the master of the house will have it so, contend not, lest you should trouble the company.

55. When you speak of God, or his attributes, let it be seriously in reverence. Honor and obey your natural parents, although they be poor.

56. Let your recreations be manful, not sinful.

57. Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire, called conscience.

In these Maxims or Rules, the student of Washington's life will discover the principles on which his conduct in society was founded, and the type on which his dignified manners were molded.

Bushrod Washington, the nephew to whom the following letter was addressed, was the son of John Augustine Washington, born June 5, 1762. He profited by his great uncle's advice and example; and so improved his opportunities of professional study, that soon after his admission to the Bar, he was appointed District Attorney, and elected to the Legislature. He was a member of the Convention which ratified the National Constitution in 1788, and was selected by President Adams to fill the vacancy on the Bench of the Supreme Court of the United States caused by the decease of Judge Wilson of Pennsylvania in 1798—which place he filled with the reputation of a learned, independent, and exemplary magistrate for thirty-one years—until his death in November, 1829.

LETTERS TO BUSHROD WASHINGTON.

NEWBURG, 15th January, 1783.

DEAR BUSHROD,—You will be surprised, perhaps, at receiving a letter from me; but if the end is answered for which it is written, I shall not think my time misspent. Your father, who seems to entertain a very favorable opinion of your prudence, and I hope you merit it, in one or two of his letters to me speaks of the difficulty he is under to make you remittances. Whether this arises from the scantiness of his funds, or the extensiveness of your demands, is a matter of conjecture with me. I hope it is not the latter; because common prudence, and every other consideration, which ought to have weight in a reflecting mind, are opposed to your requiring more than his convenience and a regard to his other children will enable him to pay; and because he holds up no idea in the letter, which would support me in the conclusion. Yet when I take a view of the inexperience of youth, the temptations and vices of cities, and the distresses to which our Virginia gentlemen are driven by an accumulation of taxes and the want of a market, I am almost inclined to ascribe it in part to both. Therefore, as a friend, I give you the following advice:

Let the object, which carried you to Philadelphia, be always before your eyes. Remember, that it is not the mere study of the law, but to become eminent in the profession of it, that is to yield honor and profit. The first was your choice, let the second be your ambition. Dissipation is incompatible with both; the company, in which you will improve most, will be least expensive to you; and yet I am not such a stoic as to suppose that you will, or to think it right that you should, always be in company with senators and philosophers; but of the juvenile kind let me advise you to be choice. It is easy to make acquaintances, but very difficult to shake them off, however irksome and unprofitable they are found, after we have once committed ourselves to them. The indiscrètions, which very often they involuntarily lead one into, prove equally distressing and disgraceful.

Be courteous to all, but intimate with few; and let those few be well tried before you give them your confidence. True friendship is a plant of slow growth, and must undergo and withstand the shocks of adversity before it is entitled to the appellation.

Let your heart feel for the afflictions and distresses of every one, and let your hand give in proportion to your purse; remembering always the estimation of the widow's mite, but, that it is not every one who asketh, that deserveth charity; all, however, are worthy of the inquiry, or the deserving may suffer.

Do not conceive that fine clothes make fine men, any more than fine feathers make fine birds. A plain, genteel dress is more admired, and obtains more credit, than lace and embroidery, in the eyes of the judicious and sensible.

The last thing, which I shall mention, is first in importance; and that is, to avoid gaming. This is a vice, which is productive of every possible evil; equally injurious to the morals and health of its votaries. It is the child of avarice, the brother of iniquity, and the father of mischief. It has been the ruin of many worthy families, the loss of many a man's honor, and the cause of suicide. To all those who enter the lists, it is equally fascinating. The successful gamester pushes his good fortune, till it is overtaken by a reverse. The losing gamester, in hopes of retrieving past misfortunes, goes on from bad to worse, till grown desperate he pushes at every thing and loses his all. In a word, few gain by this abominable practice, while thousands are injured.

Perhaps you will say, 'My conduct has anticipated the advice,' and 'Not one of the cases applies to me.' I shall be heartily glad of it. It will add not a little to my happiness, to find those to whom I am so nearly connected pursuing the right walk of life. It will be the sure road to my favor, and to those honors and places of profit, which their country can bestow; as merit rarely goes unrewarded. I am, dear Bushrod, your affectionate uncle.

In a letter, dated Mount Vernon, Nov. 10, 1787, he writes to his nephew, then a member of the State Assembly: 'If you have a mind to command the attention of the House, speak seldom, and only to important subjects, except such as particularly relates to your constituents; and in the former case make yourself perfectly master of the subject. Never exceed a decent warmth, and submit your sentiments with diffidence.'

In a letter of an earlier date (Nov. 18, 1786), he advises his nephew not to hold to the doctrine of instructions too strictly, but to leave the representative at liberty to act on matters not local but general, by the latest evidence. He urges him to help make the federal government more efficient by acceding at once to such propositions as give vigor and directness to its action. . He commends the determination of the Patriotic Society of which his nephew was a member, 'to promote frugality and industry by example, to encourage domestic manufactures and stimulate discoveries in every department of agriculture, by premiums.

THE LEGACY OF HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER.

America has furnished to the world the CHARACTER of Washington! And if our American institutions had done nothing else, that alone would have entitled them to the respect of mankind.

Washington! "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen!" Washington is all our own! The enthusiatic veneration and regard in which the people of the United States hold him prove them to be worthy of such a countryman; while his reputation abroad reflects the highest honor on his country. I would cheerfully put the question to-day to the intelligence of Europe and the world, what character of the century, upon the whole, stands out in the relief of history, most pure, most respectable, most sublime; and I doubt not, that by a suffrage approaching to unanimity, the answer would be Washington!

The structure now standing before us, by its uprightness, its solidity, its durability, is no unfit emblem of his character. His public virtues and public principles were as firm as the earth on which it stands; his personal motives, as pure as the serene heaven in which its summit is lost. But, indeed, though a fit, it is an inadequate emblem. Towering high above the column which our hands have builded, beheld, not by the inhabitants of a single city or a single State, but by all the families of man, ascends the colossal grandeur of the character and life of Washington. In all the constituents of the one, in all the acts of the other, in all its titles to immortal love, admiration, and renown, it is an American production. It is the embodiment and vindication of our Transatlantic liberty. Born upon our soil, of parents also born upon it; never for a moment having had sight of the Old World; instructed according to the modes of his time, only in the spare, plain, but wholesome elementary knowledge which our institutions provide for the children of the people; growing up beneath and penetrated by the genuine influences of American society; living from infancy to manhood and age amidst our expanding, but not luxurious civilization; partaking in our great destiny of labor, our long contest with unreclaimed nature and uncivilized man, our agony of glory, the war of Independence, our great victory of peace, the formation of the Union, and the establishment of the Constitution; he is all, all our own! Washington is ours. That crowded and glorious life,—

> Where multitudes of virtues passed along,
> Each pressing foremost, in the mighty throng
> Ambitious to be seen, then making room
> For greater multitudes that were to come,—

that was the life of an American citizen.

I claim him for America. In all the perils, in every darkened moment of the State, in the midst of the reproaches of enemies and the misgiving of friends, I turn to that transcendent name for courage and for consolation. To him who denies or doubts whether our fervid liberty can be combined with law, with order, with the security of property, with the pursuits and advancement of happiness; to him who denies that our forms of government are capable of producing exaltation of soul, and the passion of true glory; to him who denies that we have contributed any thing to the stock of great lessons and great examples;—to all these I reply by pointing to Washington!—DANIEL WEBSTER—*On the Completion of the Bunker Hill Monument.*

CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL, who knew Washington in private as well as in public life, and in civil as well as in his military affairs, in his elaborate and conscientious '*Life of George Washington*,' 1805, thus characterizes the sterling virtues which made him 'First in War, First in Peace, and First in the Hearts of his Countrymen.'

No man has ever appeared upon the theater of public action whose integrity was more incorruptible, or whose principles were more perfectly free from the contamination of those selfish and unworthy passions which find their nourishment in the conflicts of party. Having no views which required concealment, his real and avowed motives were the same; and his whole correspondence does not furnish a single case from which even an enemy would infer that he was capable, under any circumstances, of stooping to the employment of duplicity. No truth can be uttered with more confidence than that his ends were always upright, and his means always pure. He exhibits the rare example of a politician to whom wiles were absolutely unknown, and whose professions to foreign governments and to his own countrymen were always sincere. In him was fully exemplified the real distinction which for ever exists between wisdom and cunning, and the importance as well as truth of the maxim, that 'honesty is the best policy.'

Endowed by nature with a sound judgment, and an accurate discriminating mind, he feared not that laborious attention which made him perfectly master of those subjects, in all their relations, on which he was to decide: and this essential quality was guided by an unvarying sense of moral right, which would tolerate the employment only of those means that would bear the most rigid examination; by a fairness of intention which neither sought nor required disguise: and by a purity of virtue which was not only untainted, but unsuspected.

Mr. Jefferson, who served with Washington in the Virginia Legislature, and in the Continental Congress from 1769 to 1776, and was a member of his Cabinet for four years, delineates his character thus:

Perhaps the strongest feature in his character was prudence, never acting until every circumstance, every consideration, was maturely weighed; refraining if he saw a doubt, but, when once decided, going through with his purpose, whatever obstacles opposed. His integrity was most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever known, no motives of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision. He was, indeed, in every sense of the words, a wise, a good, and a great man. His temper was naturally irritable and high-toned; but reflection and resolution had obtained a firm and habitual ascendency over it. If ever, however, it broke its bonds, he was most tremendous in his wrath. In his expenses he was honorable but exact; liberal in contributions to whatever promised utility; but frowning and unyielding on all visionary projects, and all unworthy calls on his charity. His heart was not warm in its affections; but he exactly calculated every man's value, and gave him a solid esteem proportioned to it. His person, you know, was fine, his stature exactly what one would wish, his deportment easy, erect, and noble; the best horseman of his age, and the most graceful figure that could be seen on horseback.

On the whole, his character was, in its mass, perfect, in nothing bad, in few points indifferent; and it may be truly said, that never did nature and fortune combine more perfectly to make a man great, and to place him in the same constellation with whatever worthies have merited from man an everlasting remembrance. For his was the singular destiny and merit, of leading the armies of his country successfully through an arduous war, for the establish-

ment of its independence; of conducting its councils through the birth of a government, new in its forms and principles, until it had settled down into a quiet and orderly train; and of scrupulously obeying the laws through the whole of his career, civil and military, of which the history of the world furnishes no other example.

Mr. Everett, in his admirable Life, prepared originally for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, sums up his character thus:

In the final contemplation of his character, we shall not hesitate to pronounce Washington, of all men that have ever lived, THE GREATEST OF GOOD MEN AND THE BEST OF GREAT MEN. Nor let this judgment be attributed to national partiality.

In the year 1797, Mr. Rufus King, then the American minister in London, wrote to General Hamilton, 'No one, who has not been in England, can have a just idea of the admiration expressed among all parties for General Washington. It is a common observation, that he is not only the most illustrious, but the most meritorious character that has yet appeared.' Lord Erskine, in writing to Washington about the same time, says, 'You are the only human being for whom I ever felt an awful reverence.' Mr. Charles James Fox remarks of him, that 'A character of virtues, so happily tempered by one another and so wholly unalloyed by any vices, as that of Washington, is hardly to be found on the pages of history.' Lord Brougham, in his brilliant comparative sketch of Napoleon and Washington, after a glowing picture of the virtues and vices of the great modern conqueror, exclaims, 'How grateful the relief, which the friend of mankind, the lover of virtue, experiences, when, turning from the contemplation of such a character, his eye rests upon the greatest man of our own or of any age, the only one upon whom an epithet, so thoughtlessly lavished by men, may be innocently and justly bestowed.'

Nor are these testimonies confined to Englishmen, in whom they might be supposed to be inspired, in some degree, by Anglo Saxon sympathy. When the news of his death reached France, Fontanes, by direction of Napoleon, delivered an eloquent eulogium, in which he declared him to be 'a character worthy the best days of antiquity.' M. Guizot, a far higher authority, in his admirable essay on the character of Washington, pronounces that 'Of all great men he was the most virtuous and most fortunate.'

The comparison of Napoleon and Washington suggests a remark on the military character of the latter, who is frequently disparaged in contrast with the great chieftains of ancient and modern times. But no comparison can be instituted to any valuable purpose between individuals, which does not extend to the countries and periods in which they lived and to the means at their command. When these circumstances are taken into the account, Washington, as a chieftain, I am inclined to think, will sustain the comparison with any other of ancient or modern time. A recent judicious French writer (M. Edouard Laboulaye), though greatly admiring the character of Washington, denies him the brilliant military genius of Julius Cæsar. It is, to say the least, as certain that Julius Cæsar, remaining in other respects what he was, could not have conducted the American Revolution to a successful issue, as that Washington could not have subdued Gaul, thrown an army into Great Britain, or gained the battle of Pharsalia. No one has ever denied to Washington the possession of the highest degree of physical and moral courage; no one has ever accused him of

missing an opportunity to strike a bold blow; no one has pointed out a want of vigor in the moment of action, or of forethought in the plans of his campaigns; in short, no one has alleged a fact, from which it can be made even probable that Napoleon or Cæsar, working with his means and on his field of action, could have wrought out greater or better results than he did, or that, if he had been placed on a field of action and with a command of means like theirs, he would have shown himself unequal to the position.

Akin to the argument against his military capacity, is the question whether, generally speaking, Washington was a man of genius,—a question not to be answered till that word is explained. Dr. Johnson calls it, 'that power which constitutes a poet,' and in that acceptation Washington certainly was not endowed with it. As little did he possess the genius of the orator, the man of letters, the sculptor, the painter, the musician. The term is so habitually, not to say exclusively, appropriated to that native power which enables men to excel in science, literature, and the fine arts, that those who are destitute of it in these departments are often declared to want it altogether. But there is a genius of political and military skill; of social influence, of personal ascendency, of government;—a genius for practical utility; a moral genius of true heroism, of unselfish patriotism, and of stern public integrity, which is as strongly marked an endowment as those gifts of intellect, imagination, and taste, which constitute the poet or the artist. Without adopting Virgil's magnificent but scornful contrast between scientific and literary skill, on the one hand, and those masterful arts on the other, by which victories are gained and nations are governed, we must still admit that the chieftain who, in spite of obstacles the most formidable, and vicissitudes the most distressing, conducts great wars to successful issues,—that the statesman who harmonizes angry parties in peace, skillfully moderates the counsel of constituent assemblies, and, without the resources of rhetoric but by influence mightier than authority, secures the formation and organization of governments, and in their administration establishes the model of official conduct for all following time, is endowed with a divine principle of thought and action, as distinct in its kind as that of Demosthenes or Milton. It is the genius of a consummate manhood. Analysis may describe its manifestations in either case, but can not define the ulterior principle. It is a final element of character. We may speak of prudence, punctuality, and self-control, of bravery and disinterestedness, as we speak of an eye for color and a perception of the graceful in the painter, a sensibility to the sublime, the pathetic, and the beautiful in discourse; but behind and above all these there must be a creative and animating principle; at least as much in character as in intellect or art. The qualities which pertain to genius are not the whole of genius in the one case any more than the other. The arteries, the lungs, and the nerves are essential to life, but they are not life itself,—that higher something, which puts all the organic functions of the frame in motion. In the possession of that mysterious quality of character, manifested in a long life of unambitious service, which, called by whatever name, inspires the confidence, commands the respect, and wins the affection of contemporaries, and grows upon the admiration of successive generations, forming a standard to which the merit of other men is referred, and a living proof that pure patriotism is not a delusion, nor virtue an empty name, no one of the sons of men has equaled GEORGE WASHINGTON.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

In a paper dated May 14, 1743, and entitled *A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations in America*, Franklin explains the objects and advantages of such an association, and to obviate the obstacles to a free communication of inquiries and reflections among men directed to philosophical research in consequence of distance from each other, proposes the formation of '*The American Philosophical Society*,' with its centre in Philadelphia, which has the advantage of a good growing library.

A society was formed a few months afterwards, as appears by a letter from Franklin to Cadwallader Colden, dated April 5th, 1744. Thomas Hopkinson was president, and Benjamin Franklin, secretary. The other original members, as mentioned in that letter, were Thomas Bond, John Bartram, Thomas Godfrey, Samuel Rhoads, William Parsons, Phineas Bond, William Coleman, all of Philadelphia. A few members were likewise chosen from some of the neighboring colonies. This society had no connection with the Junto, which is often mentioned in Franklin's autobiography.

Nothing is known of its transactions. The records of its proceedings are lost, and, if any papers were contributed by the members, they were not published. Soon after the society was formed, Franklin himself became deeply engaged in his electrical experiments, which for some time absorbed his whole attention. The society seems to have languished, till, in a few years, the regular meetings were discontinued.

In the meantime, another society sprang up in Philadelphia, which was called *The Junto, or Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge*. The date of the origin of this association is not known. That portion of the records which has been preserved, begins September 22d, 1758; but it had an earlier origin. If we may judge from the records, it seems to have been a society rather for the mutual improvement of the members, by discussing a great variety of subjects; than for enlarged philosophical inquiries, designed for public as well as private benefit. In 1762 this society apparently began to decline. No records have been found from October of that year to April 25th, 1766, when the society met, and took the name of *The American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge*. Thirty members then signed the constitution and rules. It was evidently intended now to embrace a larger compass of objects than formerly, and to have more of a public character. Franklin was elected into this society on the 19th of February, 1768, and chosen president of it on the 4th of November following.

In November, 1767, the old Philosophical Society of 1744 was revived by a few of the original members, then residing in Philadelphia. They elected many new members. A union was proposed by the other society, which was accepted on the 2d of February, 1768, by choosing all the members of that association into this society. But they refused to unite on these terms, or on any other, which did not imply a perfect equality between the two associations. There seems to have been a jealousy between them, or rather between some of the prominent members of each. On the 23d of September, 1768, the *American Society* was again organized, new rules were adopted, and its title was changed to *The American Society held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge*; and, on the 4th of November, the *Medical Society* of Philadelphia was incorporated with it.

This union was effected on the 2d of January, 1769. A new name was formed by uniting those of the two societies into *The American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge*, with Dr. Franklin as president.

NECESSARY HINTS TO THOSE THAT WOULD BE RICH—1736.

The use of money is all the advantage there is in having money.

For six pounds a year you may have the use of one hundred pounds, provided you are a man of known prudence and honesty.

He that spends a groat a day idly, spends idly above six pounds a year, which is the price for the use of one hundred pounds.

He that wastes idly a groat's worth of his time per day, one day with another, wastes the privilege of using one hundred pounds each day.

He that idly loses five shillings worth of time, loses five shillings, and might as prudently throw five shillings into the sea.

He that loses five shillings, not only loses that sum, but all the advantages that might be made by turning it in dealing; which, by the time that a young man becomes old, will amount to a considerable sum of money.

Again, he that sells upon credit, asks a price for what he sells equivalent to the principal and interest of his money for the time he is to be kept out of it; therefore, he that buys upon credit, pays interest for what he buys; and he that pays ready money, might let that money out to use; so that he that possesses anything he has bought, pays interest for the use of it.

Yet, in buying goods, it is best to pay ready money, because he that sells upon credit expects to lose five per cent. by bad debts; therefore, he charges, on all he sells upon credit, an advance that shall make up that deficiency.

Those who pay for what they buy upon credit, pay their share of this advance.

He that pays ready money, escapes, or may escape that charge.

A penny sav'd is twopence clear;
A pin a day is a groat a year.

THE WAY TO MAKE MONEY PLENTY IN EVERY MAN'S POCKET.

At this time, when the general complaint is that 'money is scarce,' it will be an act of kindness to inform the moneyless how they may reinforce their pockets. I will acquaint them with the true secret of money-catching—the certain way to fill empty purses—and how to keep them always full. Two simple rules, well observed, will do the business.

First, Let honesty and industry be thy constant companions; and,

Secondly, Spend one penny less than thy clear gains.

Then shall thy hide-bound pocket soon begin to thrive, and will never again cry with the empty bellyache; neither will creditors insult thee, nor want oppress, nor hunger bite, nor nakedness freeze thee. The whole hemisphere will shine brighter, and pleasure spring up in every corner of thy heart. Now, therefore, embrace these rules and be happy. Banish the bleak winds of sorrow from thy mind, and live independent. Then shalt thou be a man, and not hide thy face at the approach of the rich, nor suffer the pain of feeling little when the sons of fortune walk at thy right hand; for independency, whether with little or much, is good fortune, and placeth thee on even ground with the proudest of the golden fleece. Oh, then, be wise, and let industry walk with thee in the morning, and attend thee until thou reachest the evening hour for rest. Let honesty be as the breath of thy soul, and never forget to have a penny, when all thy expenses are enumerated and paid; then shalt thou reach the point of happiness, and independence shall be thy shield and buckler, thy helmet and crown; then shall thy soul walk upright, nor stoop to the silken wretch because he hath riches, nor pocket an abuse because the hand which offers it wears a ring set with diamonds.

ADVICE TO A YOUNG TRADESMAN—1748.

TO MY FRIEND, A. B.

As you have desired it of me, I write the following hints, which have been of service to me, and may, if observed, be so to you.

Remember that *time* is money. He that can earn ten shillings a day by his labor, and goes abroad, or sits idle one half of that day, though he spends but sixpence during his diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon *that* the only expense; he has really spent, or rather thrown away, five shillings besides.

Remember that *credit* is money. If a man lets his money lie in my hands after it is due, he gives me the interest, or so much as I can make of it during that time. This amounts to a considerable sum where a man has good and large credit, and makes good use of it.

Remember that money is of a prolific generating nature. Money can beget money, and its offspring can beget more, and so on. Five shillings turned is six; turned again it is seven and threepence; and so on till it becomes a hundred pounds. The more there is of it, the more it produces every turning, so that the profits rise quicker and quicker. He that kills a breeding sow, destroys all her offspring to the thousandth generation. He that murders a crown, destroys all that it might have produced, even scores of pounds.

Remember that six pounds a year is but a groat a day. For this little sum (which may be daily wasted either in time or expense, unperceived) a man of credit may, on his own security, have the constant possession and use of a hundred pounds. So much in stock, briskly turned by an industrious man, produces great advantage.

Remember this saying: 'The good paymaster is lord of another man's purse.' He that is known to pay punctually and exactly to the time he promises, may at any time, and on any occasion, raise all the money his friends can spare. This is sometimes of great use. After industry and frugality, nothing contributes more to the raising of a young man in the world, than punctuality and justness in all his dealings; therefore never keep borrowed money an hour beyond the time you promised, lest a disappointment shut up your friend's purse forever.

The most trifling actions that affect a man's credit are to be regarded. The sound of your hammer at five in the morning, or nine at night, heard by a creditor, makes him easy six months longer; but if he sees you at a billiard table, or hears your voice at a tavern, when you should be at work, he sends for his money the next day; demands it before he can receive it in a lump.

It shows, besides, that you are mindful of what you owe; it makes you appear a careful as well as an honest man, and that still increases your credit.

Beware of thinking all your own that you possess, and of living accordingly. It is a mistake that many people who have credit fall into. To prevent this, keep an exact account, for some time, both of your expenses and your income. If you take the pains at first to mention particulars, it will have this good effect; you will discover how wonderfully small trifling expenses mount up to large sums, and will discern what might have been, and may for the future be saved, without occasioning any great inconvenience.

In short, the way to wealth, if you desire it, is as plain as the way to market. It depends chiefly on two words, *industry* and *frugality*, that is, waste neither *time* nor *money*, but make the best use of both. Without industry and frugality nothing will do, and with them everything. He that gets all he can honestly, and saves all he gets (necessary expenses excepted), will certainly become *rich*—if that Being, who governs the world, to whom all should look for a blessing on their honest endeavors, doth not in His wise providence otherwise determine.

AN OLD TRADESMAN.

AN ECONOMICAL PROJECT.

A translation of this Letter appeared in one of the daily papers of Paris, about the year 1784. The following is the original piece, with some additions and corrections made by the Author.

To the Authors of the Journal.

MESSIEURS:

You often entertain us with accounts of new discoveries. Permit me to communicate to the public, through your paper, one that has lately been made by myself, and which I conceive may be of great utility.

I was the other evening in a grand company, where the new lamp of Messrs. Quinquet and Lange was introduced, and much admired for its splendor; but a general inquiry was made whether the oil it consumed was not in proportion to the light it afforded, in which case there would be no saving in the use of it. No one present could satisfy us on that point, which all agreed ought to be known, it being a very desirable thing to lessen, if possible, the expense of lighting our apartments, when every other article of family expense was so much augmented.

I was pleased to see this general concern for economy, for I love economy exceedingly.

I went home, and to bed, three or four hours after midnight, with my head full of the subject. An accidental sudden noise waked me about six in the morning, when I was surprised to find my room filled with light; and I imagined at first, that a number of those lamps had been brought into it; but, rubbing my eyes, I perceived the light came in at the windows. I got up and looked out to see what might be the occasion of it, when I saw the sun just rising above the horizon, from whence he poured his rays plentifully into my chamber, my domestic having negligently omitted the preceding evening to close the shutters.

I looked at my watch, which goes very well, and found that it was about six o'clock; and still thinking it something extraordinary that the sun should rise so early, I looked into the almanack, where I found it to be the hour given for his rising on that day. I looked forward, too, and found he was to rise still earlier every day till towards the end of June; and that at no time in the year he retarded his rising so long as till eight o'clock. Your readers, who with me have never seen any signs of sunshine before noon, and seldom regard the astronomical part of the almanack, will be as much astonished as I was, when they hear of his rising so early; and especially when I assure them, *that he gives light as soon as he rises.* I am convinced of this. I am certain of my fact. One cannot be more certain of any fact. I saw it with my own eyes. And having repeated this observation the three following mornings, I found always precisely the same result.

Yet it so happens, that when I speak of this discovery to others, I can easily perceive by their countenances, though they forbear expressing it in words, that they do not quite believe me. One, indeed, who is a learned natural philosopher, has assured me, that I must certainly be mistaken as to the circumstance of the light coming into my room; for it being well known, as he says, that there could be no light abroad at that hour, it follows that none could enter from without; and that of consequence, my windows being accidentally left open, instead of letting in the light, had only served to let out the darkness; and he used many ingenious arguments to show me how I might, by that means, have been deceived. I own that he puzzled me a little, but he did not satisfy me; and the subsequent observations I made as above mentioned, confirmed me in my first opinion.

This event has given rise, in my mind, to several serious and important re-

flections. I considered that, if I had not been awakened so early in the morning, I should have slept six hours longer by the light of the sun, and in exchange have lived six hours the following night by candle-light; and the latter being a much more expensive light that the former, my love of economy induced me to muster up what little arithmetic I was master of, and to make some calculations, which I shall give you, after observing, that utility is, in my opinion, the test of value in matters of invention, and that a discovery which can be applied to no use, or is not good for something, is good for nothing.

I took for the basis of my calculation the supposition that there are 100,000 families in Paris, and that these families consume in the night half a pound of bougies, or candles, per hour. I think this is a moderate allowance, taking one family with another; for though I believe some consume less, I know that many consume a great deal more. Then estimating seven hours per day as the medium quantity between the time of the sun's rising and ours, he rising during the six following months from six to eight hours before noon, and there being seven hours of course per night in which we burn candles, the account will stand thus:

In the six months between the twentieth of March and the twentieth of September, there are Nights, - - - - - -	183
Hours of each night in which we burn candles, - - - -	7
Multiplication gives for the total number of hours, - - - -	1,281
These 1,281 hours, multiplied by 100,000, the number of inhabitants, gives, - - - - - - - - - - - - -	128,100,000
One hundred and twenty-eight millions and one hundred thousand hours, spent at Paris by candle-light, which at half a pound of wax and tallow per hour, gives the weight of, - - - - -	64,050,000
Sixty-four millions and fifty thousand pounds, which, estimating the whole at the medium price of thirty sols the pound, makes the sum of ninety-six millions and seventy-five thousand livres tournois, - - - - - - - - - - - -	96,075,000

An immense sum! that the city of Paris might save every year, by the economy of using sunshine instead of candles.

If it should be said that people are apt to be obstinately attached to old customs, and that it will be difficult to induce them to rise before noon, consequently my discovery can be of little use; I answer, *Nil desperandum.* I believe all who have common sense, as soon as they have learnt from this paper that it is daylight when the sun rises, will contrive to rise with him; and to compel the rest, I would propose the following regulations:

First. Let a tax be laid of a louis per window on every window that is provided with shutters to keep out the light of the sun.

Second. Let the same salutary operation of police be made use of to prevent our burning candles, that inclined us last winter to be more economical in burning wood: that is, let guards be placed in the shops of the wax and tallow-chandlers, and no family be permitted to be supplied with more than one pound of candles per week.

Third. Let guards also be posted to stop all the coaches, etc., that would pass the streets after sunset, except those of physicians, surgeons, and midwives.

Fourth. Every morning, as soon as the sun rises, let all the bells in every church be set a-ringing; and if that is not sufficient, let cannon be fired in every street, to wake the sluggards effectually, and make them open their eyes to see their true interest.

All the difficulty will be in the first two or three days; after which the reformation will be as natural and easy as the present irregularity; for *ce n'est que le premier pas qui coute.* Oblige a man to rise at four in the morning, and it is more than probable he shall go willingly to bed at eight in the evening; and, having had eight hours' sleep, he will rise more willingly at four the fol-

lowing morning. But this sum of ninety-six millions and seventy-five thousand livres is not the whole of what may be saved by my economical project. You may observe that I have calculated upon only one-half of the year, and much may be saved in the other, though the days are shorter. Besides the immense stock of wax and tallow left unconsumed during the summer, will probably make candles much cheaper for the ensuing winter, and continue cheaper as long as the proposed reformation shall be supported.

For the great benefit of this discovery, thus freely communicated and bestowed by me on the public, I demand neither place, pension, exclusive privilege, or any other reward whatever. I expect only to have the honor of it. And yet I know there are little envious minds who will, as usual, deny me this, and say, that my invention was known to the ancients, and perhaps they may bring passages out of the old books in proof of it. I will not dispute with these people that the ancients knew not the sun would rise at certain hours; they possibly had, as we have, almanacs that predicted it; but it does not follow from thence, that they knew *he gave light as soon as he rose.* This is what I claim as my discovery. If the ancients knew it, it must have been long since forgotten, for it certainly was unknown to the moderns, at least to the Parisians; which to prove, I need but use one plain simple argument. They are as well instructed, judicious, and prudent a people as exist anywhere in the world, all professing, like myself, to be lovers of economy; and, from the many heavy taxes, required from them by the necessities of the state, have surely reason to be economical. I say, it is impossible that so sensible a people, under such circumstances, should have lived so long by the smoky, unwholesome, and enormously expensive light of candles, if they had really known that they might have had as much pure light of the sun for nothing.

I am, &c., AN ABONNE.

TOO MUCH FOR THE WHISTLE.*

When I was a child, at seven years old, my friends, on a holiday, filled my pockets with coppers. I went directly to a shop where they sold toys for children; and being charmed with the sound of a *whistle*, that I met by the way in the hands of another boy, I voluntarily offered him all my money for one. I then came home, and went whistling all over the house, much pleased with my *whistle*, but disturbing all the family. My brothers, and sisters, and cousins, understanding the bargain I had made, told me I had given four times as much for it as it was worth. This put me in mind what good things I might have bought with the rest of my money; and they laughed at me so much for my folly, that I cried with vexation, and the reflection gave me more chagrin than the *whistle* gave me pleasure.

This, however, was afterward of use to me, the impression continuing on my mind; so that often, when I was tempted to buy some unnecessary thing, I said to myself, *Don't give too much for the whistle;* and so I saved my money.

As I grew up, came into the world, and observed the actions of men, I thought I met with many, very many, who *gave too much for the whistle*

When I saw any one too ambitious of court favors, sacrificing his time in attendance on levees, his repose, his liberty, his virtue, and perhaps his friends, to attain it, I have said to myself, *This man gives too much for his whistle.*

When I saw another fond of popularity, constantly employing himself in political bustles, neglecting his own affairs, and ruining them by that neglect; *He pays, indeed,* says I, *too much for his whistle.*

* This amusing and interesting story is told by Franklin in a letter to Madame Brillon, dated Passy, 10 Nov., 1774, after making the remark 'that we might all draw more good from the world than we do, and suffer less evil, if we would take care not to give too much for *whistles*,' he proceeds with the story.

If I knew a miser, who gave up every kind of comfortable living, all the pleasure of doing good to others, all the esteem of his fellow-citizens, and the joys of benevolent friendship, for the sake of accumulating wealth; *Poor man*, says I, *you do indeed pay too much for your whistle.*

When I meet a man of pleasure, sacrificing every laudable improvement of the mind, or of his fortune, to mere corporeal sensations; *Mistaken man*, says I, *you are providing pain for yourself instead of pleasure; you give too much for your whistle.*

If I see one fond of fine clothes, fine furniture, fine equipages, all above his fortune, for which he contracts debts, and ends his career in prison; *Alas*, says I, *he has paid dear, very dear, for his whistle.*

When I see a beautiful, sweet-tempered girl, married to an ill-natured brute of a husband; *What a pity it is*, says I, *that she has paid so much for a whistle.*

In short, I conceived that great part of the miseries of mankind were brought upon them by the false estimates they had made of the value of things, and by their giving too much for their *whistles.*

Morals of Chess.

By playing at chess we learn

I. *Foresight*, which looks a little into futurity, considers the consequences that may attend an action; for it is continually occurring to the player, 'If I move this piece, what will be the advantage of my new situation? What use can my adversary make of it to annoy me? What other moves can I make to support it, and to defend myself from his attacks?'

II. *Circumspection*, which surveys the whole chess-board, or scene of action, the relations of the several pieces and situations, the dangers they are respectively exposed to. the several possibilities of their aiding each other, the probabilities that the adversary may make this or that move, and attack this or the other piece, and what different means can be used to avoid his stroke, or turn its consequences against him.

III. *Caution*, not to make our moves too hastily. This habit is best acquired by observing strictly the laws of the game, such as, 'If you touch a piece, you must move it somewhere; if you set it down, you must let it stand;' and it is therefore best that these rules should be observed; as the game more becomes the image of human life, and particularly of war; in which if you have incautiously put yourself into a bad and dangerous position, you cannot obtain your enemy's leave to withdraw your troops, and place them more securely, but you must abide all the consequences of your rashness.

And, lastly, we learn by chess the habit of *not being discouraged by present bad appearances in the state of our affairs*, the habit of *hoping for a favorable change*, and that of *persevering in the search of resources.* The game is so full of events, there is such a variety of turns in it, the fortune of it so subject to sudden vicissitudes, and one so frequently, after long contemplation, discovers the means of extricating one's self from a supposed insurmountable difficulty, that one is encouraged to continue the contest to the last, in hope of victory by our own skill, or at least of giving a stale mate, by the negligence of our adversary. And whoever considers, what in chess he often sees instances of, that particular pieces of success are apt to produce presumption, and its consequent inattention, by which the loss may be recovered, will learn not to be too much discouraged by the present success of his adversary, nor to despair of final good fortune, upon every little check he receives in the pursuit of it.

That we may, therefore, be induced more frequently to choose this beneficial amusement, in preference to others, which are not attended with the same ad-

vantages, every circumstance which may increase the pleasure of it should be regarded; and every action or word that is unfair, disrespectful, or that in any way may give uneasiness, should be avoided, as contrary to the immediate intention of both the players, which is to pass the time agreeably.

Therefore, first, If it is agreed to play according to the strict rules, then those rules are to be exactly observed by both parties, and should not be insisted on for one side, while deviated from by the other—for this is not equitable.

Secondly, If it is agreed not to observe the rules exactly, but one party demands indulgences, he should then be as willing to allow them to the other.

Thirdly, No false move should ever be made to extricate yourself out of a difficulty, or to gain an advantage. There can be no pleasure in playing with a person once detected in such unfair practices.

Fourthly, If your adversary is long in playing, you ought not to hurry him, or to express any uneasiness at his delay. You should not sing, nor whistle, nor look at your watch, nor take up a book to read, nor make a tapping with your feet on the floor, or with your fingers on the table, nor do anything that may disturb his attention. For all these things displease; and they do not show your skill in playing, but your craftiness or your rudeness.

Fifthly, You ought not to endeavor to amuse and deceive your adversary, by pretending to have made bad moves, and saying that you have now lost the game, in order to make him secure and careless, and inattentive to your schemes, for this is fraud and deceit, not skill in the game.

Sixthly, You must not, when you have gained a victory, use any triumphing or insulting expression, nor show too much pleasure; but endeavor to console your adversary, and make him less dissatisfied with himself, by every kind of civil expression that may be used with truth; such as, 'You understand the game better than I, but you are a little inattentive; or, you play too fast; or, you had the best of the game, but something happened to divert your thoughts, and that turned it in my favor.

Seventhly, If you are a spectator while others play, observe the most perfect silence. For if you give advice, you offend both parties; him against whom you gave it, because it may cause the loss of his game; and him in whose favor you gave it, because though it be good, and he follows it, he loses the pleasure he might have had, if you had permitted him to think until it had occurred to himself. Even after a move, or moves, you must not, by replacing the pieces, show how it might have been placed better; for that displeases, and may occasion disputes and doubts about their true situation. All talking to the players lessens or diverts their attention, and is therefore unpleasing. Nor should you give the least hint to either party, by any kind of noise or motion. If you do, you are unworthy to be a spectator. If you have a mind to exercise or show your judgment, do it in playing your own game, when you have an opporunity, not in criticising, or meddling with, or counselling the play of others.

Lastly, If the game is not to be played rigorously, according to the rules above mentioned, then moderate your desire of victory over your adversary, and be pleased with one over yourself. Snatch not eagerly at every advantage offered by his unskilfulness or inattention; but point out to him kindly, that by such a move he places or leaves a piece in danger and unsupported; that by another he will put his king in a perilous situation, &c. By this generous civility (so opposite to the unfairness above forbidden) you may, indeed, happen to lose the game to your opponent, but you will win what is better, his esteem, his respect, and his affection; together with the silent approbation and good-will of impartial spectators.

JOSEPH ADDISON *b.* 1672—*d.* 1729.*

PHYSICAL EXERCISE—LABOR OR RECREATION.

—*Ut sit mens sana in corpore sano,*
Orandum est.—JUV. SAT. X. 356.

Pray for a sound mind in a sound body.

Bodily labor is of two kinds, either that which a man submits to for his livelihood, or that which he undergoes for his pleasure. The latter of them generally changes the name of labor for that of exercise, but differs only from ordinary labor as it rises from another motive.

A country life abounds in both of these kinds of labor, and for that reason gives a man a greater stock of health, and consequently a more perfect enjoyment of himself than any other way of life. I consider the body as a system of tubes and glands, or, to use a more rustic phrase, a bundle of pipes and strainers, fitted to one another after so wonderful a manner as to make a proper engine for the soul to work with. This description does not only comprehend the bowels, bones, tendons, veins, nerves, and arteries, but every muscle and every ligature, which is a composition of fibers, that are so many imperceptible tubes or pipes interwoven on all sides with invisible glands or strainers.

The general idea of a human body, without considering it in the niceties of anatomy, lets us see how absolutely necessary labor is for the right preservation of it. There must be frequent motions and agitations, to mix, digest, and separate the juices contained in it, as well as to clear and cleanse that infinitude of pipes and strainers of which it is composed, and to give their solid parts a more firm and lasting tone. Labor or exercise ferments the humors, casts them into their proper channels, throws off redundancies, and helps nature in those secret distributions, without which the body can not subsist in its vigor, nor the soul act with cheerfulness.

I might here mention the effects which this has upon all the faculties of the mind, by keeping the understanding clear, the imagination untroubled, and refining those spirits that are necessary for the proper exertion of our intellectual faculties, during the present laws of union between soul and body. It is to a neglect in this particular that we must ascribe the spleen, which is so frequent in men of studious and sedentary tempers, as well as the vapors to which those of the other sex are so often subject.

Had not exercise been absolutely necessary for our well-being, nature would not have made the body so proper for it, by giving such an activity to the limbs, and such a pliancy to every part as necessarily produce those compressions, extensions, contortions, dilatations, and all other kinds of motions that are necessary for the preservation of such a system of tubes and glands as has been before mentioned. And that we might not want inducements to engage us in such an exercise of the body as is proper for its welfare, it is so ordered that nothing valuable can be procured without it. Not to mention riches and honor, even food and raiment are not to be come at without the toil of the hands and

* Spectator, Number 115, June 12, 1771. In this paper, Addison in his capacity of *Popular Educator* as a Daily Journalist, urges the importance of Physical Training, and the resort for this purpose to many of the appliances strongly recommended by professional educators in the 19th century.

sweat of the brows. Providence furnishes materials, but expects that we should work them up ourselves. The earth must be labored before it gives its increase, and when it is forced into its several products, how many hands must they pass through before they are fit for use! Manufactures, trade, and agriculture, naturally employ more than nineteen parts of the species in twenty; and as for those who are not obliged to labor, by the condition in which they are born, they are more miserable than the rest of mankind, unless they indulge themselves in that voluntary labor which goes by the name of exercise.

My friend Sir Roger has been an indefatigable man in business of this kind, and has hung several parts of his house with the trophies of his former labors. The walls of his great hall are covered with the horns of several kinds of deer that he has killed in the chase, which he thinks the most valuable furniture of his house, as they afford him frequent topics of discourse, and show that he has not been idle. At the lower end of the hall is a large otter's skin stuffed with hay, which his mother ordered to be hung up in that manner, and the knight looks upon it with great satisfaction, because it seems he was but nine years old when his dog killed him. A little room adjoining to the hall is a kind of arsenal, filled with guns of several sizes and inventions, with which the knight had made great havoc in the woods, and destroyed many thousands of pheasants, partridges, and woodcocks. His stable doors are patched with noses that belonged to foxes of the knights own hunting down. Sir Roger showed me one of them that for distinction sake has a brass nail stuck through it, which cost him fifteen hours' riding, carried him through half a dozen counties, killed him a brace of geldings, and lost above half his dogs. This the knight looks upon as one of the greatest exploits of his life. The perverse widow, whom I have given some account of, was the death of several foxes; for Sir Roger has told me that in the course of his amours he patched the western door of his stable. Whenever the widow was cruel, the foxes were sure to pay for it. In proportion as his passion for the widow abated and old age came on, he left off fox-hunting; but a hare is not yet safe that sits within ten miles of his house.*

There is no kind of exercise which I would so recommend to my readers of both sexes as this of riding, as there is none which so much conduces to health, and is every way accommodated to the body, according to the idea which I have given of it. Doctor Sydenham is very lavish in its praises; and if the English reader will see the mechanical effects of it described at length, he may find them in a book published not many years since, under the title of *Medicina Gymnastica.*† For my own part, when I am in town, for want of these opportunities, I exercise myself an hour every morning upon a dumb-bell that is placed in a corner of my room, and it pleases me the more because it does every thing I require of it in the most profound silence. My landlady and her daughters are so well acquainted with my hours of exercise, that they never come into my room to disturb me while I am ringing.

When I was some years younger than I am at present, I used to employ myself in a more laborious diversion, which I learned from a Latin treatise of ex-

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*—Vocat ingenti clamore Cytheron,
Taygetique canes.—VIRGIL GEORG. iii. 43.
The echoing hills and chiding hounds invite.

† By Francis Fuller, M. A.

ercises that is written with great erudition:* It is there called the σκιμαχία, or the fighting with a man's own shadow, and consists in the brandishing of two short sticks grasped in each hand, and loaded with plugs of lead at either end. This opens the chest, exercises the limbs, and gives a man all the pleasure of boxing, without the blows. I could wish that several learned men would lay out that time which they employ in controversies and disputes about nothing, in this method of fighting with their own shadows. It might conduce very much to evaporate the spleen, which makes them uneasy to the public as well as to themselves.

To conclude, as I am a compound of soul and body, I consider myself as obliged to a double scheme of duties; and I think I have not fulfilled the business of the day when I do not thus employ the one in labor and exercise, as well as the other in study and contemplation. L.

FOX-HUNTING—ACTIVE SPORTS.

[Addison's *Sir Roger de Coverly* is fond of active sports—and he closes one of his papers in the Spectator descriptive of a hare-hunt, by citing a passage from Paschal's 'On the Misery of Man,' of much severity on our love of sports, which however he turns against the author, whose chronic invalidism and early death he attributes to his neglect of physical exercise and cheerful recreation.]

'What,' says Paschal, 'unless it be to drown thought, can make men throw away so much time and pains upon a silly animal, which they might buy cheaper in the market?' The foregoing reflection is certainly just, when a man suffers his whole mind to be drawn into his sports, and altogether loses himself in the woods; but does not affect those who propose a far more laudable end from this exercise, I mean the preservation of health, and keeping all the organs of the soul in a condition to execute her orders. Had that incomparable person, whom I last quoted, been a little more indulgent to himself in this point, the world might probably have enjoyed him much longer; whereas through too great an application to his studies in his youth, he contracted that ill habit of body, which, after a tedious sickness, carried him off in the fortieth year of his age; and the whole history we have of his life till that time, is but one continued account of the behavior of a noble soul struggling under innumerable pains and distempers.

For my own part, I intend to hunt twice a week during my stay with Sir Roger; and shall prescribe the moderate use of this exercise to all my country friends, as the best kind of physic for mending a bad constitution, and preserving a good one.

I can not do this better, than in the following lines out of Mr. Dryden:

The first physicians by debauch were made;
Excess began, and Sloth sustains, the trade.
By chase, our long-lived fathers earn'd their food;
Toil-strung the nerves, and purified the blood:
But we, their sons, a pamper'd race of men,
Are dwindled down to threescore years and ten.
Better to hunt in fields for health unbought,
Than fee the doctor for a nauseous draught.
The wise for cure on exercise depend:
God never made his work for man to mend.

* This is Hyeroymus Mercurialis's celebrated book, *Artis Gymnastica apud Antiquos, &c. Libri sex. Venet.* 1569. 4to. See lib. iv. cap. 5, and lib. vi. cap. 2.

FILIAL RESPECT, GRATITUDE, AND CONFIDENCE.

1. You are required to view and treat your parents with respect. Your tender, inexperienced age requires that you think of yourselves with humility, and conduct yourselves with modesty; that you respect the superior age, and wisdom, and improvements of your parents, and observe toward them a submissive deportment. Nothing is more unbecoming in you, nothing will render you more unpleasant in the eyes of others, than froward or contemptuous conduct toward your parents. There are children, and I wish I could say there are only a few, who speak to their parents with rudeness, grow sullen at their rebukes, behave in their presence as if they deserved no attention, hear them speak without noticing them, and rather ridicule than honor them. There are many children at the present day who think more highly of themselves than of their elders; who think that their own wishes are first to be gratified; who abuse the condescension and kindness of their parents, and treat them as servants rather than superiors. Beware, my young friends, lest you grow up with this assuming and selfish spirit. Regard your parents as kindly given you by God, to support, direct, and govern you in your present state of weakness and inexperience. Express your respect for them in your manner and conversation. Do not neglect those outward signs of dependence and inferiority which suit your age. You are young, and you should therefore take the lowest place, and rather retire than thrust yourselves forward into notice. You have much to learn, and you should therefore hear, instead of seeking to be heard. You are dependent, and you should therefore ask instead of demanding what you desire, and you should receive every thing from your parents as a favor, and not as a debt. I do not mean to urge upon you a slavish fear of your parents. Love them, and love them ardently; but mingle a sense of their superiority with your love. Feel a confidence in their kindness; but let not this confidence make you rude and presumptuous, and lead to indecent familiarity. Talk to them with openness and freedom; but never contradict with violence; never answer with passion or contempt.

2. You should be grateful to your parents. Consider how much you owe them. The time has been, and it was not a long time past, when you depended wholly on their kindness—when you had no strength to make a single effort for yourselves,—when you could neither speak nor walk, and knew not the use of any of your powers. Had not a parent's arm supported you, you must have fallen to the earth, and perished. Observe with attention the infants which you so often see, and consider that a little while ago you were as feeble as they are: you were only a burden and a care, and you had nothing with which you could repay your parents' affection. But did they forsake you? How many sleepless nights have they been disturbed by your cries! When you were sick, how tenderly did they hang over you! With what pleasure have they seen you grow up to your present state! And what do you now possess which you have not received from their hands? God, indeed, is your great parent, your best friend, and from him every good gift descends; but God is pleased to bestow every thing upon you through the kindness of your parents. To your parents you owe every comfort: you owe to them the shelter you enjoy from the rain and cold, the raiment which covers, and the food which nourishes you. While you are seeking amusements, or are employed in gaining knowledge at school, your parents are toiling that you may be happy, that your wants may be supplied, that your minds may be improved, that you may grow up and be useful in the world. And when you consider how often you have forfeited all this kindness, and yet how ready they have been to forgive you, and to continue their favors, ought you not to look upon them with the tenderest gratitude? What greater monster can there be than an unthankful child, whose heart is never warmed by the daily expressions of parental solicitude; who, instead of requiting his best friend by his affectionate conduct, is sullen and passionate, and thinks his parents have done nothing for him, because they will not do all he desires? Consider how much better they can decide for you than you can for yourselves. You know but little of the world in which you live. You hastily catch at every thing which promises you pleasure; and unless the au-

thority of a parent should restrain you, you would soon rush into ruin, without a thought or a fear. In pursuing your own inclinations, your health would be destroyed, your minds would run waste, you would grow up slothful, selfish, a trouble to others, and burdensome to yourselves. Submit, then, cheerfully to your parents. Have you not experienced their goodness long enough to know, that they wish to make you happy, even when their commands are most severe? Prove, then, your sense of their goodness by doing cheerfully what they require. When they oppose your wishes, do not think that you have more knowledge than they. Do not receive their commands with a sour, angry, sullen look, which says, louder than words, that you obey only because you dare not rebel. If they deny your requests, do not persist in urging them, but consider how many requests they have already granted you. Do not expect that your parents are to give up every thing to you, but study to give up every thing to them. Do not wait for them to threaten, but when a look tells you what they want, fly to perform it. This is the way in which you can best reward them for all their pains and labors. In this way you will make their houses pleasant and cheerful. But if you are disobedient, perverse, and stubborn, you will make home a place of contention, noise, and anger, and your best friends will have reason to wish that you had never been born. A disobedient child almost always grows up ill-natured and disobliging to all with whom he is connected. None love him, and he has no heart to love any but himself. If you would be amiable in your temper and manner, and desire to be beloved, let me advise you to begin life with giving up your wills to your parents.

3. Again, you should express your respect for your parents, by placing unreserved confidence in them. This is a very important part of your duty. Children should learn to be honest, sincere, open-hearted to their parents. An artful, hypocritical child is one of the most unpromising characters in the world. You should have no secrets which you are unwilling to disclose to your parents. If you have done wrong, you should openly confess it, and ask that forgiveness which a parent's heart is so ready to bestow. If you wish to undertake any thing, ask their consent. Never begin any thing in the hope you can conceal your design. If you once strive to impose on your parents, you will be led on, from one step to another, to invent falsehoods, to practice artifice, till you become contemptible and hateful. You will soon be detected, and then none will trust you. Sincerity in a child will make up for many faults. Of children, he is the worst who watches the eyes of his parents, pretends to obey as long as they see him, but as soon as they have turned away does what they have forbidden. Whatever else you do, never deceive. Let your parents always learn your faults from your own lips, and be assured they will never love you the less for your openness and sincerity.

4. Lastly, you must prove your respect and gratitude to your parents by attending seriously to their instructions and admonitions, and by improving the advantages they afford you for becoming wise, useful, good, and happy for ever. I hope, my young friends, that you have parents who take care, not only of your bodies, but your souls; who instruct you in your duty, who talk to you of your God and Saviour, who teach you to pray and to read the Scriptures, and who strive to give you such knowledge, and bring you up in such habits, as will lead you to usefulness on earth, and to happiness in heaven. If you have not, I can only pity you; I have little hope that I can do you good by what I have here said. But if your parents are faithful in instructing and guiding you, you must prove your gratitude to them and to God, by listening respectfully and attentively to what they say; by shunning the temptations of which they warn you, and by walking in the paths they mark out before you. You must labor to answer their hopes and wishes, by improving in knowledge; by being industrious at school; by living peaceably with your companions; by avoiding all profane and wicked language; by fleeing bad company; by treating all persons with respect; by being kind and generous and honest, and by loving and serving your Father in heaven. This is the happiest and most delightful way of repaying the kindness of your parents. Let them see you growing up with amiable tempers and industrious habits; let them see you delighting to do good, and fearing to offend God; and they will think you have never been a burden.—*Duties of Children.* Works III., p. 287.

SELF-CULTURE.

Self-culture is something possible. It has its foundation in our nature. We have first the faculty of turning the mind on itself; of recalling its past, and watching its present operations; of learning its various capacities and susceptibilities, what it can do and bear, what it can enjoy and suffer; and of thus learning in general what our nature is, and what it was made for. It is worthy of observation, that we are able to discern not only what we already are, but what we may become, to see in ourselves germs and promises of a growth to which no bounds can be set, to dart beyond what we have actually gained to the idea of Perfection as the end of our being. It is by this self-comprehending power that we are distinguished from the brutes, which give no signs of looking into themselves. Without this there would be no self-culture, for we should not know the work to be done; and one reason why self-culture is so little proposed is, that so few penetrate into their own nature. To most men, their own spirits are shadowy, unreal, compared with what is outward. When they happen to cast a glance inward, they see there only a dark, vague chaos. They distinguish perhaps some violent passion, which has driven them to injurious excess; but their highest powers hardly attract a thought; and thus multitudes live and die as truly strangers to themselves, as to countries of which they have heard the name, but which human foot had never trodden.

But self-culture is possible, not only because we can enter into and search ourselves. We have a still nobler power, that of acting on, determining, and forming ourselves. This is a fearful as well as glorious endowment, for it is the ground of human responsibility. We have the power not only of tracing our powers, but of guiding and impelling them; not only of watching our passions, but of controlling them; not only of seeing our faculties grow, but of applying to them means and influences to aid their growth. We can stay or change the current of thought. We can concentrate the intellect on objects which we wish to comprehend. We can fix our eyes on perfection, and make almost every thing speed us toward it. This is indeed a noble prerogative of our nature. Possessing this, it matters little what or where we are now, for we can conquer a better lot, and even be happier for starting from the lowest point. Of all the discoveries which men need to make, the most important at the present moment, is that of the self-forming power treasured up in themselves. They little suspect its extent, as little as the savage apprehends the energy which the mind is created to exert on the material world. It transcends in importance all our power over outward nature. There is more of divinity in it, than in the force which impels the outward universe; and yet how little we comprehend it! How it slumbers in most men unsuspected, unused! This makes self-culture possible, and binds it on us as a solemn duty.

Greatness of Human Nature.

The multitude of men can not, from the nature of the case, be distinguished; for the very idea of distinction is, that a man stands out from the multitude. They make little noise and draw little notice in their narrow spheres of action; but still they have their full proportion of personal worth and even of greatness. Indeed every man, in every condition, is great. It is only our own diseased sight which makes him little. A man is great as a man, be he where or what he may. The grandeur of his nature turns to insignificance all outward distinctions. His powers of intellect, of conscience, of love, of knowing God, of perceiving the beautiful, of acting on his own mind, on outward nature, and on his fellow-creatures, these are glorious prerogatives. Through the vulgar error of undervaluing what is common, we are apt indeed to pass these by as of little worth. But as in the outward creation, so in the soul, the common is the most precious. Science and art may invent splendid modes of illuminating the apartments of the opulent; but these are all poor and worthless, compared with the common light which the sun sends into all our windows, which he pours freely, impartially over hill and valley, which kindles daily the eastern and western sky; and so the common lights of reason, and conscience, and love, are of more worth and dignity than the rare endowments which give celebrity to a few. Let us not disparage that nature which is common to all men; for no thought can measure its grandeur. It is the image of God, the

image even of his infinity, for no limits can be set to its unfolding. He who possesses the divine powers of the soul is a great being, be his place what it may. You may clothe him with rags, may immure him in a dungeon, may chain him to slavish tasks. But he is still great. You may shut him out of your houses; but God opens to him heavenly mansions. He makes no show indeed in the streets of a splendid city; but a clear thought, a pure affection, a resolute act of a virtuous will, have a dignity of quite another kind and far higher than accumulations of brick and granite and plaster and stucco, however cunningly put together, or though stretching far beyond our sight. Nor is this all. If we pass over this grandeur of our common nature, and turn our thoughts to that comparative greatness, which draws chief attention, and which consists in the decided superiority of the individual to the general standard of power and character, we shall find this as free and frequent a growth among the obscure and unnoticed as in more conspicuous walks of life. The truly great are to be found every where, nor is it easy to say, in what condition they spring up most plentifully. Real greatness has nothing to do with a man's sphere. It does not lie in the magnitude of his outward agency, in the extent of the effects which he produces. The greatest men may do comparatively little abroad. Perhaps the greatest in our city at this moment are buried in obscurity. Grandeur of character lies wholly in force of soul, that is, in the force of thought, moral principle, and love, and this may be found in the humblest condition of life. A man brought up to an obscure trade, and hemmed in by the wants of a growing family, may, in his narrow sphere, perceive more clearly, discriminate more keenly, weigh evidence more wisely, seize on the right means more decisively, and have more presence of mind in difficulty, than another who has accumulated vast stores of knowledge by laborious study; and he has more of intellectual greatness. Many a man, who has gone but a few miles from home, understands human nature better, detects motives and weighs character more sagaciously, than another, who has traveled over the known world, and made a name by his reports of different countries. It is force of thought which measures intellectual, and so it is force of principle which measures moral greatness, that highest of human endowments, that brightest manifestation of the Divinity. The greatest man is he who chooses the Right with invincible resolution, who resists the sorest temptations from within and without, who bears the heaviest burdens cheerfully, who is calmest in storms and most fearless under menace and frowns, whose reliance on truth, on virtue, on God, is most unfaltering; and is this a greatness, which is apt to make a show, or which is most likely to abound in conspicuous station? The solemn conflicts of reason with passion; the victories of moral and religious principle over urgent and almost irresistible solicitations to self-indulgence; the hardest sacrifices of duty, those of deep-seated affection and of the heart's fondest hopes; the consolations, hopes, joys, and peace, of disappointed, persecuted, scorned, deserted virtue; these are of course unseen; so that the true greatness of human life is almost wholly out of sight. Perhaps in our presence, the most heroic deed on earth is done in some silent spirit, the loftiest purpose cherished, the most generous sacrifice made, and we do not suspect it. I believe this greatness to be most common among the multitude, whose names are never heard. Among common people will be found more of hardship borne manfully, more of unvarnished truth, more of religious trust, more of that generosity which gives what the giver needs himself, and more of a wise estimate of life and death, than among the more prosperous.

Influence over Others.

Influence is to be measured, not by the extent of surface it covers, but by its *kind*. A man may spread his mind, his feelings, and opinions, through a great extent; but if his mind be a low one, he manifests no greatness. A wretched artist may fill a city with daubs, and by a false, showy style achieve a reputation; but the man of genius, who leaves behind him one grand picture, in which immortal beauty is embodied, and which is silently to spread a true taste in his art, exerts an incomparably higher influence. Now the noblest influence on earth is that exerted on character; and he who puts forth this, does a great work, no matter how narrow or obscure his sphere. The father and mother of an unnoticed family, who, in their seclusion, awaken the mind of one child to

the idea and love of perfect goodness, who awaken in him a strength of will to repel all temptation, and who send him out prepared to profit by the conflicts of life, surpass in influence a Napoleon breaking the world to his sway. And not only is their work higher in kind; who knows, but that they are doing a greater work even as to extent or surface than the conqueror? Who knows, but that the being, whom they inspire with holy and disinterested principles, may communicate himself to others; and that, by a spreading agency, of which they were the silent origin, improvements may spread through a nation, through the world? In these remarks you will see why I feel and express a deep interest in the obscure, in the mass of men. The distinctions of society vanish before the light of these truths. I attach myself to the multitude, not because they are voters and have political power; but because they are men, and have within their reach the most glorious prizes of humanity.

THE IDEA OF SELF-CULTURE.

When a man looks into himself he discovers two distinct orders or kinds of principles which it behooves him especially to comprehend. He discovers desires, appetites, passions which terminate in himself, which crave and seek his own interest, gratification, distinction; and he discovers another principle, an antagonist to these, which is Impartial, Disinterested, Universal, enjoining on him a regard to the rights and happiness of other beings, and laying on him obligations which *must* be discharged, cost what they may, or however they may clash with his particular pleasure or gain. No man, however narrowed to his own interest, however hardened by selfishness, can deny that there springs up within him a great idea in opposition to interest, the idea of Duty, that an inward voice calls him more or less distinctly to revere and exercise Impartial Justice, and Universal Good-will. This disinterested principle in human nature we call, sometimes, reason; sometimes, conscience; sometimes, the moral sense or faculty. But, be its name what it may, it is a real principle in each of us, and it is the supreme power within us, to be cultivated above all others, for on its culture the right development of all others depends. The passions, indeed, may be stronger than the conscience, may lift up a louder voice; but their clamor differs wholly from the tone of command in which the conscience speaks. They are not clothed with its authority, its binding power. In their very triumphs they are rebuked by the moral principle, and often cower before its still, deep, menacing voice. No part of self-knowledge is more important, than to discern clearly these two great principles, the self-seeking and the disinterested; and the most important part of self-culture is to depress the former, and to exalt the latter, or to enthrone the sense of duty within us. There are no limits to the growth of this moral force in man, if he will cherish it faithfully. There have been men, whom no power in the universe could turn from the Right, by whom death in its most dreadful forms has been less dreaded than transgression of the inward law of universal justice and love.

Self-culture is Religious.—When we look into ourselves we discover powers which link us with this outward, visible, finite, ever changing world. We have sight and other senses to discern, and limbs and various faculties to secure and appropriate the material creation. And we have too a power, which can not stop at what we see and handle, at what exists within the bounds of space and time, which seeks for the Infinite, Uncreated Cause, which can not rest till it ascend to the Eternal, All-comprehending Mind. This we call the religious principle, and its grandeur can not be exaggerated by human language; for it marks out a being destined for higher communion than with the visible universe. To develop this, is eminently to educate ourselves. The true idea of God, unfolded clearly and livingly within us, and moving us to adore and obey him, and to aspire after likeness to him, is the noblest growth in human, and I may add, in celestial natures. The religious principle, and the moral, are intimately connected, and grow together. The former is indeed the perfection and highest manifestation of the latter. They are both disinterested. It is the essence of true religion to recognize and adore in God the attributes of Impartial Justice and Universal Love, and to hear him commanding us in the conscience to become what we adore.

Self-culture is Intellectual.—Intellectual culture consists, not chiefly, as many are apt to think, in accumulating information, though this is important, but in building up a force of thought which may be turned at will on any subjects on

which we are called to pass judgment. This force is manifested in the concentration of the attention, in accurate penetrating observation, in reducing complex subjects to their elements, in diving beneath the effect to the cause, in detecting the more subtle differences and resemblances of things, in reading the future in the present, and especially in rising from particular facts to general laws or universal truths. This last exertion of the intellect, its rising to broad views and great principles, constitutes what is called the philosophical mind, and is especially worthy of culture. What it means, your own observation must have taught you. You must have taken note of two classes of men, the one always employed on details, on particular facts, and the other using these facts as foundations of higher, wider truths. The latter are philosophers. For example, men had for ages seen pieces of wood, stones, metals falling to the ground. Newton seized on these particular facts, and rose to the idea, that all matter tends, or is attracted, toward all matter, and then defined the law according to which this attraction or force acts at different distances, thus giving us a grand principle, which, we have reason to think, extends to and controls the whole outward creation. One man reads a history, and can tell you all its events, and there stops. Another combines these events, brings them under one view, and learns the great causes which are at work on this or another nation, and what are its great tendencies, whether to freedom or despotism, to one or another form of civilization. So one man talks continually about the particular actions of this or another neighbor; whilst another looks beyond the acts to the inward principle from which they spring, and gathers from them larger views of human nature. In a word, one man sees all things apart and in fragments, whilst another strives to discover the harmony, connection, unity of all. One of the great evils of society is, that men, occupied perpetually with petty details, want general truths, want broad and fixed principles. Hence many, not wicked, are unstable, habitually inconsistent, as if they were overgrown children, rather than men. To build up that strength of mind which apprehends and cleaves to great universal truths, is the highest intellectual self-culture; and here I wish you to observe how entirely this culture agrees with that of the moral and the religious principles of our nature, of which I have previously spoken. In each of these, the improvement of the soul consists in raising it above what is narrow, particular, individual, selfish, to the universal and unconfined. To improve a man, is to liberalize, enlarge him in thought, feeling, and purpose. Narrowness of intellect and heart, this is the degradation from which all culture aims to rescue the human being.

Self-culture is Methodical.—In looking at our nature, we discover, among its admirable endowments, the sense or perception of Beauty. We see the germ of this in every human being, and there is no power which admits greater cultivation; and why should it not be cherished in all? It deserves remark, that the provision for this principle is infinite in the universe. There is but a very minute portion of the creation which we can turn into food and clothes, or gratification for the body; but the whole creation may be used to minister to the sense of beauty. Beauty is an all-pervading presence. It unfolds in the numberless flowers of the spring. It waves in the branches of the trees, and the green blades of grass. It haunts the depths of the earth and sea, and gleams out in the hues of the shell and the precious stone. And not only these minute objects, but the ocean, the mountains, the clouds, the heavens, the stars, the rising and setting sun, all overflow with beauty. The universe is its temple; and those men who are alive to it, can not lift their eyes without feeling themselves encompassed with it on every side. Now this beauty is so precious, the enjoyments it gives are so refined and pure, so congenial with our tenderest and noble feelings, and so akin to worship, that it is painful to think of the multitude of men as living in the midst of it, and living almost as blind to it, as if, instead of this fair earth and glorious sky, they were tenants of a dungeon. An infinite joy is lost to the world by the want of culture of this spiritual endowment. Suppose that I were to visit a cottage, and to see its walls lined with the choicest pictures of Raphael, and every spare nook filled with statues of the most exquisite workmanship, and that I were to learn that neither man, woman, nor child, ever cast an eye at these miracles of art, how should I feel their privation; how should I want to open their eyes, and to help them to

comprehend and feel the loveliness and grandeur which in vain courted their notice. But every husbandman is living in sight of the works of a diviner artist; and how much would his existence be elevated could he see the glory which shines forth in their forms, hues, proportions, and moral expression! I have spoken only of the beauty of nature, but how much of this mysterious charm is found in the elegant arts, and especially in literature? The best books have most beauty. The greatest truths are wronged if not linked with beauty, and they win their way most surely and deeply into the soul when arrayed in this their natural and fit attire. Now no man receives the true culture of a man in whom the sensibility to the beautiful is not cherished; and I know of no condition in life from which it should be excluded. Of all luxuries this is the cheapest and most at hand; and it seems to me to be most important to those conditions where coarse labor tends to give a grossness to the mind. From the diffusion of the sense of beauty in ancient Greece, and of the taste for music in Modern Germany, we learn that the people at large may partake of refined gratifications which have hitherto been thought to be necessarily restricted to a few.

Self-culture should embrace Utterance.—There is a power which each man should cultivate according to his ability, but which is very much neglected in the mass of the people, and that isthe power of Utterance. A man was not made to shut up his mind in itself; but to give it voice, and to exchange it for other minds. Speech is one of our grand distinctions from the brute. Our power over others lies not so much in the amount of thought within us, as in the power of bringing it out. A man of more than ordinary intellectual vigor, may, for want of expression, be a cipher, without significance, in society. And not only does a man influence others, but he greatly aids his own intellect, by giving distinct and forcible utterance to his thoughts. We understand ourselves better, our conceptions grow clearer, by the very effort to make them clear to another. Our social rank, too, depends a good deal on our power of utterance. The principal distinction between what are called gentleman, and the vulgar, lies in this, that the latter are awkward in manners, and are especially wanting in propriety, clearness, grace, and force of utterance. A man who can not open his lips without breaking a rule of grammar, without showing in his dialect, or brogue, or uncouth tones, his want of cultivation, or without darkening his meaning by a confused, unskillful mode of communication, can not take the place to which, perhaps, his native good sense entitles him. To have intercourse with respectable people, we must speak their language. On this account, I am glad that grammar and a correct pronunciation are taught in the common schools of this city. These are not trifles; nor are they superfluous to any class of people. They give a man access to social advantages, on which his improvement very much depends. The power of utterance should be included by all in their plans of self-culture.

Self-culture should be Universal.—The common notion has been, that the mass of the people need no other culture than is necessary to fit them for their various trades; and though this error is passing away, it is far from being exploded. But the ground of a man's culture lies in his nature, not in his calling. His powers are to be unfolded on account of their inherent dignity, not their outward direction. He is to be educated because he is a man, not because he is to make shoes, nails, or pins. A trade is plainly not the great end of his being. for his mind can not be shut up in it. * * * A mind, in which are sown the seeds of wisdom, disinterestedness, firmness of purpose, and piety, is worth more than all the outward material interests of a world. It exists for itself, for its own perfection, and must not be enslaved to its own or others' animal wants. You tell me that a liberal culture is needed for men who are to fill high stations, but not for such as are doomed to vulgar labor. I answer, that Man is a greater name than President or King. Truth and goodness are equally precious, in whatever sphere they are found. Besides, men of all conditions sustain equally the relations which give birth to the highest virtues, and demand the highest powers. The laborer is not a mere laborer. He has close, tender, responsible connections with God and his fellow creatures. He is a son, husband, father, friend, and Christian. He belongs to a home, a country, a church, a race; and is such a man to be cultivated only for a trade? Was he not sent into the world for a great work?

POETRY IN INDIVIDUAL CULTURE.

We believe that poetry, far from injuring society, is one of the great instruments of its refinement and exaltation. It lifts the mind above ordinary life, gives it a respite from depressing cares, and awakens the consciousness of its affinity with what is pure and noble. In its legitimate and highest efforts, it has the same tendency and aim with Christianity,—that is, to spiritualize our nature. True, poetry has been made the instrument of vice, the pander of bad passions; but when genius thus stoops, it dims its fires, and parts with much of its power; and even when poetry is enslaved to licentiousness and misanthropy, she can not wholly forget her true vocation. Strains of pure feeling, touches of tenderness, images of innocent happiness, sympathies with what is good in our nature, bursts of scorn or indignation at the hollowness of the world, passages true to our moral nature, often escape in an immoral work, and show us how hard it is for gifted spirit to divorce itself wholly from what is good. Poetry has a natural alliance with our best affections. It delights in the beauty and sublimity of outward nature and of the soul. It indeed portrays with terrible energy the excesses of the passions; but they are passions which show a mighty nature, which are full of power, which command awe, and excite a deep though shuddering sympathy. Its great tendency and purpose is to carry the mind beyond and above the beaten, dusty, weary walks of ordinary life; to lift it into a purer element, and to breathe into it more profound and generous emotion. It reveals to us the loveliness of nature, brings back the freshness of youthful feeling, revives the relish of simple pleasures, keeps unquenched the enthusiasm which warmed the springtime of our being, refines youthful love, strengthens our interest in human nature by vivid delineations of its tenderest and loftiest feelings, spreads our sympathies over all classes of society, knits us by new ties with universal being, and, through the brightness of its prophetic visions, helps faith to lay hold on the future life.

We are aware that it is objected to poetry that it gives wrong views and excites false expectations of life, peoples the mind with shadows and illusions, and builds up imagination on the ruins of wisdom. That there is wisdom against which poetry wars—the wisdom of the senses, which makes physical comfort and gratification the supreme good, and wealth the chief interest of life—we do not deny; nor do we deem it the least service which poetry renders to mankind, that it redeems them from the thraldom of this earth-born

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prudence. But, passing over this topic, we would observe that the complaint against poetry, as abounding in illusion and deception, is, in the main, groundless. In many poems there is more of truth than in many histories and philosophic theories. The fictions of genius are often the vehicles of the sublimest verities, and its flashes often open new regions of thought, and throw new light on the mysteries of our being. In poetry, the letter is falsehood, but the spirit is often profoundest wisdom. And if truth thus dwells in the boldest fictions of the poet, much more may it be expected in his delineations of life; for the present life, which is the first stage of the immortal mind, abounds in the materials of poetry, and it is the highest office of the bard to detect this divine element among the grosser pleasures and labors of our earthly being. The present life is not wholly prosaic, precise, tame, and finite. To the gifted eye it abounds in the poetic. The affections which spread beyond ourselves, and stretch far into futurity; the working of mighty passions, which seem to arm the soul with an almost superhuman energy; the innocent and irrepressible joy of infancy; the bloom, and buoyancy, and dazzling hopes of youth; the throbbings of the heart when it first wakes to love, and dreams of a happiness too vast for earth; woman, with her beauty, and grace, and gentleness, and fullness of feeling, and depth of affection, and her blushes of purity, and the tones and looks which only a mother's heart can inspire,—these are all poetical. It is not true that the poet paints a life which does not exist. He only extracts and concentrates, as it were, life's ethereal essence, arrests and condenses its volatile fragrance, brings together its scattered beauties, and prolongs its more refined but evanescent joys; and in this he does well; for it is good to feel that life is not wholly usurped by cares for subsistence and physical gratifications, but admits, in measures, which may be indefinitely enlarged, sentiments and delights worthy of a higher being. This power of poetry to refine our views of life and happiness is more and more needed as society advances. It is needed to withstand the encroachments of heartless and artificial manners, which make civilization so tame and uninteresting. It is needed to counteract the tendency of physical science, which—being now sought, not, as formerly, for intellectual gratification, but for multiplying bodily comforts—requires a new development of imagination, taste, and poetry, to preserve men from sinking into an earthly, material, epicurean life.

SUPERIORITY OF MIND OVER MATTER.

When we look at the organized productions of nature, we see that they require only a limited time, and most of them a very short time, to reach their perfection, and accomplish their end. Take, for example, that noble production, a tree. Having reached a certain height, and borne leaves, flowers, and fruit, it has nothing more to do. Its powers are fully developed; it has no hidden capacities, of which its buds and fruit are only the beginnings and pledges. Its design is fulfilled; the principle of life within it can effect no more. Not so the mind. We can never say of this, as of the full-grown tree in autumn, It has answered its end; it has done its work; its capacity is exhausted. On the contrary, the nature, powers, desires, and purposes of the mind are all undefined. We never feel, when a great intellect has risen to an original thought, or a vast discovery, that it has now accomplished its whole purpose, reached its bound, and can yield no other or higher fruits. On the contrary, our conviction of its resources is enlarged; we discern more of its affinity to the inexhaustible intelligence of its Author.

So, when a pure and resolute mind has made some great sacrifice to truth and duty, has manifested its attachment to God and man in singular trials, we do not feel as if the whole energy of virtuous principle were now put forth, as if the measure of excellence were filled, as if the maturest fruits were now borne, and henceforth the soul could only repeat itself. We feel, on the contrary, that virtue by illustrious efforts replenishes instead of wasting its life; that the mind, by perseverance in well-doing, instead of sinking into a mechanical tameness, is able to conceive of higher duties, is armed for a nobler daring, and grows more efficient in charity. The mind, by going forward, does not reach insurmountable prison walls, but learns more and more the boundlessness of its powers, and range.

Let me place this topic in another light, which may show, even more strongly, the contrast of the mind with the noblest productions of matter. My meaning may best be conveyed by reverting to the tree. We consider the tree as having answered its highest purpose when it yields a particular fruit. We judge of its perfection by a fixed, positive, definite product. The mind, however, in proportion to its improvements, becomes conscious that its perfection consists not in fixed, prescribed effects, not in exact and defined attainments, but in an original, creative, unconfinable energy, which yields new products, which carries into it new fields of thought.

This truth indeed is so obvious, that even the least improved may discern it. You all feel, that the most perfect mind is not that

which works in a prescribed way, which thinks and acts according to prescribed rules, but that which has a spring of action in itself, which combines anew the knowledge received from other minds, which explores its hidden and multiplied relations, and gives it forth in fresh and higher forms. The perfection of the tree, then, lies in a precise or definite product. That of the mind lies in an indefinite and boundless energy. The first implies limits. To set limits to the mind would destroy that original power in which its perfection consists. Here, then, we observe a distinction between material forms and the mind; and from the destruction of the first, which, as we see, attain perfection and fulfill their purpose in a limited duration, we can not argue to the destruction of the last, which plainly possesses the capacity of a progress without end.

We have pointed out one contrast between the mind and material forms. The latter, we have seen by their nature, have bounds. The tree, in a short time, and by rising and spreading a short distance, accomplishes its end. I now add, that the system of nature to which the tree belongs requires that it should stop where it does. Were it to grow for ever, it would be an infinite mischief. A single plant, endued with the principle of unlimited expansion, would in the progress of centuries overshadow nations, and exclude every other growth—would exhaust the earth's whole fertility. Material forms, then, must have narrow bounds, and their usefulness requires that their life and growth should often be arrested, even before reaching the limits prescribed by nature.

But the indefinite expansion of the mind, instead of warring with and counteracting the system of creation, harmonizes with and perfects it. One tree, should it grow for ever, would exclude other forms of vegetable life. One mind, in proportion to its expansion, awakens, and in a sense creates, other minds. It multiplies, instead of exhausting, the nutriment which other understandings need. A mind, the more it has of intellectual and moral life, the more it spreads life and power around it. It is an ever-enlarging source of thought and love. Let me here add, that the mind, by unlimited growth, not only yields a greater amount of good to other beings, but produces continually new forms of good. This in an important distinction. Were the tree to spread indefinitely, it would abound more in fruit, but in fruit of the same kind; and by excluding every other growth, it would destroy the variety of products, which now contribute to health and enjoyment. But the mind, in its progress, is perpetually yielding new fruits, new forms of thought, and virtue, and sanctity.

GRANT DUFF, M. P.

Mr. Grant Duff, an accomplished scholar, and Member of the House of Commons for the Elgin Burghs, Scotland, presents the views which we have always held respecting the classical element in a scheme of general education.

'I did not consider the old-fashioned English classical education a good classical education. On the contrary, I consider it a very bad classical education, altogether one sided, failing to give any thing like the cultivation that a classical education ought to give, while it occupies a most unreasonable amount of time. I believe that you could with ease, in very much less than half the time usually occupied in classical studies, familiarize the mind with every thing that has come down from classical antiquity that ought to form any part of general education. I would produce these results in the following ways:—1st, By teaching Greek as, what it is mainly, a living, not a dead language. 2d, By considering that the only object worth keeping in view with regard to Latin and Greek, considered as a part of general education, is to enable your youth to read whatever exists in Latin and Greek that you can not read as well in English, French, or German. To that end, I would immensely curtail the amount that is read, and even of the authors which must be read I would read in translations as much as could be with propriety read in that way. I would strike my pen remorselessly through every thing that was uncharacteristic in a first rate author; but, on the other hand, I would include in my list of books a good deal that is usually, but most unreasonably, omitted. I would wholly banish from general education all Latin and Greek composition whatever, except in prose. On the other hand, I would consider it just as necessary that the persons who were to go through a classical education should have their eye familiarized with whatever is most beautiful in Greek coins, statues, gems, and buildings, as that the ear should be familiarized with the finest passages in the language. When I was at school it was the fashion to learn by heart thousands and thousands of lines of Latin and Greek. To all that I would put an utter end, and never encourage a line to be learnt that was not sufficiently good to be treasured through life as a possession for ever.

'The time is surely come for some scholar of commanding reputation, or better still, for some committee of scholars, to put forth an answer to this question —considering that Latin and Greek studies do bring the mind into contact with ideas with which it is not otherwise brought into contact, and considering that there are a vast number of the studies which it is absurd and disgraceful to neglect—what is there that you insist upon as specially worthy of attention? I am persuaded that the list of books or part of books which would be written down in answer to such a question as this by scholars, who, in addition to having read widely in the classics and having made themselves acquainted with the chief treasures of classic art, have a wide knowledge of modern literature, would not be of unwieldly length. I yield to no one in the desire to keep classical study a part of education, but you must remember that the place which classical studies now hold in this country is a mere accidental result of their having been introduced when there was hardly any modern literature. Of late they have been studied from a fantastic notion that they are a peculiarly good discipline for the mind, that they are in some mysterious sense educative. They

were not introduced, however, for any such silly reason. Latin and Greek were in the days of the Renaissance the keys of almost all knowledge worth having. They were studied, not as being educative, but being instructive. What I advocate is, that we should go back, to the practices and principles of our ancestors in this matter, and act as they would have acted if the languages which it was necessary to learn for the ordinary purposes of an intelligent life had been then, as English, French, and German are now, full of books which introduced the reader to the knowledge best worth having. If that had been so in their day, they would, I trust, have used the classics to do for them what other literature could not do—they would not, I trust, have used the classics to do what other literature could do better. There is another question which a committee of scholars might usefully answer. What are the best translations of the classics in English, French, or German, and what is there that must be read in the original? If those two questions were satisfactorily answered, if it became once understood that a classical education must include a familiarity with the best productions of classical art, as represented at least by casts, electrotypes, drawings, and other copies where the originals are not accessible, and ought, if possible, to include a visit to the principal classical sites, I believe that the amount of classical culture in this country would be enormously increased, and give time for more valuable studies.

'I want carefully to guard myself against saying a word against these studies —classical or any of their adjuncts *per se*. The least useful of these adjuncts is probably Latin and Greek verse composition, but I would utterly banish it from general education, I would endeavor to keep up the traditions of English success in what I admit to be, like fencing, an excessively pretty accomplishment, by giving large rewards for it both at our schools and universities. The best and most legitimate use to which you can put endowments is to encourage studies which will not, so to speak, encourage themselves, and I should be sorry if there were ever a time when a few persons in this country could not write Latin verse as well, say, as the late Professor Conington, or Greek Iambics as well as the late Mr. James Riddell, not to mention the names of living people. It is a common thing to represent those who are opposed to the present system of teaching the classics as enemies to the classics themselves, but nothing could, in my case, be more unjust. I wish, as you have seen, that the classics should still occupy a considerable place in the education of any one who has any aptitude for literature, and who can carry on his studies to the age at which young men usually leave Oxford and Cambridge. Further, I should like to see such a rearrangement in the application of our University funds as to encourage a small number of specialists to give their attention to every one of the adjuncts of classical study. I can not possibly make it too clear that what I want is, not to diminish the amount of classical knowledge in the world or of classical culture in general education, but by a wiser ordering of classical studies to get time for other studies even more important, without overtasking the strength of fairly intelligent and fairly healthy young persons. I believe that English boys lose at least five clear years of life between seven years old and three-and-twenty, thanks to the unwisdom of our present system, in addition to what they may lose by their own idleness.'

THE SCHOOL AND THE TEACHER IN LITERATURE.

THOMAS HOOD. 1798—1845.

THOMAS HOOD, the son of a bookseller, was born in London, in 1798. He entered the counting-house of a Russian merchant as clerk,—which he left on account of his health, for the business of engraving, but in 1821, became sub-editor of the London Magazine, and afterward was an author, by profession, till his death in 1845. His "Whims and Oddities," "Comic Almanac," &c., have established his reputation for wit and comic power, and his "Song of a Shirt," "Eugene Aram's Dream," &c., indicate the possession of more serious and higher capacities.

His "*Irish Schoolmaster*," "The *Schoolmaster Abroad*," "The *Schoolmaster's Motto*," abound in whimsical allusions to the peculiarities of Irish and English schools and the teachers of our day—greatly exaggerated, we would fain believe.

THE IRISH SCHOOLMASTER.

ALACK! 'tis melancholy theme to think
How Learning doth in rugged states abide,
And, like her bashful owl, obscurely blink,
In pensive glooms and corners, scarcely spied;
Not, as in Founders' Halls and domes of pride,
Served with grave homage, like a tragic queen,
But with one lonely priest compell'd to hide,
In midst of foggy moors and mosses green,
In that clay cabin hight the College of Kilreen!

This College looketh South and West alsoe,
Because it hath a cast in windows twain;
Crazy and crack'd they be, and wind doth blow
Thorough transparent holes in every pane,
Which Dan, with many paines, makes whole again,
With nether garments, which his thrift doth teach
To stand for glass, like pronouns, and when rain
Stormeth, he puts, "once more unto the breach,"
Outside and in, tho' broke, yet so he mendeth each.

And in the midst a little door there is,
Whereon a board that doth congratulate
With painted letters, red as blood I wis,
Thus written,
"CHILDREN TAKEN IN TO BATE:"
And oft, indeed, the inward of that gate,
Most ventriloque, doth utter tender squeak,

And moans of infants that bemoan their fate,
In midst of sounds of Latin, French, and Greek,
Which, all i 'the Irish tongue, he teacheth them to speak.

For some are meant to right illegal wrongs,
And some for Doctors of Divinitie,
Whom he doth teach to murder the dead tongues,
And see win academical degree;
But some are bred for service of the sea,
Howbeit, their store of learning is but small,
For mickle waste he counteth it would be
To stock a head with bookish wares at all,
Only to be knock'd off by ruthless cannon ball.

Six babes he sways,—some little and some big,
Divided into classes six;—alsoe,
He keeps a parlour boarder of a pig,
That in the College fareth to and fro,
And picketh up the urchins' crumbs below,
And eke the learned rudiments they scan,
And thus his A, B, C, doth wisely know,—
Hereafter to be shown in caravan,
And raise the wonderment of many a learned man.

Alsoe, he schools for some tame familiar fowls,
Whereof, above his head, some two or three
Sit darkly squatting, like Minerva's owls,
But on the branches of no living tree,
And overlook the learned family;
While, sometimes, Partlet, from her gloomy perch,
Drops feather on the nose of Dominie,
Meanwhile with serious eye, he makes research
In leaves of that sour tree of knowledge—now a birch.

No chair he hath, the awful Pedagogue,
Such as would magisterial hams imbed,
But sitteth lowly on a beechen log,
Secure in high authority and dread;
Large, as a dome for Learning, seems his head,
And, like Apollo's, all beset with rays,
Because his locks are so unkempt and red,
And stand abroad in many several ways;—
No laurel crown he wears, howbeit his cap is baise.

And, underneath, a pair of shaggy brows
O'erhang as many eyes of gizzard hue,
That inward giblet of a fowl, which shows
A mongrel tint, that is ne brown ne blue;
His nose,—it is a coral to the view;
Well nourish'd with Pierian Potheen,—
For much he loves his native mountain dew;—
But to depict the dye would lack, I ween,
A bottle-red, in terms, as well as bottle-green.

As for his coat, 'tis such a jerkin short
As Spenser had, ere he composed his Tales;
But underneath he had no vest, nor aught.

So that the wind his airy breast assails;
Below, he wears the nether garb of males,
Of crimson plush, but non-plushed at the knee;—
Thence further down the native red prevails,
Of his own naked fleecy hosierie:—
Two sandals, without soles, complete his cap-a-pee.

Nathless, for dignity, he now doth lap
His function in a magisterial gown,
That shows more countries in it than a map,—
Blue tinct, and red and green, and russet brown,
Besides some blots, standing for country-town;
And eke some rents, for streams and rivers wide;
But, sometimes, bashful when he looks adown,
He turns the garment of the other side,
Hopeful that so the holes may never be espied!

And soe he sits, amidst the little pack,
That look for shady or for sunny noon,
Within his visage, like an almanack,—
His quiet smile fortelling gracious boon:
But when his mouth droops down, like rainy moon,
With horrid chill each little heart unwarms,
Knowing, that infant show'rs will follow soon,
And with forebodings of near wrath and storms
They sit, like timid hares, all trembling on their forms.

Ah! luckless wight, who can not then repeat
"Corduroy Colloquy,"—or "Ki, Kœ, Kod,"—
Full soon his tears shall make his turfy seat
More sodden, tho' already made of sod,
For Dan shall whip him with the word of God,—
Severe by rule, and not by nature mild,
He never spoils the child and spares the rod,
But spoils the rod and never spares the child,
And soe with holy rule deems he is reconcil'd.

But, surely, the just sky will never wink
At men who take delight in childish throe,
And stripe the nether-urchin like a pink
Or tender hyacinth, inscribed with woe;
Such bloody Pedagogues, when they shall know,
By useless birches, that forlorn recess,
Which is no holiday, in Pit below,
Will hell not seem design'd for their distress,—
A melancholy place that is all bottomlesse?

Yet would the Muse not chide the wholesome use
Of needful discipline, in due degree.
Devoid of sway, what wrongs will time produce,
Whene'er the twig untrained grows up a tree,
This shall a Carder; that a Whiteboy be,
Ferocious leaders of atrocious bands,
And Learning's help be used for infamie,
By lawless clerks, that, with their bloody hands,
In murder'd English write Rock's murderous commands

But ah! what shrilly cry doth now alarm
The sooty fowls that dozed upon the beam,
All sudden fluttering from the brandish'd arm,
And cackling chorus with the human scream,
Meanwhile, the scourge plies that unkindly seam
In Phelim's brogues, which bares his naked skin,
Like traitor gap in warlike fort, I deem,
That falsely let the fierce besieger in,
Nor seeks the Pedagogue by other course to win.

No parent dear he hath to heed his cries;—
Alas! his parent dear is far aloof,
And deep in Seven-Dial cellar lies,
Killed by kind cudgel-play, or gin of proof,
Or climbeth, catwise, on some London roof,
Singing, perchance, a lay of Erin's Isle,
Or, whilst he labors, weaves a fancy-woof,
Dreaming he sees his home,—his Phelim smile;—
Ah me! that luckless imp, who weepeth all the while!

Ah! who can paint that hard and heavy time,
When first the scholar lists in Learning's train,
And mounts her rugged steep, enforc'd to climb,
Like sooty imp, by sharp posterior pain,
From bloody twig, and eke that Indian cane,
Wherein, alas! no sugar'd juices dwell,
For this, the while one stripling's sluices drain,
Another weepeth over childblains fell,
Always upon the heel, yet never to be well!

Anon a third, for this delicious root,
Late ravish'd from his tooth by elder chit,
So soon is human violence afoot,
So hardly is the harmless bitter bit!
Meanwhile, the tyrant, with untimely wit
And mouthing face, derides the small one's moan,
Who, all lamenting for his loss, doth sit,
Alack,—mischance comes seldomtimes alone,
But aye the worried dog must rue more curs than one.

For lo! the Pedagogue, with sudden drub,
Smites his scald-head, that is already sore,—
Superfluous wound,—such is Misfortune's rub!
Who straight makes answer with redoubled roar,
And sheds salt tears twice faster than before,
That still, with backward fist, he strives to dry;
Washing, with brackish moisture, o'er and o'er,
His muddy cheek, that grows more foul thereby,
Till all his rainy face looks grim as rainy sky.

So Dan, by dint of noise, obtains a peace,
And with his natural untender knack,
By new distress, bids former grievance cease,
Like tears dried up with rugged huckaback,
That sets the mournful visage all awrack;
Yet soon the childish countenance will shine

Even as thorough storms the soonest slack,
For grief and beef in adverse ways incline,
This keeps, and that decays, when duly soaked in brine.

Now all is hushed, and, with a look profound,
The Dominie lays ope the learned page;
(So be it called) although he doth expound
Without a book, both Greek and Latin sage;
Now telleth he of Rome's rude infant age,
How Romulus was bred in savage wood,
By wet-nurse wolf, devoid of wolfish rage;
And laid foundation-stone of walls of mud,
But watered it, alas! with warm fraternal blood.

Anon, he turns to that Homeric war,
How Troy was sieged like Londonderry town;
And stout Achilles, at his jaunting-car,
Dragged mighty Hector with a bloody crown:
And eke the bard, that sung of their renown.
In garb of Greece, most beggar-like and torn,
He paints, with colly, wand'ring up and down.
Because, at once, in seven cities born;
And so, of parish rights, was, all his days, forlorn,

Anon, through old Mythology he goes,
Of gods defunct, and all their pedigrees,
But shuns their scandalous amours, and shows
How Plato wise, and clear-ey'd Socrates,
Confess'd not to those heathen hes and shes;
But thro' the clouds of the Olympic cope
Beheld St. Peter, with his holy keys,
And own'd their love was naught, and bow'd to Pope
Whilst all their purblind race in Pagan mist did groupe

From such quaint themes he turns, at last aside,
To new philosophies, that still are green,
And shows what railroads have been track'd, to guide
The wheels of great political machine;
If English corn should grow abroad, I ween,
And gold be made of gold, or paper sheet;
How many pigs be born, to each spalpeen;
And, ah! how man shall thrive beyond his meat,—
With twenty souls alive, to one square sod of peat!

Here, he makes end; and all the fry of youth,
That stood around with serious look intense,
Close up again their gaping eyes and mouth,
Which they had opened to his eloquence,
As if their hearing were a three-fold sense.
But now the current of his words is done,
And whether any fruits shall spring from thence,
In future time, with any mother's son!
It is a thing, God wot! that can be told by none.

Now by the creeping shadows of the noon,
The hour is come to lay aside their lore;
The cheerful pedagogue perceives it soon,

And cries, "Begone!" unto the imps,—and four
Snatch their two hats and struggle for the door,
Like ardent spirits vented from a cask,
All blythe and boisterous,—but leave two more,
With Reading made Uneasy for a task,
To weep, whilst all their mates in merry sunshine bask,

Like sportive Elfins, on the verdent sod,
With tender moss so sleekly overgrown,
That doth not hurt, but kiss the sole unshod,
So soothly kind is Erin to her own!
And one, at Hare and Hound, plays all alone,—
For Phelim's gone to tend his step-dame's cow;
Ah! Phelim's step-dame is a canker'd crone!
Whilst other twain play at an Irish row,
And, with shillelah small, break one another's brow!

But careful Dominie, with ceaseless thrift;
Now changeth ferula for rural hoe;
But, first of all, with tender hand doth shift
His college gown, because of solar glow,
And hangs it on a bush, to scare the crow:
Meanwhile, he plants in earth the dappled bean.
Or trains the young potatoes all a-row,
Or plucks the fragrant leek for pottage green,
With that crisp curly herb, call'd Kale in Aberdeen.

And so he wisely spends the fruitful hours,
Linked each to each by labour, like a bee;
Or rules in Learning's hall, or trims her bow'rs;—
Would there were many more such wights as he,
To sway each capital academie
Of Cam and Isis, for alack! at each
There dwells, I wot, some dronish Dominie,
That does no garden work, nor yet doth teach,
But wears a floury head, and talks in flow'ry speech!

ODE ON A DISTANT PROSPECT OF CLAPHAM ACADEMY.

Ah me! those old familiar bounds!
That classic house, those classic grounds
My pensive thought recalls!
What tender urchins now confine,
What little captives now repine,
Within yon irksome walls!

Ay, that's the very house! I know
Its ugly windows, ten a-row!
Its chimneys in the rear!
And there's the iron rod so high,
That drew the thunder from the sky
And turned our table-beer!

There I was birched! there I was bred!
There like a little Adam fed
  From Learning's woful tree!—
The weary tasks I used to con!
The hopeless leaves I wept upon!
  Most fruitless leaves to me!

The summoned class!—the awful bow!—
I wonder who is master now
  And wholesome anguish sheds!
How many ushers now employs,
How many maids to see the boys
  Have nothing in their heads!

Ay, there's the playground! there's the lime,
Beneath whose shade in summer's prime
  So wildly I have read!—
Who sits there now, and skims the cream
Of young Romance, and weaves a dream
  Of love and cottage-bread?

Who struts the Randall of the walk?
Who models tiny heads in chalk?
  Who scoops the light canoe?
What early genius buds apace?
Where's Poynter? Harris? Bowers? Chase?
  Hal Baylis? blithe Carew?

Alack! they're gone—a thousand ways
And some are serving in 'the Graye,'
  And some have perished young!—
Jack Harris weds his second wife;
Hal Baylis drives the wane of life;
  And blithe Carew—is hung!

Grace Bowers teaches A B C
To savages at Owhyee;
  Poor Chase is with the worms!—
All, all are gone,—the olden breed!—
New crops of mushroom boys succeed,
  'And push us from our forms!'

Lo! where they scramble forth, and shout,
And leap, and skip, and mob about,
  At play where we have played!
Some hop, some run (some fall), some twine
Their crony arms: some in the shine,
  And some are in the shade!

Lo! there what mixed conditions run:
The orphan lad; the widow's son;
  And fortune's favored care—
The wealthy born, for whom she hath
Macadamized the future path—
  The nabob's pampered heir!

Some brightly starred, some evil born;
For honor some, and some for scorn;
  For fair or foul renown!
Good, bad, indifferent,—none may lack!
Look, here's a White, and there's a Black!
  And there's a Creole brown!

Some laugh and sing, some mope and weep,
And wish their frugal sires would keep
  Their only sons at home;
Some tease the future tense, and plan
The full-grown doings of the man,
  And pant for years to come!

A foolish wish! There's one at hoop;
And four at fives! and five who stoop
  The marble taw to speed!
And one that curvets in and out,
Reining his fellow cob about,—
  Would I were in his steed!

Yet he would gladly halt and drop
That boyish harness off, to swop
  With this world's heavy van,—
To toil, to tug. O little fool!
While thou canst be a horse at school,
  To wish to be a man!

Perchance thou deem'st it were a thing
To wear a crown,—to be a king!
  And sleep on regal down!
Alas! thou know'st not kingly cares;
Far happier is thy head that wears
  That hat without a crown!

And dost thou think that years acquire
New added joys? Dost think thy sire
  More happy than his son?
That manhood's mirth?—O, go thy ways
To Drury Lane when —— plays,
  And see how forced our fun!

Thy taws are brave!—thy tops are rare!—
Our tops are spun with coils of care,
  Our dumps are no delight!
The Elgin marbles are but tame,
And 'tis at best a sorry game
  To fly the Muse's kite!

Our hearts are dough, our heels are lead,
Our topmost joys fall dull and dead
  Like balls with no rebound!
And often with a faded eye
We look behind, and send a sigh
  Toward that merry ground!

Then be contented. Thou has got
The most of heaven in thy young lot;
  There's sky-blue in thy cup!
Thou'lt find thy manhood all too fast,—
Soon come, soon gone! and age at last,
  A sorry breaking up!

In Bracebridge Hall, designed to exhibit different phases of old English country life, the author devotes a chapter to the Schoolmaster (Tom Slingsby) and a second to the School, to show the interest taken by the Squire in the learning and manners of the poor children of the village.

Tom Slingsby and his School.

TOM SLINGSBY was a native of the village of ——, apt at his learning, made some progress in Latin and mathematics, but took to reading voyages and travels, and was smitten with a desire to see the world. And so whistling 'o'er the hills and far away,' he sallied forth gayly to seek his fortune. In good time for a snug retreat for his battered condition, he returns tattered and torn, and the 'Squire' bethought himself that the village school was without a teacher; and as Slingsby was as fit for that as for any thing else, in a day or two he was seen swaying the rod of empire in the very school-house where he had often been horsed in the days of his boyhood.

THE SCHOOL.

But to come down from great men and higher matters to my little children and poor school-house again; I will, God willing, go forward orderly, as I purposed, to instruct poor children and young men both for learning and manners.—ROGER ASCHAM.

Having given the reader a slight sketch of the village schoolmaster, he may be curious to learn something concerning his school. As the Squire takes much interest in the education of the neighboring children, he put into the hands of the teacher, on first installing him into office, a copy of Roger Ascham's Schoolmaster, and advised him, moreover, to con over that portion of old Peachem which treats of the duty of masters, and which condemns the favorite method of making boys wise by flagellation.

He exhorted Slingsby not to break down or depress the free spirit of the boys, by harshness and slavish fear, but to lead them freely and joyously on in the path of knowledge, making it pleasant and desirable in their eyes. He wished to see the youth trained up in the manners and habitudes of the peasantry of the good old times, and thus to lay a foundation for the accomplishment of his favorite object, the revival of old English customs and character. He recommended that all the ancient holidays should be observed, and the sports of the boys, in their hours of play, regulated according to the standard authorities laid down in Strutt; a copy of whose invaluable work, decorated with plates, was deposited in the school-house. Above all, he exhorted the pedagogue to abstain from the use of birch: an instrument of instruction which the good Squire regards as fit only for the coercion of brute natures, that can not be reasoned with.

Mr. Slingsby has followed the Squire's instruction to the best of his disposition and ability. He never flogs the boys, because he is too easy, good-humored a creature to inflict pain on a worm. He is bountiful in holidays, because he loves holidays himself, and has a sympathy with the urchins' impatience of confinement, from having divers times experienced its irksomeness during the time that he was seeing the world. As to sports and pastimes, the boys are faithfully exercised in all that are on record: quoits, races, prison-bars, tip-cat, trap-

ball, bandy-ball, wrestling, leaping, and what not. The only misfortune is, that, having banished the birch, honest Slingsby has not studied Roger Ascham sufficiently to find out a substitute, or, rather, he has not the management in his nature to apply one; his school, therefore, though one of the happiest, is one of the most unruly in the country; and never was a pedagogue more liked, or less heeded, by his disciples than Slingsby.

He has lately taken a coadjutor worthy of himself; being another stray sheep returned to the village fold. This is no other than the son of the musical tailor, who had bestowed some cost upon his education, hoping one day to see him arrive at the dignity of an exciseman, or at least of a parish clerk. The lad grew up, however, as idle and musical as his father; and, being captivated by the drum and fife of a recruiting party, followed them off to the army. He returned not long since, out of money, and out at elbows, the prodigal son of the village. He remained for some time lounging about the place in half tattered soldier's dress, with a foraging cap on one side of his head, jerking stones across the brook, or loitering about the tavern door, a burden to his father, and regarded with great coldness by all warm householders.

Something, however, drew honest Slingsby toward the youth. It might be the kindness he bore to his father, who is one of the schoolmaster's great cronies; it might be that secret sympathy which draws men of vagrant propensities toward each other; for there is something truly magnetic in the vagabond feeling; or it might be that he remembered the time when he himself had come back like this youngster, a wreck to his native place. At any rate, whatever the motive, Slingsby drew toward the youth. They had many conversations in the village tap-room about foreign parts, and the various scenes and places they had witnessed during their wayfaring about the world. The more Slingsby talked with him, the more he found him to his taste; and finding him almost as learned as himself, he forthwith engaged him as an assistant, or usher in the school.

Under such admirable tuition, the school, as may be supposed, flourishes apace; and if the scholars do not become versed in all the holiday accomplishments of the good old times, to the Squire's heart's content, it will not be the fault of their teachers. The prodigal son has become almost as popular among the boys as the pedagogue himself. His instructions are not limited to school-hours; and having inherited the musical taste and talents of his father, he has bitten the whole school with the mania. He is a great hand at beating a drum, which is often heard rumbling from the rear of the school-house. He is teaching half the boys of the village, also, to play the fife, and the pandean pipes; and they weary the whole neighborhood with their vague pipings, as they sit perched on stiles, or loitering about the barn doors in the evenings. Among the other exercises of the school, also, he has introduced the ancient art of archery, one of the Squire's favorite themes, with such success, that the whipsters roam in truant bands about the neighborhood, practicing with their bows and arrows upon the birds of the air, and the beasts of the field; and not unfrequently making a foray into the Squire's domains, to the great indignation of the gamekeepers. In a word, so completely are the ancient English customs and habits cultivated at this school, that I should not be surprised if the Squire should live to see one of his poetic visions realized, and a brood reared up, worthy successors to Robin Hood, and his merry gang of outlaws.

In the Legend of Sleepy Hollow, in the second volume of the Sketch-Book, printed in London in 1820, Mr. Irving has introduced a Yankee schoolmaster who could have no existence outside of his brain, and whose name, like that of Dominie Sampson, has got imbedded in the permanent literature of the language.

ICHABOD CRANE.

ICHABOD CRANE, who tarried in Sleepy Hollow for the purpose of instructing the children of the vicinity, was a native of Connecticut, a State which supplies the Union with pioneers for the mind as well as for the forest, and sends forth yearly its legions of frontier woodsmen and country schoolmasters. The cognomen of Crane was not inapplicable to his person. He was tall, but exceedingly lank, with narrow shoulders, long arms and legs, hands that dangled a mile out of his sleeves, feet that might have served for shovels, and his whole frame most loosely hung together. His head was small, and flat at top, with huge ears, large green glassy eyes, and a long snipe nose, so that it looked like a weather-cock perched upon his spindle neck, to tell which way the wind blew. To see him striding along the profile of a hill on a windy day, with his clothes bagging and fluttering about him, one might have mistaken him for the genius of famine descending upon the earth, or some scarecrow eloped from a cornfield.

His school-house was a low building of one large room, rudely constructed of logs; the windows partly glazed, and partly patched with leaves of old copy-books. It was most ingeniously secured at vacant hours by a withe twisted in the handle of the door, and stakes set against the window-shutters; so that, though a thief might get in with perfect ease, he would find some embarrassment in getting out: an idea most probably borrowed by the architect, Yost Van Houten, from the mystery of an eel-pot. The school-house stood in a rather lonely but pleasant situation, just at the foot of a woody hill, with a brook running close by, and a formidable birch-tree growing at one end of it. From hence the low murmur of his pupils' voices, conning over their lessons, might be heard in a drowsy summer's day, like the hum of a bee-hive; interrupted now and then by the authoritative voice of the master, in the tone of menace or command; or, peradventure, by the appalling sound of the birch, as he urged some tardy loiterer along the flowery path of knowledge. Truth to say, he was a conscientious man, and ever bore in mind the golden maxim, 'Spare the rod and spoil the child.'—Ichabod Crane's scholars certainly were not spoiled.

I would not have it imagined, however, that he was one of those cruel potentates of the school, who joy in the smart of their subjects; on the contrary, he administered justice with discrimination rather than severity, taking the burden off the backs of the weak, and laying it on those of the strong. Your mere puny stripling, that winced at the least flourish of the rod, was passed by with indulgence; but the claims of justice were satisfied by inflicting a double portion on some little, tough, wrong-headed, broad-skirted Dutch urchin, who sulked and swelled and grew dogged and sullen beneath the birch. All this he called 'doing his duty' by their parents; and he never inflicted a chastisement without following it by the assurance, so consolatory to the smarting urchin, that 'he would remember it, and thank him for it the longest day he had to live.'

When school-hours were over, he was even the companion and playmate of the larger boys; and on holiday afternoons would convoy some of the smaller ones home, who happened to have pretty sisters, or good housewives for mothers, noted for the comforts of the cupboard. Indeed, it behooved him to keep on good terms with his pupils. The revenue arising from his school was small, and would have been scarcely sufficient to furnish him with daily bread, for he was a huge feeder, and, though lank, had the dilating powers of an anaconda; but to help out his maintenance, he was, according to country custom in those parts, boarded and lodged at the houses of the farmers, whose children he instructed. With these he lived successively a week at a time; thus going the rounds of the neighborhood, with all his worldly effects tied up in a cotton handkerchief.

That all this might not be too onerous on the purses of his rustic patrons, who are apt to consider the costs of schooling a grievous burden, and schoolmasters as mere drones, he had various ways of rendering himself both useful and agreeable. He assisted the farmers occasionally in the lighter labors of their farms; helped to make hay; mended the fences; took the horses to water; drove the cows from pasture; and cut wood for the winter fire. He laid aside, too, all the dominant dignity and absolute sway with which he lorded it in his little empire, the school, and became wonderfully gentle and ingratiating. He found favor in the eyes of the mothers, by petting the children, particularly the youngest; and like the lion bold, which whilom so magnanimously the lamb did hold, he would sit with a child on one knee, and rock a cradle with his foot for whole hours together.

In addition to his other vocations, he was the singing-master of the neighborhood, and picked up many bright shillings by instructing the young folks in psalmody. It was a matter of no little vanity to him, on Sundays, to take his station in front of the church-gallery, with a band of chosen singers; where, in his own mind, he completely carried away the palm from the parson. Certain it is, his voice resounded far above all the rest of the congregation; and there are peculiar quavers still to be heard in that church, and which may even be heard half a mile off, quite to the opposite side of the mill-pond, on a still Sunday morning, which are said to be legitimately descended from the nose of Ichabod Crane. Thus, by divers little makeshifts in that ingenious way which is commonly denominated 'by hook and by crook,' the worthy pedagogue got on tolerably enough, and was thought, by all who understood nothing of the labor of head-work, to have a wonderfully easy life of it.

The schoolmaster is generally a man of some importance in the female circle of a rural neighborhood; being considered a kind of idle, gentleman-like personage, of vastly superior tastes and accomplishments to the rough country swains, and, indeed, inferior in learning only to the parson. His appearance, therefore, is apt to occasion some little stir at the tea-table of a farm-house, and the addition of a supernumerary dish of cakes or sweetmeats, or, peradventure, the parade of a silver teapot. Our man of letters, therefore, was peculiarly happy in the smiles of all the country damsels. How he would figure among them in the church-yard, between services on Sundays! gathering grapes for them from the wild vines that overrun the surrounding trees; reciting for their amusement all the epitaphs on the tombstones; or sauntering, with a whole bevy of them, along the banks of the adjacent mill-pond; while the more bashful country bumpkins hung sheepishly back, envying his superior elegance and address.

CHARACTER OF THE HAPPY WARRIOR.

Who is the happy Warrior? Who is he
That every Man in arms should wish to be?
——It is the generous Spirit, who, when brought
Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought
Upon the plan that pleased his childish thought:
Whose high endeavors are an inward light
That makes the path before him always bright:
Who, with a natural instinct to discern
What knowledge can perform, is diligent to learn;
Abides by this resolve, and stops not there,
But makes his moral being his prime care;
Who, doomed to go in company with Pain,
And Fear, and Bloodshed, miserable train!
Turns his necessity to glorious gain;
In face of these doth exercise a power
Which is our human nature's highest dower;
Controls them and subdues, transmutes, bereaves
Of their bad influence, and their good receives:
By objects, which might force the soul to abate
Her feeling, rendered more compassionate;
Is placable—because occasions rise
So often that demand such sacrifice;
More skillful in self-knowledge, even more pure,
As tempted more; more able to endure,
As more exposed to suffering and distress;
Thence, also, more alive to tenderness.
—'Tis he whose law is reason; who depends
Upon that law as on the best of friends;
Whence, in a state where men are tempted still
To evil for a guard against worst ill,
And what in quality or act is best
Doth seldom on a right foundation rest,
He fixes good on good alone, and owes
To virtue every triumph that he knows:
—Who, if he rise to station of command,
Rises by open means; and there will stand
On honorable terms, or else retire,
And in himself possess his own desire;
Who comprehends his trust, and to the same
Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim;
And therefore does not stoop, nor lie in wait
For wealth, or honors, or for worldly state;
Whom they must follow; on whose head must fall,
Like showers of manna, if they come at all:
Whose powers shed round him in the common strife,
Or mild concerns of ordinary life,

A constant influence, a peculiar grace;
But who, if he be called upon to face
Some awful moment to which heaven has joined
Great issues, good or bad for human kind,
Is happy as a Lover; and attired
With sudden brightness, like a Man inspired;
And, through the heat of conflict, keeps the law
In calmness made, and sees what he foresaw;
Or if an unexpected call succeed,
Come when it will, is equal to the need:
—He who though thus endued as with a sense
And faculty for storm and turbulence,
Is yet a Soul whose master-bias leans
To homefelt pleasures and to gentle scenes;
Sweet images! which, wherese'er he be,
Are at his heart; and such fidelity
It is his darling passion to approve;
More brave for this, that he hath much to love:—
'Tis, finally, the Man, who, lifted high,
Conspicuous object in a Nation's eye,
Or left unthought of in obscurity,—
Who, with a toward or untoward lot,
Prosperous or adverse, to his wish or not,
Plays, in the many games of life, that one
Where what he most doth value must be won:
Whom neither shape of danger can dismay,
Nor thought of tender happiness betray;
Who, not content that former worth stand fast,
Looks forward, persevering to the last,
From well to better, daily self-surpast:
Who, whether praise of him must walk the earth
For ever, and to noble deeds give birth,
Or he must go to dust without his fame,
And leave a dead unprofitable name,
Finds comfort in himself and in his cause;
And, while the martal mist is gathering, draws
His breath in confidence of Heaven's applause:
This is the happy Warrior; this is He
Whom every Man in arms should wish to be.

ODE TO DUTY.

Stern Daughter of the Voice of God!
O Duty! if that name thou love
Who art a Light to guide, a Rod
To check the erring, and reprove;
Thou, who art victory and law
When empty terrors overawe;
From vain temptations dost set free;
And calm'st the weary strife of frail humanity.

There are who ask not if thine eye
Be on them; who, in love and truth,
Where no misgiving is, rely
Upon the genial sense of youth:
Glad hearts! without reproach or blot;
Who do thy work, and know it not:
Long may the kindly impulse last!
But thou, if they should totter, teach them to stand fast!

Serene will be our days and bright,
And happy will our nature be,
When love is an unerring light,
And joy its own security.
And they a blissful course may hold
Even now, who, not unwisely bold,
Live in the spirit of this creed;
Yet find that other strength according to their need.

I, loving freedom, and untried;
No sport of every random gust,
Yet being of myself a guide,
Too blindly have reposed my trust:
And oft, when in my heart was heard
Thy timely mandate, I deferred
The task, in smoother walks to stray;
But thee I now would serve more strictly, if I may.

Through no disturbance of my soul,
Or strong compunction in me wrought,
I supplicate for thy control;
But in the quietness of thought:
Me thus unchartered freedom tires;
I feel the weight of chance-desires:
My hopes no more must change their name,
I long for a repose that ever is the same.

Stern Lawgiver! yet thou dost wear
The Godhead's most benignant grace;
Nor know we any thing so fair
As is the smile upon thy face:
Flowers laugh before thee on their beds;
And Fragrance in thy footing treads;
Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong;
And the most ancient Heavens, through Thee, are fresh and strong.

To humbler functions, awful Power,
I call thee: I myself commend
Unto thy guidence from this hour;
Oh, let my weakness have an end!
Give unto me, made lowly wise,
The spirit of self-sacrifice;
The confidence of reason give;
And in the light of truth thy Bondman let me live!

MAN'S EQUALITY IN MENTAL AND MORAL ENDOWMENTS.

Alas! what differs more than man from man!
And whence that difference? Whence but from himself,
For see the universal race endowed
With the same upright form! The sun is fixed,
And the infinite magnificence of heaven,
Fixed within reach of every human eye;
The sleepless ocean murmurs for all ears;
The vernal field infuses fresh delight
Into all hearts. Throughout the world of sense
Even as the object is sublime or fair,
That object is laid open to the view
Without reserve or vail; and as a power
Is salutary, or an influence sweet,
Are each and all enabled to perceive
That power, that influence, by impartial law.
Gifts nobler are vouchsafed alike to all;
Reason,—and, with that reason, smiles and tears;
Imagination, freedom in the will,
Conscience to guide and check; and death to be
Foretasted, immortality presumed.
Strange, then, nor less than monstrous might be deemed
The failure, if the Almighty, to this point
Liberal and undistinguishing, should hide
The excellence of moral qualities
From common minds.—Believe it not.
The primal duties shine aloft—like stars;
The charities that soothe, and heal, and bless
Are scattered at the feet of man—like flowers.
The generous inclination, the just rule,
Kind wishes, and good acting, and pure thoughts—
No mystery is here; no special boon
For high and not for low, for proudly graced
And not for meek of heart. The smoke ascends
To heaven as lightly from the cottage hearth
As from the haughty palace. He whose soul
Ponders this true equality, may walk
The fields of earth with gratitude and hope;
Lamenting ancient virtues overthrown,
And for the injustice grieving, that hath made
So wide a difference betwixt man and man. *Excursion*, Book ix.

UNIVERSAL EDUCATION—A STATE DUTY.

O for the coming of that glorious time
When, prizing knowledge as her noblest wealth
And best protection, this Imperial Realm,
While she exacts allegiance, shall admit
An obligation, on her part, to *teach*
Them who are born to serve her and obey;
Binding herself by Statute to secure

For all the children whom her soil maintains
The rudiments of Letters, and inform
The mind with moral and religious truth,
Both understood, and practiced,—so that none,
However destitute, be left to droop
By timely culture unsustained; or run
Into a wild disorder; or be forced
To drudge through weary life without the aid
Of intellectual implements and tools;
A savage Horde among the civilized,
A servile Band among the lordly free!
This sacred right, the lisping Babe proclaims
To be inherent in him, by Heaven's will,
For the protection of his innocence;
And the rude Boy, who, having overpast
The sinless age, by conscience is enrolled,
Yet mutinously knits his angry brow,
And lifts his willful hand on mischief bent,
Or turns the godlike faculty of speech
To impious use—by process indirect
Declares his due, while he makes known his need.
This sacred right is fruitlessly announced,
This universal plea in vain addressed
To eyes and ears of Parents who themselves
Did, in the time of their necessity,
Urge it in vain; and, therefore, like a prayer
That from the humblest floor ascends to heaven,
It mounts to reach the State's parental ear;
Who, if indeed she own a Mother's heart,
And be not most unfeelingly devoid
Of gratitude to Providence, will grant
The unquestionable good, which England, safe
From interference of external force,
May grant at leisure; without risk incurred
That what in wisdom for herself she doth,
Others shall e'er be able to undo.
The discipline of slavery is unknown
Amongst us,—hence the more do we require
The discipline of virtue; order else
Can not subsist, nor confidence, nor peace.
Thus duties rising out of good possessed,
And prudent caution needful to avert
Impending evil, equally require
That the whole people should be taught and trained.

From culture, unexclusively bestowed
Expect those mighty issues: from the pains
And faithful care of unambitious schools.
Instructing simple childhood's ready ear.
Thence look for these magnificent results. *Excursion*, Book x.

The Rod in English Literature.

The Rod enjoys a bad pre-eminence among instruments of torture as the source and subject of poetic inspiration. Almost every English writer of note, who has treated of discipline, has introduced it 'to point a moral and adorn a tale;' and it is the special subject of many poems and a formidable number of epigrams.

George Coleman the younger, taking for his motto a line from an old ballad,

The schoolmaster's joy is to flog,

goes on to indite an elaborate defense of this symbol and instrument of authority under the title of the *Rodiad*. Far from participating in the 'sentimental twáddle' of schools without birch, and government by moral force, his hero exclaims:—

I am a schoolmaster of the good old school,
One to whose ears no sound such music seems,
As when a bold big boy for mercy screams.

Francis Newbury, the friend of Dr. Johnson and Goldsmith, and the publisher of many books for children, is the author of a poem entitled *The Terrors of the Rod*. And terrible is the picture of a young girl, 'praying for forgiveness,' and yet 'across a chair,' receiving the 'rod's reiterations' with the insulting deprecation:

These stripes I am sorry to impart,
But 'tis for your own good you smart.

The *Irish Schoolmaster*, as sketched by Hood after the manner of Shenstone's *English Schoolmistress*, was

Severe by rule, and not by nature mild,
He never spoils the child and spares the rod,
But spoils the rod and never spares the child,
And soe with holy rule deems he is reconciled.

Samuel Butler, who is the author of the line which expresses the 'wisdom of Solomon' in the concise formula,

Spare the rod and spoil the child,

has also given the philosophy of the practice in the following words of Hudibras:

Whipping, that's virtue's governess,
Tutoress of Arts and Sciences;
That mends the gross mistakes of nature,
And puts new life into dead matter;
That lays foundation for renown,
And all the heroes of the gown.

Byron urges the unsparing use of the rod on schoolmasters generally—

Oh, ye! who teach the ingenious youth of nations,
Holland, France, England, Germany, and Spain,
I pray ye, flog them upon all occasions;
It mends their morals, never mind the pain.

And in this flippant way the most outrageous abuse of parental authority on the part of schoolmasters and 'school-mams' has been justified and encouraged.

(2.) "*And all in sight doth rise a birchen tree.*"

THE BIRCH has attained a place in English life and literature hardly surpassed by any other tree. It figures in name and in fact—in prose and verse—in matters sacred and profane. Our readers, many of whom, must have a traditional reverence for this emblem of magisterial authority in the school-room, may be pleased with a few of the many references to its manifold uses and virtues as described by the classic authors of our language, as well as with specimens of the wit and poetry which it has inspired.

It had place in the popular festivities of May-day, and of Mid-Summer's Eve, and Christmas. Owen, in his Welsh Dictionary defines *Bedwen*, a birch tree, by "a May-pole, because it is always made of birch." Stowe, in his "Survey of London," tells us "that on the vigil of St. John Baptist, every man's door being shadowed with *green birch*, long fennel, &c., garnished with garlands of beautiful flowers, had also lamps of glass with oil burning in them all night." Coles, in his "Adam in Eden," says—"I remember once as I rid through little Brickhill in Buckinghamshire, every sign-post in the towne almost, was bedecked with green birch," on Mid-Summer Eve. Coles quaintly observes among the civil uses of the birch tree, "the punishment of children, both at home and at school; for it hath an admirable influence on them when they are out of order, and therefore some call it *make peace*." In some sections, on Christmas Eve, a nicely bound bundle of birchen twigs with one end immersed in cake or frosted sugar, was placed in the stockings of naughty boys.

In "Whimsies," or a New Cast of Characters, (1631,) mention is made of the *birch-pole*, as having been set up before ale-houses for a sign,—as a *bush* of some kind was formerly hung over the door of wine-shops,—whence came the proverb, "good wine needs no bush."

Pope introduces one of his heroes with

"His beaver'd brow a *birchen* garland bears."

Roger Ascham, in his "Toxophilus: or Schole of Shootinge," enumerates it among "the kinde of wood, whereof the shaft is made"—"being both strong enough to stand in a bowe, and light enough to fly far." Of its use in archery, Spencer, in the "Faerie Queene," speaks of "the birch for shafts" in the equipment of one of his characters.

Shakspeare has not forgot its disciplinary use, (*in Measure for Measure, Act I., Sen. 2d.*)

——— "Now as fond fathers,
Having bound up the threatening *twigs of birch*,
Only to stick it in their childrens' sight
For terror, not for use: in time the rod
Becomes more mocked than used."

The scholastic uses of the birch have been celebrated not only in occasional stanzas, but constitute the inspiration and burden of poems devoted exclusively to its praise.

Rev. Henry Layng, Fellow of New College, Oxford, published in 1754, Oxford, a poem entitled "*The Rod*, a poem in three cantos, 4to, 46 pages." It has an advertisement of three pages, deprecating the imputation of any personal allusions or designs to encourage school rebellions. It has also a frontispiece, representing two youths, one standing, the other sitting on a form, and before them the figure of an ass, erect on his hind legs, clothed in a pallium (the dress of a Doctor at Oxford.) A birch, doctorial hat, and books, lettered Priscian and Lycophron, form the base; and on the ribbon above is the legend, "An ass in the Greek pallium teaching."

The following is a specimen of the spirit and humor of the poem, being a description of the birch tree.

"A tree there is, such was Apollo's will,
That grows uncultured on the Muses' Hill,
Its type in Heav'n the blest Immortals know,
There call'd the tree of Science, Birch below.

These characters observ'd thy guide shall be,
Unerring guide to the mysterious tree.
Smooth like its kindred Poplar, to the skies
The trunk ascends and quivering branches rise;
By teeming seeds it propagates its kind,
And with the year renew'd it casts the rind;
Pierc'd by the matron's hand, her bowl it fills,
Scarce yielding to the vine's nectareous rills.
Of this select full in the Moon's eclipse,
Of equal size thrice three coeval slips,
Around the Osier's flexile band entwine,
And all their force in strictest union join.
Each Muse shall o'er her favorite twig preside,
Sacred to Phœbus, let their band be tied;
With this when sloth and negligence provoke,
Thrice let thy vengeful arm impress the stroke,
Then shalt thou hear loud clamors rend the breast,
Attentive hear, and let the sound be blest;
So when the priestess at the Delphic shrine,
Roar'd loud, the listening votary hail'd the sign."

We find in the London Notes and Queries—from which the above notice and extract is taken, the following lines.

THE BIRCH: A POEM.

Written by a Youth of thirteen.

Though the *Oak* be the prince and the pride of the grove,
The emblem of power and the fav'rite of Jove;
Though Phœbus his temples with *Laurel* has bound,
And with chaplets of *Poplar* Alcides is crown'd;
Though Pallas the *Olive* has graced with her choice,
And old mother Cybel in *Pines* may rejoice,
Yet the Muses declare, after diligent search,
That no tree can be found to compare with the *Birch*.
The Birch, they affirm, is the true tree of knowledge,
Revered at each school and remember'd at college.
Though Virgil's famed tree might produce, as its fruit,
A crop of vain dreams, and strange whims on each shoot,
Yet the Birch on each bough, on the top of each switch,
Bears the essence of grammar and eight parts of speech.
'Mongst the leaves are conceal'd more than mem'ry can mention,
All cases, all genders, all forms of declension.
Nine branches, when cropp'd by the hands of the Nine,
And duly arranged in a parallel line,
Tied up in nine folds of a mystical string
And soak'd for nine days in cold Helicon spring,
Form a sceptre composed for a pedagogue's hand,
Like the Fasces of Rome, a true badge of command.
The sceptre thus finish'd, like Moses's rod,
From flints could draw tears, and give life to a clod.
Should darkness Egyptian, or ignorance, spread
Their clouds o'er the mind, or envelop the head,
The rod, thrice applied, puts the darkness to flight,
Disperses the clouds, and restores us to light.
Like the Virga Divina, 'twill find out the vein
Where lurks the rich metal, the ore of the brain,

Should Genius a captive in sloth be confined,
Or the witchcraft of Pleasure prevail o'er the mind,
This magical wand but apply—with a stroke,
The spell is dissolved, the enchantment is broke.
Like Hermes' caduceus, these switches inspire
Rhetorical thunder, poetical fire:
And if Morpheus our temple in Lethe should steep,
Their touch will untie all the fetters of sleep.
Here dwells strong conviction—of Logic the glory,
When applied with precision *a posteriori*.
I've known a short lecture most strangely prevail,
When duly convey'd to the head through the tail;
Like an electrical shock, in an instant 'tis spread,
And flies with a jerk from the tail to the head;
Promotes circulation, and thrills through each vein
The faculties quickens, and purges the brain.
By sympathy thus, and consent of the parts,
We are taught, *fundamentally* classics and arts.
The Birch, *a priori*, applied to the palm,
Can settle disputes and a passion becalm.
Whatever disorders prevail in the blood,
The birch can correct them, like guaiacum wood:
It sweetens the juices, corrects our ill humors,
Bad habits removes, and disperses foul tumors.
When applied to the hand it can cure with a switch,
Like the salve of old Molyneux, used in the itch
As the famed rod of Circe to brutes could turn men,
So the twigs of the Birch can unbrute them again.
Like the wand of the Sybil, that branch of pure gold,
These sprays can the gates of Elysium unfold—
The Elysium of learning, where pleasures abound,
Those sweets that still flourish on classical ground.
Prometheus's rod, which, mythologists say,
Fetch'd fire from the sun to give life to his clay,
Was a rod well applied his men to inspire
With a taste for the arts, and their genius to fire.
This bundle of rods may suggest one reflection,
That the arts with each other maintain a connection.
Another good moral this bundle of switches
Points out to our notice and silently teaches;
Of peace and good fellowship these are a token,
For the twigs, well united, can scarcely be broken.
Then, if such are its virtues, we'll bow to the tree,
And THE BIRCH, like the Muses, immortal shall be."

This poem was written by Rev. Thomas Wilson, B. D., Head-master of Clitheroe Grammar School, Lancashire, in 1784, and first published in *Adam's Weekly Courant*, July 25, 1786. See *Notes and Queries*, Vol. x. p. 432.

HOOD, in his whimsical and comic stanzas indulges in frequent allusions to the school where he "was *birched*," and contrives to extract some sweet out of the bitter discipline of his school days:

"Ay, though the very birch's smart
Should mark those hours again;
I'd kiss the rod, and be resigned
Beneath the stroke, and even find
Some *sugar* in the *cane*."

(3.) "*Their books of stature small they take in hand,*
Which with pellucid horn secured are,
To save from fingers wet the letters fair."

A HORNBOOK was the earliest form of the Primer—or first book to teach children to read—being a card or table, set in a frame, on which the letters were inscribed, and covered with a thin plate of *horn* to prevent the paper being soiled, and thumbed to pieces by rough and frequent use.

A writer in "*Notes and Queries*," Vol. III. p. 151, describes a *Hornbook* in the British Museum, as follows: "It contains on one side the 'Old English Alphabet'—the capitals in two lines, the small letters in one. The fourth line contains the vowels twice repeated, (perhaps to *doubly* impress upon the pupil the necessity of learning them.) Next follow in two columns, our ancient companions, 'ab, eb, ib,' &c., and 'ba, be, bi,' &c. After the formula of exorcism comes the 'Lord's Prayer,' (which is given somewhat differently to our present version,) winding up with 'i. ii. iii. iv. v. vi. vii viii ix. x.' On the other side is the following whimsical piece of composition:—

"*What more could be wished for, even by a literary gourmand under the Tudors, than to be able to Read and Spell; To repeat that holy charm before which fled all unholy Ghosts, Goblins, or even the old Gentleman himself to the very bottom of the Red Sea, and to say that immortal prayer, which secures heaven to all who* exanimo *use it, and those mathematical powers, by knowing units, from which spring countless myriads.*"'

Shakspeare, in "Love's Labor's Lost," introduces the schoolmaster, (Holofernes,) as being "lettered" because "he teaches boys the *hornbook*."

It appears from a stanza of Prior, that children were sometimes served with a hornbook, far more palatable and easily digested than that described by Shenstone.

To master John the English maid
A *hornbook* gives of gingerbread;
And, that the child may learn the better,
As he can name, he eats the letter.

Locke was one of the earliest English writers on Education to recommend the abandonment of hornbooks, or any arrangement of the letters in horizontal or perpendicular columns, as in the old fashioned Primers, to be learned by the direst repetitions at school, for some game, in which the letters should be pasted on the sides of the dice, or on blocks, and that the shape and name of each should be acquired by familiarity at home.

(4.) "To loose the brogues," &c.

The word *brogue* is used in Scotland to mean a coarse kind of shoe, stitched together by thongs of leather. Shenstone adopts some provincial use of the word for *breeches*. But be the origin of the word what it may, the schoolmistress was not the first or last to act on the maxim—

"*Spare the rod and spoil the child.*"

Samuel Butler who is the author of this line makes the hero of his satirical poem say—

'Whipping, that's virtue's governess,
Tutoress of Arts and Sciences;
That mends the gross mistakes of nature,
And puts new life into dead matter;
That lays foundation for renown,
And all the heroes of the gown."

Byron, in a satirical stanza urges the unsparing use of the rod.

"Oh ye! who teach the ingenious youth of nations,
Holland, France, England, Germany or Spain,
I pray ye flog them upon all occasions
It mends their morals, never mind the pain."

EARLY ENGLISH SCHOOL BOOKS.

The ancient *Primer* was something very different from the school-books to which we ordinarily give the name. For in dames' schools of which Chaucer speaks, children were provided with few literary luxuries, and had to learn their letters off a scrap of parchment nailed on a board, and in most cases covered with a thin, transparent sheet of horn to protect the precious manuscript. Hence the term 'hornbook' applied to the elementary books of children. Prefixed to the alphabet, of course, was the Holy Sign of the Cross, and so firm a hold does an old custom get on the popular mind, that down to the commencement of the present century, alphabets continued to preserve their ancient heading, and derived from this circumstance their customary appellation of 'the Christcross row,' a term so thoroughly established as to find a place in our dictionaries. The Mediæval Primer is, however, best described in the language of the fourteenth century itself. The following language occurs in the introduction to a MS. poem of 300 lines, still preserved in the British Museum, each portion of which begins with a separate letter.

In place as men may se
When a childe to schole shal sette be
A Bok is hym ybrought,
Naylyd on a bord of tre,
That men cal an A. B. C,
Wrought is on the bok without.
V paraffys grete and stoute,
Royal in rose red.
That is set, withouten doute,
In token of Christes ded.
Red lettar in parchymyn,
Makyth a childe good and fyn
Letters to loke and see,
By this bok men may devyne,
That Christe's body was full of pyne,
That dyed on wod tree.

After the difficulties of the primer had been overcome, a great deal of elementary knowledge was taught to the children, as in Saxon times, through the vehicle of verse. For instance, we find a versified geography, of the fourteenth century, of which the two following verses may serve as a specimen, though the second is not very creditable to our mediæval geographers:

This world is delyd (divided), al on thre,
Asia, Affrika, and Eu-ro-pe.
Wil ye now here of A-si-e,
How mony londes ther inne be?

The lond of Macedonie,
Egypte the lesse and Ethiope,
Syria, and the land of Judia,
These ben all in Asia.

The following grammar rules belong to the fifteenth century:—

Mi lefe chyld, I hownsel the
To form thi vi tens, thou avise the,
And have mind of thi clensoune
Both of noune and pronoun,

And ilk case in plurele
How thou sal end, avise the well;
And the participyls forget thou not,
And the comparison be in thi thought,
The ablative case be in thi minde,
That he be saved in hys kind, &c.

There is something in the last fragment very suggestive of the rod. What would have been the fate of the unlucky grammarian, if in spite of this solemn

counsel, he had failed to have the ablative case in his mind, we dare not conjecture. Our forefathers had strict views on the subject of sparing the rod, and spoiling the child. Thus one old writer observes of children in general:

> To thir pleyntes mak no grete credence,
> A rodd reformeth thir insolence;
> In thir corage no anger doth abyde,
> Who spareth the rodd all virtue sette asyde

Yet the strictness was mingled, as of old, with paternal tenderness, and children appeared to have treated their masters with a singular mixture of familiarity and reverence. And it is pleasant to find among the same collection of school fragments, a little distitch which speaks of peace-making:

> Wrath of children son be over gon,
> With an apple parties be made at one.

There is good reason for believing that schoolboys of the fourteenth century were much what they are in the nineteenth, and fully possessed of that love of robbing orchards, which seems peculiar to the race.

In the 'Pathway to Knowledge,' printed in London in 1596, occur the following verses, composed by W. P., the translator from the Dutch of 'the order of keeping a Merchant's booke, after the Italian manner of debtor and creditor:'

> Thirty days hath September, Aprill, June and November,
> Febuarie eight and twentie alone, all the rest thirtie and one.
>
> Looke how many pence each day thou shalt gaine,
> Just so many pounds, halfe pounds and groates:
> With as many pence in a yeare certaine,
> Thou gettest and takest, as each wise man notes.
>
> Looke how many farthings in a week doe amount,
> In the yeare like shillings, and pence thou shalt count.

Mr. Davies, in his key to Hutton's Course quotes the following from a manuscript of the date of 1570:

> Multiplication is mie vexation,
> And Division is quite as bad,
> The Golden Rule is mie stumbling stule,
> And Practice drives me mad.

In 1600, Thomas Hylles published 'The Arte of Vulgar Arithmeticke, both in integrals and fractions,' to which is added *Musa Mercatorum*, which gives the following rule for 'the partition of a shilling into its aliquot parts.'

> A farthing first findes fortie eight
> An halfepeny hopes for twentie foure
> Three farthings seekes out 16 streight
> A peny puts a dozen lower.
> Dicke dandiprart drewe 8 out deade
> Twopence took 6 and went his way
> Tom trip and goe with 4 is fled
> But goodman grote on 3 doth stay
>
> A testerne only 2 doth take
> Moe parts a shilling can not make.

Nicholas Hunt, in 'The Hand-Maid to Arithmetick Refined,' printed in 1633, gives the rule of proof by nines as follows:

> Adde thou upright, reserving every tenne,
> And write the dights dowe all with thy pen,
> The proofs (for truth I say),
> Is to cast nine away.
> For the particular summes and severall
> Reject the nines; likewise from the totall
> When figures like in both chance to remaine
> Subtract the lesser from the great, nothing the rest,
> Or ten to borrow, you are ever prest,
> To pay what borrowed was thinke it no paine,
> But honesty redounding to your gaine.

Chaucer has something to say on this head, but Lydgate's confessions are exceedingly pitiful:

> Ran into gardens, apples there I stol,
> To gadre frutys sparyd kegg nor wall,
> To plukke grapys in other mennys vynes,
> Was more ready than for to seyne matynes,
> Rediere chir stouney (cherry stones) for to tell,
> Than gon to chirche or heer the sacry belle.

I must, however, add a few school pictures of a graver and sweeter character. Chaucer, who painted English society as he saw it with his own eyes, has not forgotten to describe the village school where 'an hepe of children comen of Christien blood,' acquired as much learning as was suited to their age.

> That is to say to singen and to rede,
> As smal children do in thir childhede.

And among these children, he describes 'a widewe's lytel sone,' whom his pious mother had taught whenever he saw an image of Christ's mother, to kneel down and say an Ave Maria; and he goes on to tell us how

> This lytel childe, his litel boke lerning,
> As he sate in the scole at his primere,
> He Alma Redemptoris herde sing,
> As children lerned the Antiphonere;
> And as he derst, he drew him nere and nere
> And herkened ay the wordes, and eke the note
> Til he the first verse coulde al by rote.

He was too young, however, to understand the meaning of the words, though, be it observed his elder schoolfellows were more erudite than himself:

> Nought wist he what this Latin was to say,
> For he so yong and tender was of age,
> But on a day his felow gan to pray,
> To expounden him this song in his langage,
> Or tell him why this song was in usage.

When 'his felow which elder was than he,' expounded the sense of the words, and made him understand that it was sung in reverence of Christ's mother, the little fellow makes known his resolve to do his diligence to con it all by Christmas, in honor of Our Lady. But I need not continue the well-known story. Ere Christmas came, the widow's son was carried to his grave, and his grammar, the badge of his scholar's profession, lay on the bier at his head.

The first author who wrote an Arithmetic in English was Robert Recorde, who, in 1543, published '*The Grounde of Arts:* Teaching the worke and practise of Arithmetike, both in whole numbres and fractions, after a more easyer and exacter sorte than any like hath hitherto been sette forthe.' London: J. D.

> All youth and Elde that reasons Lore
> Within your breasts will plant to trade,
> Of numbers might the endles store
> Fyrst vnderstand, than farther wade.

Recorde published in 1557: 'The Whetstone of Witte, which is the seconde parte of Arithmetike: containyng the extraction of Rootes: the Cossike practise with the rule of Equation: and the workes of Surde Numbers.' The *cossic* (from *cosa*—thing) art, the old name of Algebra, gave to this treatise (the first English work on Algebra) its punning title—*cos* ingenii.

Cotgrave has, "*La Croix de par Dieu*, the Christ's-crosse-rowe, or *horne-books*, wherein a child learnes it;" and Florio, ed. 1611, p. 93, "*Centuruola*, a childes horne-booke hanging at his girdle."

HORNBOOK OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

In the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, at Middlehill, are two genuine Hornbooks of the reigns of Charles I. and II. Locke, in his "*Thoughts on Education*," speaks of the "ordinary road of the Hornbook and Primer," and directs that "the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments he should learn by heart, not by reading them himself in his Primer, but by somebody's repeating them before he can read."

Shenstone, who was taught to read at a dame-school, near Halesowen, in Shropshire, in his delightfully quaint poem of the *Schoolmistress*, commemorating his venerable preceptress, thus records the use of the Hornbook:—

> "Lo; now with state she utters her command;
> Eftsoons the urchins to their tasks repair;
> Their books of stature small they take in hand,
> Which with pellucid horn secured are
> To save from finger wet the letters fair."

ORBIS SENSUALIUM PICTUS.*

The most remarkable school book of the seventeenth century, both for its immediate and widespread popularity, and for the revolution which it wrought in scholastic methods, and particularly in elementary teaching, not only in Germany where it was first published, but of England and other countries, was the *Jauna Reserata* of Comenius, first published in 1631, and the *Orbis Pictus*, which in its plan and text is the same as the former, with pictorial illustrations. The Jauna Reserata was doubtless suggested by the *Jauna Linguarum* [in Latin and Spanish] of W. Bateus, an Irish Theatin at Salamanca, who adopted the idea from Ludovicus Vives, the eminent Spanish educator who was the friend and correspondent of Erasmus and for a time (1519) a resident in England. This *Jauna* was published in England in 1615, with the Spanish turned into English; and in the year following, in France, Germany, and Italy.

The Jauna Reserata was more carefully prepared on the same general plan with the avowed purpose of introducing only words which represented real objects, which the pupil, even the youngest, could understand from actual perception of the objects; and the special object of the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, first published by Comenius in 1657, was, by means of pictorial illustrations of the words of each lesson, 'to bring the chief things in the world, and of men's actions in their way of living, directly into the domain of the perceptive faculties'—'a little *Encyclopedia* of things subject to the senses.' This book was reproduced in London in 1658, with a translation by Charles Hoole, who follows the original Preface of Comenius, with an 'Epistle to all judicious and industri-

* For a full account of the School Books of John Amos Comenius, see Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, and *Educational Reformers and Teachers—German*. (ed. of 1875). 257-298.

A reformation of Schooles, designed in two excellent Treatises: The first whereof summarily sheweth, the great necessity of a generall Reformation of common Learning. What grounds of hope there are for such a Reformation. How it may be brought to passe. The second answers certaine objections ordinarily made against such undertakings, and describes the severall Parts and Titles of Workes which are shortly to follow. Written many yeares agoe in Latine by that Reverend, Godly, Learned, and famous Divine, Mr. John Amos Comenius [Komensky], one of the Seniours of the exiled Church of Moravia. And now upon the request of many translated into English, and published by Samuel Hartlib, for the generall good of this Nation. 4to.—London, Printed for Michael Sparke senior, at the Blew Bible in Greene Arbor, 1642.

This translation consists of 94 pages without preface. Page 61, gives a second Title-page:—'A Dilucidation, answering certaine objections, made against the endeavours and means of Reformation in Common Learning, expressed in the foregoing Discourse.

Commencing at page 90, and occupying four pages, are 'The severall Titles of the seven parts of the Temple of Christian Panaophie.' These briefly are, 1, The threshhold of the Temple of Wisedome; 2, the Gate; 3, the outward Court; 4, the middle Court; 5, the innermost Court; 6, the last and most secret, The Holy of Holies, and 7, the Fountain of living Waters.

A Continuation of Mr. John-Amos-Comenius School-Endeavours. Or a Summary Delineation of Dr. CYPRIAN KINNER *Silesian* his Thoughts concerning Education: Or the Way and Method of Teaching. Exposed to the ingenuous and free Censure of all Piously-learned men. The which shall shortly be seconded with an Elucidarium or Commentary to open the sense of whatsoever is herein contained, chiefly of what is paradoxall and obscure (if any such shall appear to be.) Together with an Advice how these Thoughts may be successfully put in Practice.

Translated out of the Original Latine, transmitted to *Sam. Hartlib*: and by him published, and in the name of many very Godly and Learned Men, recommended to the serious Consideration, and liberall Assistance of such, as are willing to favour the Regeneration of all Christian Churches and Common-wealths; but more especially the Good and Happiness of these United Kingdoms. *Published by Authority.*—Printed for R. L. in Monks-well street. 4to. [1648.]

The treatise opens with 'A Brief Information concerning Doctor Kinner and his undertakings,' occupying four pages; next, 'The Summary Delineation of Doctor Cyprian Kinner,' of two pages; then the treatise paged 1 to 9, and concludes with a page headed 'Doctor Cyprian Kinner's Vows to the Almighty God, sent from Dantzick, the fift of Aug., 1684, to Samuel Hartlib,' and another page, with 'An Advertisement to the Noble and Generous Lovers of Learning,' recommending any one, requiring information, to 'repair to Master Hartlib's House, in the great open Court in Duke's-place, and satisfaction shall be given to all their desires.'

ous schoolmasters,' in which he anticipates many of the best educational suggestions of this century. In the original preface, Comenius insists that 'all instruction should be *true* (dealing only with things necessary and useful), *full* (such as will polish the mind for wisdom, the tongue for eloquence, and the hands for a neat way of living), *clear*, and *solid* (such as is distinct and articulated, as the fingers of the hand),' or knowledge systematized. 'The ground of this business is that *sensual objects be rightly presented to the senses*—and the senses be rightly exercised in perceiving the differences of things, without which there can be no clear understanding, wise discourse, or distinct action.'

'This new help for schools is a Picture and Nomenclature of all the chief things in the world, and of men's actions in their way of living. The descriptions are explanations full and orderly, of every important detail in the picture—the picture and description having a corresponding number to assist the senses in seeking the appropriate object; and to make the teaching more clear, both Comenius and Hoole urge that where the things can not be pictured out, the objects themselves should be kept ready so as to be shown.

In the copy before us (a reprint in 1704, of the edition of 1658), Mr. Hezekiah Woodward, an eminent schoolmaster in London, and author of the *Gate of Sciences*, is cited to this effect, that teachers should make 'their words as legible to children as Pictures are'—'for next to Nature, Pictures are the most intelligible books that children can look upon—nay,' saith Scaliger, 'Art exceeds her.' Although the artist of the 150 pictures in this book has made obvious to the eye and understanding the objects of the several lessons, from the Symbolical Alphabet in which the *Crow crieth*, and the *Lamb blaiteth*, to the *School* [in full operation, the master with his rod or twigs (reposing on the stand), and *some things writ down before the children with chalk* on a table, hung up like a blackboard on the side of the room], we can not say that *his art exceedeth nature*. We subjoin the text of cut xcvii.

A SCHOOL. XCVII. SCHOLA.

A School, 1.
is a Shop, in which
Young Wits
are fashion'd to vertue, and
it is distinguished into Forms.
The Master, 2.
sitteth in a Chair, 3.
the Scholars, 4.
in Forms, 5.
he teacheth, they learn.
Some things
are writ down before them
with Chalk *on a* Table, 6.
Some sit
at a Table, and write, 7.
he mendeth their Faults, 8
Some stand and rehearse things
committed to memory, 9.
Some talk together, 10. *and*
behave themselves wantonly
and carelesly;
these are chastised
with a Ferrula, 11.
and a Rod, 12.

Schola, 1.
est Officina, in qua
Novelli Animi
ad virtutem formantur,
& distinguitur in *Classes*.
Præceptor, 2.
sedet in *Cathedra*, 3.
Discipuli, 4
in *Subsellis*, 5.
ille docet, hi discunt.
Quædam
præscribuntur illis
Creta in *Tabella*, 6.
Quidam sedent
ad Mensam, & scribunt, 7
ipse corrigit, 8. Mendas.
Quidam stant, & recitant
memoriæ mandata, 9.
Quidam confabulantur, 10.
ac gerunt se petulantes,
& negligentes;
hi castigantur
Ferul· (baculo) 11.
& *Virga*, 12.

EDUCATIONAL BIOGRAPHY.

Hail! tolerant teachers of the race, whose dower
Of spirit-wealth outweighs the monarchs might,
Blest be your holy mission! may it shower
Blessings like rain, and bring by human right
To all our hearts and hearths, love, liberty, and light.

We propose to devote a portion of our columns from time to time, to a series of Biographical Sketches of Eminent Teachers and Educators, who in different ages and countries, and under widely varying circumstances of religion and government, have labored faithfully and successfully in different allotments of the great field of human culture. We hope to do something in this way to rescue from unmerited neglect and oblivion the names and services of many excellent men and women, who have proved themselves benefactors of their race by sheding light into the dark recesses of ignorance and by pre-occupying the soil, which would otherwise have been covered with the rank growth of vice and crime, with a harvest of those virtues which bless, adorn, and purify society. Such men have existed in every civilized state in past times. "Such men," remarks Lord Brougham, "men deserving the glorious title of teachers of mankind, I have found laboring conscientiously, though perhaps obscurely, in their blessed vocation, wherever I have gone. I have found them, and shared their fellowship, among the daring, the ambitious, the ardent, the indomitably active French; I have found them among the persevering, resolute, industrious Swiss; I have found them among the laborious, the warm-hearted, the enthusiastic Germans; I have found them among the high-minded but enslaved Italians; and in our own country, God be thanked, their numbers every where abound, and are every day increasing. Their calling is high and holy; their fame is the property of nations; their renown fill the earth in after ages, in proportion as it sounds not far off in their own times. Each one of these great teachers of the world, possessing his soul in peace, performs his appointed course, awaits in patience the fulfillment of the promises, resting from his labors, bequeathes his memory to the generation whom his works have blessed, and sleeps under the humble, but not inglorious epitaph, commemorating 'one in whom mankind lost a friend, and no man got rid of an enemy!'"

XXI. EDUCATIONAL BIOGRAPHY AND LIST OF PORTRAITS.

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CHARLES ROLLIN AND HIS EDUCATIONAL VIEWS.

1661—1741.

I. MEMOIR.

CHARLES ROLLIN was born on the 30th of January, 1661, in Paris, where he died 1741. After receiving an ordinary elementary instruction, he began to work with his father as a cutler, when a pious and learned Benedictine became acquainted with his scholarly aspirations, and procured for him a free place in the College du Plessis, where he so distinguished himself by his diligence and good conduct as to secure the confidence of the Minister Pelletier, who encouraged an intimate companionship with his two sons, who were in the same class. In the rivalry of these lads, Rollin often bore off the palm, without forfeiting the friendship of his outwardly more favored mates, who took him to their own home as a companion. In the rhetoric class he was easily preëminent, and received from his professor, Hersan, the most signal evidence of his appreciation. To the Greek language and literature, he devoted special attention, to the neglect of philosophy, and afterward, when in the Sarbonne, of his theological studies. Such was his reputation in classical studies, that he was selected at the age of 22 to fill the chair of literature in the College du Plessis, on the death of his own teacher, Hersan, and at the expiration of the sixth year, he became Professor of History and Oratory in the College of France, and in 1694, at the age of 31, he was elected Rector of the University of Paris. With no experience in administration, his sound, practical judgment and sympathy with young men enabled him to administer the minute and complicated regulations of that great institution with much distinction—removing incompetent officers and teachers from the several colleges, restoring neglected studies, introducing new chairs, and resisting the unreasonable demands of particular orders to the control of particular chairs and departments. From choice he became director of the College of Dormans-Beauvais, where he came into close competition with the College of Louis-le-Grand, then under the control of the Jesuits, while he sided with the Jansenists. Although his own temper was moderate, and his appreciation of

merit even in his active opponents was broadly catholic, his antagonists succeeded in having him displaced from the headship of the College. Without a word of complaint he retired in 1712, to a modest residence in the suburb of St. Marceau, whose little garden, with trellised vines, and shaded walks, had inexpressible charms for him. Here, in the cool air of delightful study, for 29 years he resided, composing and revising the works which gave him graet reputation in his own and succeeding generations, both as a historian and educator. His "Ancient History," and "Method of Literary Study,"—the former together in 21 volumes, first printed in 1730, and the latter, in four volumes, first printed in 1725, became the text books on history and belles lettres, not only in France, but in England and Germany. Voltaire passed high eulogiums on his merits as a historian, and pronounced his Ancient History "correct, eloquent, and pleasing." Just as the latter designations are, his reputation for accuracy as to facts will hardly stand the test of later explorations into the sources of Grecian and Roman history.

A complete edition of his works was issued in 1821–1825 by Didot, in 50 volumes, and another in 1827, in 30 volumes, to which Guizot contributed notes.

Frederic the Great, when Crown Prince, was deeply interested both in the man and his works, solicited a correspondence with the author, and adopted many of his views into his plans of educational reform for Prussia. J. Mathias Gesner accepted many of his pedagogical views, which were incorporated into his *Institutiones*, or compendium for the pedagogical students in the University of Jena, and afterwards into the Philological Seminary at Gottingen, and the programme of the gymnasial schools of Hanover. His method and aim in teaching the ancient languages, his subordination of grammatical niceties to inspiring a love of study and an appreciation of the sentiment of the author, his use and inculcation of the mother tongue, his elevation of the teacher into the sympathizing guide, counsellor, and friend of the pupils, were all in harmony with Rollin.

II. PEDAGOGICAL VIEWS.

The pedagogical views of Rollin were in harmony with the Port-Royalists, with whose religious opinion also he sympathized, without taking any active part in the controversies which grew out of them, except to suffer their persecutions. We present a chapter of these views from his Belles-Letters.

* Frederick the Great and John Mathias Gesner, in "Barnard's German Educational Reformers and Teachers," Revised Edition, 1875.

CHRISTIAN GOTTLOB HEYNE.

MEMOIR.

CHRISTIAN GOTTLOB HEYNE was born at Chemnitz, in Upper Saxony, in 1729, the eldest of a poor weaver's family, poor almost to the verge of starvation. The story of his struggles with poverty, and other difficulties to obtain an education, as told by himself, is painfully interesting.

It was in the extreme penury that I was born and brought up. The earliest companion of my childhood was Want; and my first impressions came from the tears of my mother, who had not bread for her children. How often have I seen her on Saturday-nights wringing her hands and weeping, when she had come back with what the hard toil, nay often the sleepless nights, of her husband had produced, and could find none to buy it! Sometimes a fresh attempt was made through me or my sister: I had to return to the purchasers with the same piece of ware, to see whether we could not possibly get rid of it. In that quarter there is a class of so-called merchants, who, however, are in fact nothing more than forestallers, that buy up the linen made by the poorer people at the lowest price, and endeavor to sell it in other districts at the highest. Often have I seen one or other of these petty tyrants, with all the pride of a satrap, throw back the piece of goods offered him, or imperiously cut off some trifle from the price and wages required for it. Necessity constrained the poorer to sell the sweat of his brow at a *groschen* or two less, and again to make good the deficit by starving. It was the view of such things that awakened the first sparks of indignation in my young heart. The show of pomp and plenty among these purse-proud people, who fed themselves on the extorted crumbs of so many hundreds, far from dazzling me into respect or fear, filled me with rage against them. The first time I heard of tyrannicide at school, there rose vividly before me the project to become a Brutus on all those oppressors of the poor, who had so often cast my father and mother into straits: and here, for the first time, was an instance of a truth which I have since had frequent occasion to observe, that if the unhappy man, armed with feeling of his wrongs and a certain strength of soul, does not risk the utmost and become an open criminal, it is merely the beneficent result of those circumstances in which Providence has placed him, thereby fettering his activity, and guarding him from such destructive attempts. That the oppressing part of mankind should be secured against the oppressed was, in the plan of inscrutable Wisdom, a most important element of the present system of things.

My good parents did what they could, and sent me to a child's-school in the suburbs. I obtained the praise of learning very fast, and being very fond of it. My schoolmaster had two sons, lately returned from Leipzic; a couple of

depraved fellows, who took all pains to lead me astray; and, as I resisted, kept me for a long time, by threats and mistreatment of all sorts, extremely miserable. So early as my tenth year, to raise the money for my school wages, I had given lessons to a neighbor's child, a little girl, in reading and writing. As the common school-course could take me no farther, the point now was to get a private hour and proceed into Latin. But for that purpose a *guter groschen* weekly was required; this my parents had not to give. Many a day I carried this grief about with me: however, I had a godfather, who was in easy circumstances, a baker, and my mother's half-brother. One Saturday I was sent to this man to fetch a loaf. With wet eyes I entered his house, and chanced to find my godfather himself there. Being questioned why I was crying, I tried to answer, but a whole stream of tears broke loose, and scarcely could I make the cause of my sorrow intelligible. My magnanimous godfather offered to pay the weekly *groschen* out of his own pocket; and only this condition was imposed on me, that I should come to him every Sunday, and repeat what part of the Gospel I had learned by heart. This latter arrangement had one good effect for me,—it exercised my memory, and I learned to recite without bashfulness.

Drunk with joy, I started off with my loaf; tossing it up time after time into the air, and barefoot as I was, I capered aloft after it. But hereupon my loaf fell into a puddle. This misfortune again brought me a little to reason. My mother heartily rejoiced at the good news; my father was less content. Thus passed a couple of years; and my schoolmaster intimated, what I myself had long known, that I could not learn more from him.

My father could not but be anxious to have a grown-up son for an assistant in his labor, and looked upon my repugnance to it with great dislike. I again longed to get into the grammar-school of the town; but for this all means were wanting. Where was a *gulden* of quarterly fees, where were books and a blue cloak to be come at? How wistfully my look often hung on the walls of the school when I passed it!

A clergyman of the suburbs was my second godfather; his name was Sebastian Seydel; my schoolmaster, who likewise belonged to his congregation, had told him of me. I was sent for, and after a short examination, he promised me that I should go to the town-school; he himself would bear the charges. Who can express my happiness, as I then felt it! I was dispatched to the first teacher; examined, and placed with approbation in the second class. Weakly from the first, pressed down with sorrow and want, without any cheerful enjoyment of childhood or youth, I was still of very small stature; my class-fellows judged by externals, and had a very slight opinion of me. Scarcely, by various proofs of diligence and by the praises I received, could I get so far that they tolerated my being put beside them.

And certainly my diligence was not a little hampered! Of his promise, the clergyman, indeed, kept so much, that he paid my quarterly fees, provided me with a coarse cloak, and gave me some useless volumes that were lying on his shelves; but to furnish me with school-books he could not resolve. I thus found myself under the necessity of borrowing a class-fellow's books, and daily copying a part of them before the lesson. On the other hand, the honest man would have some hand himself in my instruction, and gave me from time to time some hours in Latin. In his youth he had learned to make Latin verses:

scarcely was *Erasmus de Civilitate Morum* got over, when I too must take to verse-making; all this before I had read any authors, or could possibly possess any store of words. The man was withal passionate and rigorous; in every point repulsive; with a moderate income he was accused of avarice; he had the stiffness and self-will of an old bachelor, and at the same time the vanity of aiming to be a good Latinist, and, what was more, a Latin verse-maker, and consequently a literary clergyman. These qualities of his all contributed to overload my youth, and nip away in the bud every enjoyment of its pleasures.

There chanced to be a school-examination held, at which the Superintendent, as chief school-inspector, was present. This man, Dr. Theodore Krüger, a theologian of some learning for his time, all at once interrupted the rector, who was teaching *ex cathedra*, and put the question: Who among the scholars could tell him what might be made *per anagramma* from the word *Austria?* This whim had arisen from the circumstance that the first Silesian war was just begun; and some such anagram, reckoned very happy, had appeared in a newspaper. No one of us knew so much as what an anagram was; even the rector looked quite perplexed. As none answered, the latter began to give us a description of anagrams in general. I set myself to work, and sprang forth with my discovery: *Vastari!* This was something different from the newspaper one: so much the greater was our Superintendent's admiration; and the more, as the successful aspirant was a little boy, on the lowest bench of the *secunda*. He growled out his applause to me; but at the same time set the whole school about my ears, as he stoutly upbraided them with being beaten by an *infimus*.

Enough: this pedantic adventure gave the first impulse to the development of my powers. I began to take some credit to myself, and in spite of all the oppression and contempt in which I had languished, to resolve on struggling forward. This first struggle was in truth ineffectual enough; was soon regarded as a piece of pride and conceitedness; it brought on me a thousand humiliations and disquietudes; at times it might degenerate on my part into defiance. Nevertheless, it kept me at the stretch of my diligence, ill-guided as it was, and withdrew me from the company of my class-fellows, among whom, as among children of low birth and bad nature could not fail to be the case, the utmost coarseness and boorishness of every sort prevailed. The plan of these schools does not include any general inspection, but limits itself to mere intellectual instruction.

Upwards, however, I still strove. A feeling of honor, a wish for something better, an effort to work myself out of this abasement, incessantly attended me; but without direction as it was, it led me rather to sullenness, misanthropy and clownishness.

At length a place opened for me, where some training in these points lay within my reach. One of our senators took his mother-in-law home to live with him; she had still two children with her, a son and a daughter, both about my own age. For the son private lessons were wanted; and happily I was chosen for the purpose.

As these private lessons brought me in a *gulden* monthly, I now began to defend myself a little against the grumbling of my parents. Hitherto I had been in the habit of doing work occasionally, that I might not be told how I was eating their bread for nothing; clothes, and oil for my lamp, I had earned

by teaching in the house: these things I could not relinquish; and thus my condition was in some degree improved. On the other hand, I had now opportunity of seeing persons of better education. I gained the good will of the family; so that besides the lesson-hours, I generally lived there. Such society afforded me some culture, extended my conceptions and opinions, and also polished a little the rudeness of my exterior.'

Hard fortune followed him to the University. He was left on the road with two *guldens*, and arrived at Leipsic to study such things as were accessible to him without fee. His second godfather, Sebastian Seydel, from time to time sent him a small pittance with sour admonitions, but many days together he had no regular meal, and oftentimes not three half-pence for a loaf at midday. "One good heart alone I found, and that in the servant girl of the house where I lodged. She laid out money for my necessities, seeing me in such pitiful want. What sustained me was not ambition—not any youthful dream of one day taking my place among the learned. My chief strength lay in my determination to rise from this degradation, and to know the worst which was before me." Even with an offer of a tutorship which would take him away from the university, he still determined to pursue his object at Leipsic. By dint of excessive endeavors he got admittance to Ernesti's lectures, and there first learned what interpretation of the classics meant, and what was better, by his attention, gained the good will of the professor, who got him occasional employment as private tutor, or as clerk for some of the professors. Drawn to Dresden in 1752, by the expectation of some appointment from Count Brühl, whose favorable attention had been attracted by a long Latin Epicedium, prepared in the sorrow of his heart for the preacher of the French chapel, who had befriended him in some bitter strait, and which was printed by the family of the deceased—he experienced two years more of hard study, unremunerative labor in translations for the booksellers, sharing a garret with another student not quite so poor, and sleeping on the floor, with folios for his pillow.

In the autumn of 1753 he obtained the post of under clerk in the Brühl library, with a salary of one hundred *thalers* ($70), and here at last he entered on the career, in which, after a protracted apprenticeship, he achieved reputation, peace, and competence. In 1754 he prepared an edition of Tibullus, which was printed the next year; and in 1756 appeared the first edition of his Enchiridion of Epictetus. But in 1757 the Brühl library, with its 70,000 volumes, was destroyed by the Prussian army in its assaults on Dresden, and Heyne was glad to accept a tutorship in the family of Herr von

Schönberg. Here he gained by his intercourse with refined people, made the acquaintance of Theresa Weiss, his future wife, and resided a year with his pupil at Wittenberg University, studying in his own behoof, philosophy and German history. But this opportunity was all extinguished by the operations of the war, which reduced the University buildings to rubbish, the family of his pupil to great distress, and drove him back to Dresden, out of which, in the terrible vicissitudes of war, he was again driven by Prussian cannon, which catastrophe he describes as follows:

The Prussians advanced meanwhile, and on the 18th of July (1760) the bombardment of Dresden began. Several nights I passed, in company with others, in a tavern, and the days in my room; so that I could hear the balls from the battery, as they flew through the streets, whizzing past my windows. An indifference to danger and to life took such possession of me, that on the last morning of the siege, I went early to bed, and, amid the frightfullest crashing of bombs and grenades, fell fast asleep of fatigue, and lay sound till midday. On awaking, I huddled-on my clothes, and ran down stairs, but found the whole house deserted. I had returned to my room, considering what I was to do, whither, at all events, I was to take my chest, when, with a tremendous crash, a bomb came down in the court of the house; did not, indeed, set fire to it, but on all sides shattered every thing to pieces. The thought, that where one bomb fell, more would soon follow, gave me wings; I darted down stairs, found the house-door locked, ran to and fro; at last got entrance into one of the under-rooms, and sprang through the window into the street.

Empty as the street where I lived had been, I found the principal thoroughfares crowded with fugitives. Amidst the whistling of balls, I ran along the Schlossgasse towards the Elbe-Bridge, and so forward to the Neustadt, out of which the Prussians had now been forced to retreat. Glad that I had leave to rest any where, I passed one part of the night on the floor of an empty house; the other, witnessing the frightful light of flying bombs, and a burning city.

At break of day, a little postern was opened by the Austrian guard, to let the fugitives get out of the walls. The captain, in his insolence, called the people Lutheran dogs, and with the nickname gave each of us a stroke as we passed through the gate.

A better day dawned at last; on the recommendation of the best classical scholar in the Netherlands, Prof. Rheuken, of Leyden (who had been invited to fill the place), he was appointed to the chair in Göttingen, made vacant by the death of Gessner. Here on an official income of 800 *thalers* (increased in the course of time to 1,200), he labored for fifty years, lecturing from two to three times a day in his own subjects, conducting three times a week a Seminarium (out of which issued 135 professors), acting as chief librarian, making frequent contributions to the Royal Society of Science, editing the Gazette of Learning, and bringing out from year to year elaborate editions of Virgil (six editions from 1767 to 1803), Pliny (two 1790, 1811), Pindar (1774, 1797, 1789), Homer in eight volumes, in 1862, and an abridged edition in two volumes in 1804, besides carrying on an extensive correspondence with scholars in all parts of Europe. He died in 1812, full of years (83), and crowned with all a scholar's honors.

EARLY CULTIVATORS OF NATURAL HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

JOHN BARTRAM and Peter Collinson deserve a joint commemoration among the early educators of the country, because of their coöperation in introducing the study of Natural History into this country, and the international exchange and culture of the shrubs, plants, and fruits indigenous to England and America; and to them will be added a brief notice of William Bartram, son of John, who produced the most complete list of American birds, prior to the publications of Wilson and Audubon.

PETER COLLINSON.

Peter Collinson, an English merchant and naturalist, of an old Westmoreland family, was born in 1693. Inheriting a moderate fortune, and a well established business, he devoted his leisure to his favorite pursuit of natural history. From his garden at Peckham, in Surrey, and subsequently to 1749 from Mill Hill, in the parish of Hendon, in Middlesex, [where he died August 11, 1768], were sent out into different parts of England and the continent many choice American plants and shrubs, which he imported, acclimated, and propagated at his own expense. He was a member of the Royal Society, and was an active correspondent of Linnæus, who named the genus 'Collinson' after him. Southey says of him: 'He was the means of procuring national advantages for his country, and possessed an influence which wealth can not purchase.' Franklin writes to his brother Michael, who prepared a memoir of this good man in 1770: 'In 1730, a subscription library being set on foot in Philadelphia, he encouraged the design by making several very valuable presents to it, and procuring others from his friends; and, as the library company had a considerable sum arising annually to be laid out in books, and needed a judicious friend in London to transact the business for them, he voluntarily and cheerfully undertook that service, and executed it for more than thirty years successively, assisting in the choice of books, and taking the whole care of collecting and shipping them, without ever charging or accepting any consideration for his trouble. The success of this library (greatly owing to his kind countenance and good advice) encouraged the erecting others in different places on the same plan; and it is supposed that there are now upward of thirty subsisting in the several colonies, which have contributed greatly to the spreading of useful knowledge in that part of the world; the books he recommended being all of that kind, and the catalogue of the first library

being much respected and followed by those libraries that succeeded. During the same time he transmitted to the directors of the library the earliest accounts of every new European improvement in agriculture and the arts, and every philosophical discovery; among which, in 1745, he sent over an account of the new German experiments in electricity, together with a glass tube, and some directions for using it, so as to repeat those experiments. This was the first notice I had of that curious subject, which I afterward prosecuted with some diligence, being encouraged by the friendly reception he gave the letters I wrote to him upon it.'

JOHN BARTRAM.

John Bartram was the son of a farmer who came to Pennsylvania with William Penn in 1682. He was born in Marple, Delaware county, in 1701, and grew up into the occupation of his father with very scanty opportunities of school instruction. Mr. Parton gives a graphic picture of his first efforts in self-culture and method of studying botany:—

While he was resting from the plow one day, under a tree, pulling a daisy to pieces, and observing some of the more obvious marvels of its construction, he suddenly awoke to his pitiful ignorance of the vegetable wonders in the midst of which he had lived and labored from childhood. He resumed his toil, but not with that stolid content with his ignorance that he had enjoyed so long. On the fourth day after, raging for knowledge, he hired a man to hold his plow, while he rode to Philadelphia, and brought home a work upon botany in Latin, and a Latin grammar. In three months, by a teacher's aid, he could grope his way in the Latin book; in a year he had botanized all over the region round about, and cast longing eyes over the border into Maryland and Virginia. By good management of his farm and servants,—emancipated slaves,—he was able to spend the rest of his life in the study of Nature, making wide excursions into neighboring colonies, until he knew every plant that grew between the Alleghany range and the Atlantic Ocean; becoming at length botanist to the king, at fifty guineas a year, and founding on the banks of the Schuylkill the first botanical garden of America. He and his garden flourished together to a green old age; and he died, at the approach of the British army during the Revolutionary War, of terror lest the pride of his life should be trampled into ruin by the troops. Among his European correspondents was that assiduous friend of Pennsylvania and of Franklin, Peter Collinson, with whom for fifty years he exchanged letters, seeds, roots, trees, slips, nuts, grafts, birds, turtles, squirrels, and other animals; and it is to their correspondence that Europe owes the profusion of American trees and shrubs that adorn so many parks, gardens, and highways. To the same interchange America was indebted, among other benefits, for those rare kinds of plums, cherries, apricots, gooseberries, and other fruits, that flourished for a time, though the climate has since proved too harsh and exacting for them. In a singularly quiet, homely way, those two excellent men, at the cost of a few guineas per annum, conferred solid and lasting benefits upon countless generations of the inhabitants of two continents.

It is in the letters of Peter Collinson to his American friend, that we find allusions to the father of our Jefferson's mother. William Bartram may have seen Peter Jefferson and Jane Randolph married; for a few months before that event, when the botanist was about to make a botanical tour in Virginia, Collinson sends him the names of three or four gentlemen of that province who were interested in 'our science,' one of whom was Isham Randolph. 'No one,' he remarks, 'will make thee more welcome;' and he adds, 'I take his house to be a very suitable place to make a settlement at, for to take several days' ex-

cursions all round, and to return to his house at night.' The worthy Quaker favors his somewhat too plain American friend, who was also of Quaker family, with a piece of advice, that gives us some information. 'One thing,' he says, 'I must desire of thee, and do insist that thee oblige me therein: that thou make up that drugget clothes' (a present from Collinson to Bartram), 'to go to Virginia in, and not appear to disgrace thyself or me; for, though I should not esteem thee less to come to me in what dress thou will, yet these Virginians' (having in his mind's eye his old acquaintances, Isham Randolph and his young family) 'are very gentle, well-dressed people, and look, perhaps, more at a man's outside than his inside. For these and other reasons, pray go very clean, neat, and handsomely dressed, in Virginia. Never mind thy clothes: I will send more another time.' The benevolent Peter was a dealer in woolens, and sent the rustic Bartram many a good ell of cloth to wear at the great houses in the country.

Bartram's attainments in botany, and the reputation of his garden, attracted the attention of Linnæus, Sir Hans Sloane, and other European experts—the former designating him 'the greatest natural botanist in the world.' He was appointed American Botanist to George III., a position which he held till his death in 1777. His observations on the plants, animals, and men on his botanical excursions to Canada and Florida were published in London; the former in 1751, and the latter in 1766; and various papers by him appear in the Philosophical Transactions.

WILLIAM BARTRAM.

William Bartram, fourth son of John Bartram, was born, 1739, at the botanic garden, Kingsessing, Pennsylvania. At the age of sixteen years, he was placed with a respectable merchant of Philadelphia, with whom he continued six years; after which he went to North Carolina, with a view of doing business there as a merchant; but, being ardently attached to the study of botany, he relinquished his mercantile pursuits, and accompanied his father in a journey into East Florida, to explore the natural productions of that country; after which he settled on the river St. John's, in this region, and finally returned, about the year 1771, to his father's residence. In 1773, at the request of Dr. Fothergill of London, he embarked for Charleston, to examine the natural productions of the Floridas, and the western parts of Carolina and Georgia, chiefly in the vegetable kingdom. In this employment, he was engaged nearly five years, and made numerous contributions to the natural history of the country through which he traveled.

In 1782, he declined the office of the professorship of botany in the University of Pennsylvania in consequence of delicate health; in 1786, he was elected to the American Philosophical Society, and from time to time assisted Wilson in his American Ornithology. In 1790, he published an account of his travels and observations. He died July 22, 1823, in the 85th year of his age.

JAMES BLAIR, D.D.

JAMES BLAIR, D.D., named in the charter the first President of William and Mary College, and entitled, by his judicious and persistent efforts in securing the same, together with the means by which the institution was put in operation, to be called its founder, was born in Scotland in 1656, and educated at Edinburgh University, where he graduated in 1676. After officiating as clergyman in an Episcopal church in Scotland for several years, he was selected by Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, in 1685, for missionary work in Virginia; and here he gave such satisfaction for his efficient and judicious course as to be commissioned as his Commissary in that colony in 1689. In his new and difficult field he soon felt the need of intelligent laymen, as well as of pious clergymen born and educated in the country, and at once set about the establishment of a seminary for this purpose. In this work he was aided by Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson, who arrived from New York in 1690 [Lord Effingham being absent from ill health], who headed a subscription which reached £2,500. The Assembly which met in 1691 commended the enterprise in an address to their majesties William and Mary, and deputed the Commissary, Mr. Blair, to present the same. The charter was granted February 14, 1792, with a gift of £2,000, besides an endowment of 20,000 acres of land, the patronage of the office of Surveyor General, and the revenue arising from a duty of one penny a pound on all tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland to other plantations. The Bishop of London was named the first Chancellor, and Rev. James Blair the first President, and the college was allowed to return a member to the Assembly. Mr. Blair also obtained several individual subscriptions, the largest from the Hon. Robert Boyle, for the endowment of a Professorship devoted to the conversion of the Indians, called the Brafferton Foundation,* from an estate in England in which the subscription was invested. When the first edifice, erected in 1693, was destroyed by fire in 1705, President Blair at once set about raising the means to rebuild, which was done within a year, Queen Anne contributing liberally for this object. He was also successful in an application to the Assembly for an endowment for poor scholars; the £1,000 thus granted was invested in the Nottoway estate, the income of which was applied to certain scholarships down to 1777.

In 1722 Dr. Blair published four octavo volumes made up of discourses delivered on different texts selected from Our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount, which were republished in 1732, and had a high reputation for a century after his death.

As Commissary, Dr. Blair was member of the Council, or Upper House of Assembly, for fifty years, and rector of the parish of Middle Plantations, or Williamsburg. He died August 1, 1743, in the 88th year of his age, and 64th of his ministry, leaving his library (of over one thousand volumes) to the college.

* Mr Boyle died before his subscription was made, but the trustees to whom he left the bulk of his estate for the advancement of the Christian religion, invested £5,400 in the Brafferton estate, and gave £45 of the income to the support of two missionaries to the Indians in Maryland, £45 to Harvard College, and the remainder to William and Mary College, on condition of their supporting one Indian scholar for every £14 received.

Family Antecedents.

My earliest ancestors of whom I possess at present any knowledge, was Thomas Webster, he was settled in Hampton, New Hampshire, as early as 1636, probably having come thither from or through Massachusetts, though he may have come by way of Piscataqua. From him to myself, the descent may be found regularly recorded in the church records and town records of Hampton, Kingston, now East Kingston, and Salisbury.

My first clear and distinct recollection of my father's appearance was, when he was at the age of fifty. I think it was rather striking; he was tall, six feet, or six feet within a half an inch, erect, with a broad and full chest, hair still of an unchanged black, features rather large and prominent, a Roman nose, and eyes of brilliant black. He had a decisive air and bearing, partly the effect, I suppose, of early soldiership.

After the age of twelve or fifteen, he lived several years in the family of Colonel Stevens, the most considerable person in the vicinity; and then, as Major Dalgetty would say, he took service in the troops raised in the Provinces to carry on the French war. His first engagement, I believe, was in Robert Rogers's company of Rangers. He was with the army of Gen. Amherst, when that commander made his way by Albany, Oswego, Ticonderoga, &c., into Canada. When Canada was conquered, his occupation was gone; but that event opened new scenes of enterprise, more pacific, but promising more permanent good to those who had strong hands and determined purpose.

Previous to the year 1763, the settlements in New Hampshire had made little or no progress inward into the country, for sixty or seventy years, owing to the hostility of the French, in Canada, and of the neighboring Indians, who were under French influences. This powerful cause of depression being effectually removed by the cession of Canada to England, by the Peace of Paris in 1763, companies were formed, in various parts of New England, to settle the wilderness, between the already settled parts of New England and New York and Canada. Col. Stevens, already mentioned, and other persons about Kingston, formed one of these companies, and obtained from Benning Wentworth, Governor of the Province of New Hampshire, a grant of the township of Salisbury, at first called Stevenstown. It is situated exactly at the head of the Merrimac river, and very near the center of the State. My father joined this enterprise, and about 1764, the exact date is not before me, pushed into the wilderness. He had the discretion to take a wife along with him, intending, whatever else he might want, at least, not to lack good company. The party *traveled out the road*, or path, for it was no better, somewhere about Concord or Boscawen; and they were obliged to make their way, not finding one, to their destined places of habitation. My father *lapped on*, a little beyond any other comer, and when he had built his log cabin, and lighted his fire, his smoke ascended nearer to the North Star than that of any other of his Majesty's New England subjects. His nearest civilized neighbor on the north, was at Montreal.

Last Days and Death.

In 1860–61 Mrs. Willard, with her sister Mrs. Lincoln Phelps, took an active interest in commending to the women of the country for their signatures, a memorial to the Congress of the United States, invoking a spirit of mutual conciliation in all legislation growing out of the complications of public affairs, and by her correspondence and conferences with public men, north and south, strove to bring about a restoration of the old fraternal feeling by which the greatness and glory of the country had been secured. And after the war broke out, and all hopes of a peacefnl settlement were extinguished in blood, she did not cease her efforts to encourage the return of the old attachment to a common country, and such legislation as would make the constitution the bond of a still larger number of free States. Dr. Lord* thus describes her last days and death, in 1867:

Her work was drawing *to a close*. Yet her journal shows that she was still diligently at work on her history, which she completed; and it also shows a large correspo dence with the promin nt generals and statesmen of the war. Perhaps at no period of her life were her literary labors greater. And she still made visits to her friends, as well as wrote them letters. She attended church with great regularity, though she was now obliged to ride. Her diary, the last year of her life, still notes the sermons she heard on Sunday. She has noted, in her diary, every sermon she heard the last thirty years of her life. Latterly she attended St. Paul's Church, in Troy, of which the Rev. Dr. Coit was rector, but St. John's was the church dearest to her heart, even after an unfortunate disagreement, or misunderstanding, or quarrel, whatever name it goes by, had driven her away. I find that she attended lectures and the examinations at the Seminary with as much interest as she took twenty years before. She never lost her taste for reading, or her interest in public affairs. Until the year before she died, her correspondence was extensive and varied, showing activity of mind, if not the power of sustained labor. Her diary is fuller in 1867 than in 1859. She still took long drives, and received visits from friends, and read new books which were famous. Every Sunday evening she collected around her hospitable board her children, and grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, and perhaps nephews, and nieces, and intimate friends, and heard them repeat passages of Scripture. This was a habit of many years, and beautiful were those family reunions; but the most beautiful thing about them was the venerable figure of the benignant old lady entering into every subject of interest with the sympathy of youth, and receiving from all the profoundest reverence and respect. I have never seen more impressive family gatherings.

Thus orderly, harmoniously, honorably, happily, did the old lady, when eighty years had rolled over her life, pass her declining days. I see no particular change in her handwriting until a year before she died. Her diary shows unabated interest in every thing around her even in 1869, with increased serenity and amiability. In 1867 she attended the examinations of the Seminary, in the warm weather of the latter days of June, and remaining in the

* The Life of Emma Willard, by John Lord, LL.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. p. 351.

room from four to five hours at a time. As late as April, 1869, I find her making visits in New York, at the age of eighty-two, and even to Baltimore, and attending church. She was present at the examination of the seminary in June. She made calls, and took drives, and wrote letters, and received visits and read books, throughout the year. I find her reading Liddon's 'Bampton Lectures' in January, 1870. The last entry in her diary is on April 6th, when she speaks of reading the newspaper. She died April 15th, at the age of eighty-three, worn out at last, after a life of usefulness and happiness, honored and beloved by all classes, and by a numerous circle of friends.

Numerous are the letters written to the family, in reference to her labors and character, after she had entered upon her rest. Rev. Mr. Buckingham, long a clergyman at Troy, writes: 'I always felt, when I was talking with her, that I was holding intercourse with a thoroughly pure and distinguished woman, deserving of great honor and my love.' Bishop Doane says: 'I may almost say that I was born to revere your mother's noble name in my father's house. She was never mentioned without honor; and, as a pioneer in this country of a higher and better tone in the education of women, he always held her in the highest veneration.' Mrs. Judge Kellogg, who knew her intimately for fifty years, writes: 'She has done a great work; its full value is not yet appreciated.' Bishop Huntington writes: 'What a remarkable life this was that is just ended! How far and into how many different regions the line of elevating and beneficent influence ran out from it! What untiring energy, practical wisdom, comprehensive sagacity, patient labor! What intellectual vigor, versatility, activity! What moral dignity and Christian consecration! What a monument she has left—threefold, in the institution she founded, in the work she committed to the press, in the hearts and characters of her great hosts of pupils!' Rev. Dr. Kennedy, a clergyman in Troy for many years, thus writes: 'Her life-work was a noble one, and right nobly hath she accomplished it. The women of our land have abundant occasion to revere her memory, and no doubt the benedictions of numberless hearts are this day resting upon her honorable grave. The *Evening Post*, in a fine obituary notice, says: 'She was the first person in the United States to give effectual and practical force to the long-felt want of a higher standard of culture in female schools. More than a generation ago she put forth, with profound conviction, principles and methods of female education which were generally regarded as extravagant and even fanatical, but which are now universally accepted.' Professor Charles Davies, at a teachers' convocation at Albany, pays this tribute: 'Mrs. Willard brought to her great work a mind as clear and comprehensive as the light of noonday, and a spirit as soft and gentle as the shades of evening. Her enthusiasm in the improvement and elevation of her sex filled her soul and inspired her life. For this she lived—for this she labored; and the fruits of that life and of those labors are scattered broadcast through the whole country and through two generations.'

'Her great and special gift was her power of influence and controlling others. This was not done by little arts and petty devices; wisdom and justice were the foundations of her government—sympathy and love the secrets of her power. It is the attribute of genius to impress itself upon others; and, if Mrs. Willard be judged by this standard, she certainly had few equals. Her pupils, everywhere, bear the impress of their great educator. Trained to exact and severe thought, they analyze with logical accuracy. Inspired with the senti-

ment that life has duties which must be done, they do not waste it in frivolities. Having been taught, by precept and example, that home is the sphere and throne of women, they fill that home with the precious joys of intelligence, peace, and love.

'Within the past year Mrs. Willard has gone to her rest, and taken her place in history among the great minds and noble hearts of the nation. The time and place of her death are alike suggestive.

'In the fullness of age, she approached the termination of life with the calmness of Christian philosophy and the faith of a true believer. When the last hour came, the final struggle was marked by fortitude and resignation, and the twilight of one life was but the morning rays of another. The place of her death was the old Seminary building of Troy. Here, half a century ago, she founded an institution which has been an honor to our age and country. Here she taught the true philosophy of living and dying—works done in faith, and faith made practical in works. Here she inspired thousands of her own sex, for the common benefit of us all, with an ardent love of knowledge, with a profound reverence for the great truths of religion, and with the aspiration of duty to be done; and here she impressed upon them the nobitity of her own nature.

'Her grave has been fitly chosen. It is in the Oakwood Cemetary, on a beautiful knoll, overlooking the village of the Hudson and the Mohawk. Below lies the city of Troy, marking, in solemn contrast, the habitations of the living and the dead. Here rest the remains of a great, good, and noble woman. The city of Troy, which she loved, and which has greatly honored her, is entitled to have her ashes; but the whole country has her fame, and posterity will gather in the many fruits of her labors. When the enthusiasts in the cause of female education shall visit her grave, they will not strew it with flowers that fade and perish, but with the garlands of affectionate memories, that will never die.'

Many more extracts might be cited in honor of Mrs. Willard's character and services. But they all point to the same leading facts; they all express the same sentiments. They render honor to her character for sweetness, amiability, and gentleness—those glorious feminine traits which endear women to mankind; and also for those higher and nobler qualities of will and intellect by which she exercised a powerful influence over other minds, and gained the confidence and respect of all who knew her, and gave an impulse to female education such as no other woman ever has done; and, still higher, those Christian virtues which embalm memories in the heart of the world.

All these notices allude to her great services in the cause of female education. It is by these she will be judged. Other things she did, but these do not receive the same universal verdict. And these were honorable and useful, like her scientific theories, her efforts in behalf of the Greeks, and her patriotic labors to secure the peace and unity of the country in a crisis of extreme danger. All these will be gratefully remembered. But her services to education—these are as indisputable as they were beneficent, and can only be measured by the greatness of the cause itself. Whenever, in future generations, the names of illustrious benefactors are mentioned for the admiration or gratitude of the world, this noble woman will take a prominent place among those who have given dignity to the character and mind of woman.

At the close of a chapter devoted to the 'writings of Mrs. Willard,' to her histories, her ingenious speculations—not to say her logical demonstrations of the motive power of the circulation of blood in the animal system, and her poetry, Dr. Lord adds:

'It is not for either poetry or science that she will be best remembered. Her peculiar glory is in giving an impulse to the cause of female education. In this cause she rendered priceless services. When we remember the institution she founded and conducted, the six thousand young ladies whom she educated, and many of them gratuitously; when we bear in mind the numerous books she wrote to be used in schools, and the great favor with which these books have generally been received; when we think of the ceaseless energies, in various ways, which she put forth, for more than half a century, to elevate her sex, it would be difficult to find a woman, in this age or country, who has been more useful, or who will be longer remembered as both good and great. Not for original genius, not for any immortal work of art, not a character free from blemishes and faults, does she claim an exalted place among women, but as a benefactor of her country and of her sex, in those things which shed lustre around homes, and give dignity to the human soul.

Ocean Hymn.

Rocked in the cradle of the deep,
I lay me down in peace to sleep;
Secure I rest upon the wave,
For thou, O Lord, hast power to save;
I know that Thou wilt not slight my call,
For Thou dost mark the sparrow's fall;
And calm and peaceful is my sleep,
Rocked in the cradle of the deep.

And such the trust that still were mine,
Though stormy winds swept o'er the brine;
And, though the tempest's fiery breath
Roused me from sleep to wreck and death,
In ocean-cave, still safe with Thee,
The germ of immortality,
And calm and peaceful is my sleep,
Rocked in the cradle of the deep.

Hymn at close of School.

O Thou, the First, the Last, the Best!
  To Thee the grateful song we raise,
Convinced that all our works should be
  Begun and ended with Thy praise.

It is from Thee the thought arose
  When chants the nun or vestal train,
That praise is sweeter to Thine ear.
  When virgin voices hymn the strain.

Lord, bless to us this parting scene;
  Sister to sister bids farewell;
They wait to bear us to our homes,
  With tender parents there to dwell.

Oh, may we ever live to Thee!
  Then, as we leave earth's care-worn road
Angels shall wait to take our souls,
  And bear them to our Father God.

*Louis Agassiz as a Teacher.**

A little more than twenty-seven years ago, as I was sitting in my study, a message came to me that two gentlemen desired to see me. They were immediately admitted, and Dr. Gould introduced me to Louis Agassiz. His noble presence, the genial expression of his face, his beaming eye and earnest, natural voice at once gained me, and I responded cordially to his introduction He said, "I have come to see you, because Dr. Gould tells me that you know the trees of Massachusetts; I wish to be made acquainted with the hickory. I have found the leaves and fruit of several species in the Jura Mountains, where they were deposited when those mountains were formed; but since that time none have been found living in Europe. I want to know them as they are now growing.'

I told him that I knew all the species found in New England, and should be glad to show them to him. 'But I have,' I said, 'presently to begin my morning's work. If you will let me call on you immediately after dinner, I shall be glad to take you to them.'

At the time fixed I called on him at his lodgings, and took him in my chaise, first to Parker's Hill, where one species of hickory grew, then through Brookline, Brighton, and Cambridge, where two others were found, and to Chelsea, where a fourth and one that might be a variety, were growing. I pointed out the characteristics of each species in growth, branching, bark, fruit, and leaves, and especially in the buds. He listened with the most captivating attention, and expressed surprise at my dwelling upon the peculiarities of the buds. 'I have never known the buds to be spoken of as a characteristic,' said he; 'that is new to me.' He admitted the distinct peculiarities of structure in the buds, and I have no doubt remembered every word I said, for, a few months afterward, I saw in a newspaper that Mr. Agassiz would give a lecture, in Roxbury, on the buds of trees.

We drove on to Chelsea Beach, which stretched off several miles, apparently without end, and as the tide was very low, was then nearly a quarter of a mile wide. He was charmed with everything, expressing his pleasure with all the earnestness of a happy child, hardly able to restrain himself in his admiration and delight. He told me that he had never before been on a sea-beach, but that he was familiar with the wave-marks on the old beaches laid open in the Jura Mountains.

I need not say what a pleasant drive this was. I had long felt great interest in various departments of natural history, but had been so fully occupied with my own duties as a teacher that I had been able to indulge myself fully, and that for a small part of the year, in one only. Here was a companion who was intimately acquainted with all, and with the most distinguished men who had been advancing them, and who was ready and happy to communicate wealth of information upon every point I could ask about.

Some days after, I invited all the members of this society to meet Mr. Agassiz at my house. Every one came that could come. They conversed very freely on several subjects, and Agassiz showed the fullness of his knowledge

* From an *Address before the Boston Society of Natural History*, Jan. 7, 1874, by L. B. Emerson, LL.D. Dr. Emerson was one of the founders of this Society, in 1830, and its president in 1837. On the memorial of this Society, in 1837, and the hearty indorsement of Gov. Everett, a survey of the Natural History of the State was made, of which Mr. Emerson made the Report on Trees, of which a splendid illustrated revised edition was issued, in 1876.

and his remarkable powers of instant observation. All seemed to feel what a precious accession American science was to receive.

Not long afterwards, Mr. Agassiz accepted an invitation to spend Christmas with us. We took some pains, ourselves and our children, among whom were then two bright boys, full of fun and frolic, one in college and one nearly prepared to enter. He was easily entertained, entering heartily, joyously, and hilariously into everything, games and all, as if he were still as young as the youngest, but full of feeling, and moved, even to tears, by some poor lines to him and his native land.

My friends, I have thus shown you how intimate I became, for a few weeks, with Agassiz, whom I found the wisest, the most thoroughly well-informed and communicative, the most warm-hearted and the most modest man of science with whom, personally or by his works, I had ever become acquainted. I did not keep up that intimate acquaintance, both because I was too busy in my own work, and because I did not deem myself worthy to occupy so much of his time, consecrated, as it was, to science and the good of mankind. The strong impression he made on me was made on almost all who ever listened to or even met him. It is not surprising then that the news of the death of Agassiz caused a throb of anguish in millions of hearts. Such a death is a loss to mankind. What death among kings or princes in the Old World, or among the aspirants for power or the possessors of wealth in the New, could produce such deep-felt regret?

He is gone. We shall see his benignant face and hear his winning voice no more; but we have before us his example and his works. Let us dwell, for a few moments, on some features in his life and character, as an inspiration and a guide, especially to those who mean to devote their leisure or their life to natural history, or to the great work of teaching. What a change has taken place in the whole civilized world, and especially in this country, in men's estimation of the value and interest of these pursuits, since he began his studies. To whom is that change more due than to Agassiz?

He was endowed by nature with extraordinary gifts. His fascinating eye, his genial smile, his kindliness and ready sympathy, his generous earnestness, his simplicity, and absence of pretension, his transparent sincerity,—these account for his natural eloquence and persuasiveness of speech, his influence as a man, and his attraction and power as a teacher. For the development and perfecting of many of his highest and most estimable qualities of mind and character, Mr. Agassiz was doubtless indebted to his noble mother, who, judging from everything we can learn, was a very rare and remarkable woman. To the quiet, homely, household duties, for which the Swiss women are distinguished, she added unconsciously very uncommon mental endowments, which she wisely cultivated by extensive reading of the best authors and by conversation with the most intelligent persons.

Trained by such a mother, Agassiz grew up in the belief of a Creator, an infinite and all-wise intelligence, author and governor of all things. He was sincerely and humbly religious. During his whole life, while exploring every secret of animal structure, he saw such wonderful consistency in every part that he never for a moment doubted that all were parts of one vast plan, the work of one infinite, all-comprehending thinker. He saw no place for accident, none for blind, unthinking brute or vegetable selection. Though he was a man

of the rarest intellect, he was never ashamed to look upwards and recognize an infinitely higher and more comprehensive intellect above him.

In his earliest years and through childhood he was surrounded by animals,—fishes, birds, and other creatures,—which he delighted to study, and with whose habits and forms he thus became perfectly familiar. His education, in all respects, was very generous and thorough. He spent his early years in some of the most distinguished schools and colleges in Germany; and he had the good fortune to be made, early, a student of the two great languages of ancient times. He became familiar, by reading them in their native Greek, with the high thought and reasoned truth and graceful style of Plato, and the accurate observations and descriptions of Aristotle, the nicest observer of ancient times, and justly considered the father of natural history. Probably no work has been more suggestive to him than Aristotle's 'History of Animals;' and probably his own breadth of conception and largeness of thought, upon the highest subjects, were due, in no inconsiderable degree, to his early familiarity with Plato. He also read the best Latin authors, and wrote the language with great ease.

No one who early has the time and opportunity, and who desires to become a thorough naturalist, or a thinker on any subject, should neglect the study of these two languages. From them we borrow nearly all the peculiar terms of natural science, and find the originals of almost all the words which we use in speaking on ethical, metaphysical, æsthetical, and political subjects, and no one can be sure that he perfectly understands any of these words unless he knows them in their original language.

I dwell upon this subject, because I believe that the early study of language, especially of the ancient languages, is far too much undervalued. We use language, not only in our communication with others, but in our own thoughts. On all subjects of science, or whatever requires accurate thought, we think in words, and we can not think, even within ourselves, upon any subject, without knowing the words to express our thoughts. He who is most fully familiarly acquainted with the richest language and the thoughts that have been expressed by it, has the power of most easily becoming not only a good thinker, but an eloquent speaker. No greater mistake can be made, in the early education of the future naturalist, than to deny him a full and familiar acquaintance with the words by which thought can be carried on or communicated.*

Agassiz's mother-tongue was French, but both this and German were in common use in the Pays de Vaud. He lived, for years afterwards, in several parts of Germany, and thus attained, without special study, the rich language which we Americans have to give so much time to acquire; and he lived long, a studious and laborious life in Paris, where he became intimately acquainted with Cuvier and other distinguished naturalists, and perfectly familiar with the French language in its best form. More than once, when he was putting his note-book into his pocket, he told me he knew not whether he had made his notes in German or in French.

Agassiz's universality of study and thought suggests a precious lesson. It

* It is a matter of the greatest satisfaction that the only true mode of learning language, the natural one, by word or mouth from living teachers, is becoming common; the language itself first, and afterwards the philosophy of it,—the rules. It is most desirable that this mode of learning the ancient languages should be introduced, to learn first the language, to read and understand it, and afterward the rules. Indeed, I would not recommend the study even of Greek, if most or much of the time given to it had to be thrown away upon the grammar.

is never safe to give one's self entirely to one study or to one course of thought. The full powers of the mind can not be so developed. Nature is infinite; and a small part of one kingdom can not be understood, however carefully studied, without some knowledge of the rest.

Neither must a man allow himself to be a mere naturalist. Every man ought to seek to form for himself, for his own happiness and enjoyment, the highest character for intelligence, and for just and generous feeling, of which he is capable. He is not a mere student of a department of nature. He is a man; he must make himself a wise, generous, and well-informed man, able to sympathize with all that is most beautiful in nature and art, and best in society. It would be a poor, dull world, if all men of talent were to educate themselves to be mere artisans, mere politicians, or mere naturalists.

Agassiz took a large, comprehensive view of the whole field of natural history; his thorough education and intimate acquaintance with the works of the highest men in several walks, Von Martius, Cuvier, Humboldt, and others, made it possible for him to do it, and he then fixed on certain departments, and, for the time, he gave himself entirely to one.

As a future inhabitant of America, it was fortunate for him to have been born, and to have grown up, in one of the free cantons of Switzerland. He was thus accustomed to treat men as equals; and thus his perfect familiarity and his freedom from all assumption were as natural to him as they were graceful and winning. He looked down upon none, but felt a sympathy with everything best in every heart. The reality of these great human qualities gave a natural dignity which his hearty and ready laugh could never diminish. Every one was drawn towards him by what was best in himself. With the greatest gentleness he united a strong will, and with a resolute earnestness, untiring patience. His great object was truth, and as he never had any doubt that it was truth, he may have been impatient, but he never felt really angry, with those who opposed it.

Mr. Agassiz had, for several years, the great advantage and privilege of being an assistant, in the description and delineation of fishes from Brazil, to Von Martius, the genial and eloquent old man of Munich. In him he had the example of a man, who, with great resources as a naturalist, had, for many years, given himself, in a foreign country, to the study of a single department of botany, without, however, shutting his eyes to anything that was new and remarkable in any page of natural history. To one who was a good listener and never forgot what he heard, what a preparation must this have been for his own expedition, many years after, to the sources of the Amazon, to which he was invited by the Emperor of Brazil, in which he was assisted by the princely aid of his own friends, and from which he brought home a greater number of new species of fresh-water fishes than were ever before discovered by one individual, thus carrying forward that work upon the fishes of Brazil, his first work, which he had published when he was twenty-two years old.

He spent the leisure of several years in examining the reefs and dredging in the waters of the coast of Florida and other parts, always bringing home stores of new species and genera, and completing the history of innumerable known ones. What a preparation were these years for the great Hasler expedition, in which the depths of the ocean were very fully explored, and innumerable objects, new and old, were brought up, showing that the bottom of the ocean

is anything but barren, and throwing new light upon the geology of recent and of ancient times!

Whenever Mr. Agassiz undertook a special work, he prepared himself for it by a careful study of whatever had been done in that particular line by all others. He had seen every where indications of the action of ice. He determined to investigate. He began by reading all he could find upon the subject, and then set himself to observe, patiently and carefully, what was taking place in the glaciers themselves. He gave the leisure of several years to this examination, and then felt himself ready to observe the effects of similar action in former ages and distant regions. The opinions of such an observer, after such a preparation, can not be without authority and value; and it is not surprising that he should not himself have been willing to yield them to those of others who had never given the same study to the subject.

When he wrote his wonderfully complete work upon the American Testudinata, he began by studying whatever had been written in regard to that family of animals, and he furnished himself, by the liberal aid of many friends, with immense numbers of specimens, so that he had ample means of satisfying himself in regard to almost every question that could be asked as to structure* or habits. Such a work will not need to be done over again for many years. It can never be entirely superseded, except by a work showing greater diligence, greater fidelity, and better powers of nice observation and faithful description.

His example as a teacher has been of inestimable value, as showing the importance of the best and largest possible preparation, teaching by things really existing and not by books, opening the eye to the richness and beauty of nature, showing that there is no spot, from the barren sea-beach to the top of the mountain, which does not present objects attractive to the youngest beginner, and worthy of and rewarding the careful consideration of the highest intellect.

The town of Neufchatel, near which Mr. Agassiz was born, and particularly the hills behind it, give fine views of natural scenery. From a hill, not two miles from his former home, I had a view of the lake and the plains and the mountains beyond, which I now recall as one of the widest, most varied, and most exquisite I have ever seen. Agassiz thus grew up to a love of the beautiful. This love of natural scenery has been increasing from the most ancient times to the present. It is more generally felt and more fully enjoyed now than ever before, and in this country, apparently, more than in any other. More persons leave the cities, as soon as they begin to grow warm and dusty, to enjoy the country or the seaside, the mountains or the lakes; and they enjoy, rationally, and heartily. Who has done more than Agassiz to increase this enjoyment? With thousands it is becoming not merely the enjoyment, but the study of the beautiful. Collections of shells, curious animals, minerals, seaweeds, and flowers are becoming, like libraries, not only sources of pleasure to the eye, but of delightful study, whereby a nearer approach is made to the very fountain of enjoyment. We not only see and feel, we begin to understand. The more we see of their uses and structure, the more profound is our enjoyment. Who has done more than Agassiz to awake this enjoyment?

In 1855, with the aid of Mrs. Agassiz, who, from the beginning, did a great

* In speaking of the thorough execution of the works in the four volumes, we ought not to forget the aid he received from the exquisite skill in drawing and engraving of Sonrel, who wore out his eyes in the work, and of Burckhardt and Clark.

deal of the work, Mr. Agassiz opened a school for young ladies. For this he was, in all respects, admirably well qualified. The charm of his manner, his perfect simplicity, sincerity, and warm-heartedness, attracted every pupil, and won her respect, love, and admiration. He knew, almost instinctively, what we teachers have to learn by degrees,—that we can not really attract, control, and lead a child, and help to form his habits and character, without first loving him; that nothing in the world is so powerful as real, disinterested affection. He gave himself, by lectures most carefully prepared, an hour's instruction, real instruction, every day. All his pupils retain their respect and love for him, and some keep the notes they made of his talks, and read them with delight. The school was continued for seven years, with great success, attracting pupils from distant parts of the country.

One of the secrets of his success as a teacher was, that he brought in nature to teach for him. The young ladies of a large school were amused at his simplicity in putting a grasshopper into the hand of each, as he came into the hall; but they were filled with surprise and delight, as he explained the structure of the insect before them, and a sigh of disappointment escaped from most of them when the lesson of more than an hour closed. He had opened their eyes to see the beauty of the wonderful make of one of the least of God's creatures. What a lesson was this to young women preparing to be teachers in the public schools of the Commonwealth, showing that in every field might be found objects to excite, and, well explained, to answer the questions, what, and how, and why, which children will always be asking.

He had all the elements necessary to an eloquent teacher,—voice, look, and manner, that instantly attracted attention; an inexhaustible flow of language, always expressive of rich thoughts, strong common sense, a thorough knowledge of all the subjects on which he desired to speak, a sympathy with others so strong that it became magnetic, and a feeling of the value of what he had to say, which became and created enthusiasm. He thus held the attention of his audience, not only instructing and persuading them, but converting them into interested and admiring fellow-students.

His mode of teaching, especially in his ready use of the chalk and the blackboard, was a precious lesson to teachers. He appealed at once to the eye and to the ear, thus naturally forming the habit of attention, which it is so difficult to form by the study of books. Whoever learns this lesson will soon find that it is the teacher's part to do the study, to get complete possession of what is to be taught, in any subject, and how it is to be presented, while it is the part of the pupils to listen attentively and to remember. This they will easily do, and to show that they do remember, they may be easily led to give an account in writing of what they have heard. Every lesson will thus be not only an exercise of attention and memory, but a lesson in the English language, proper instruction in which is very much needed and very much neglected. Whenever a pupil does not fully understand, the teacher will have the opportunity, while he is at the blackboard, of enlarging and making intelligible.

Whenever the teacher shall be successful in adopting this true and natural mode of teaching, the poor text-books which now infest the country will be discontinued, and those who now keep school will become real teachers; school-keeping will be turned into teaching. When this method is fairly introduced, we shall hear no more of long, hard lessons at home, nor of pupils from good schools who have not learned to write English.

SHELDON CLARK AND THE CLARK BENEFACTIONS.

MEMOIR.*

SHELDON CLARK, for many years the largest pecuniary benefactor of Yale College, was born in the town of Oxford, fourteen miles west of New Haven, January 31, 1785, and died April 10, 1840—aged 55 years. Losing his father at an early age, he was adopted by his grandfather, Mr. Thomas Clark, a farmer of Oxford, and continued in his family till 1811, sharing its labors, and very scanty opportunities of education. His aged relative often expressed the opinion that much learning involved a waste of time and money. Coming into the possession of the property of this relative, as his heir, in 1811, at the age of twenty-six, he at once repaired to New Haven, and called on Prof. Silliman for advice as to his studies. He encouraged him to avail himself of the library and lectures of Yale College, without becoming a regular member of any class, which his want of preparation would preclude. Accordingly, in the succeeding season of 1811–12, resorting to New Haven, he passed the autumn and winter and part of the spring in a course of study, connected with the recitations and discussions of President Dwight, and with the lectures in the departments of natural philosophy and chemistry. He took notes of what he heard, read, and saw; the questions agitated in the discussions of the senior class, with the decisions of the president upon them, are recorded in his note-book, as are the texts and doctrines of the sermons in the college chapel; and there are memoranda, but less extensive, of the topics canvassed in the lectures on science.

Ten years elapsed, during which Mr. Clark was occupied with his farm in summer, and teaching the district school in the winter—occasionally visiting New Haven, and bringing minerals to Prof. Silliman to name, and compare with similar specimens in the cabinet. In 1822, he sought an interview with the Professor in his

* Abridged from a '*Notice of the late Sheldon Clark, Esq., of Oxford, Connecticut, by Prof. Silliman*,' in the American Journal of Science for 1841—pp. 217–231. The College owes the early benefactions of Mr. Clark to the interest in liberal studies inspired by Prof Silliman, whose friendship he cultivated, and whom he made one of the executors of his last Will.

laboratory, and informed him of his intention to appropriate a part of the estate of which he had come into possession (about $20,000), and which he had increased by his own industry and economy to $25,000, to the encouragement of learning. Prof. Silliman adds:

Mr. Clark informed me, that the first conception of his plan took place during the season of his residence in Yale College, when he was attending in several of the college class-rooms, and that he had been maturing it ever since. In a rugged country of stony hills, he had followed the plow—he had fattened droves of cattle—he had taught school in winter, and loaned money at all times—not to accumulate wealth for himself, but to promote the good of others. He appealed to me as to the propriety of his views, and it is quite unnecessary to say that I encouraged them, remarking at the same time, that he alone must be the judge of his own obligations to his family friends, with which no one, and certainly not myself, would wish to interfere.

Mr. Clark having made up his mind, submitted through me, a proposition to deposit five thousand dollars, to be placed at compound interest, until it should become the foundation of a professorship. In his written communication, he requires, that at any time after the expiration of twenty-four years 'from the time of receiving the money, he shall have the right to appropriate the sum of twenty thousand dollars for the establishment of a professorship, either of moral philosophy and metaphysics, of chemistry, or of natural philosophy, in the college, at his option.'

A special meeting of the Corporation of the College was called at Hartford, May 8th, 1823, and the proposition being accepted, the money, or its equivalent, was conveyed, June 10th, of the same year, to the Hon. James Hillhouse, the treasurer.

Mr. Clark was so well satisfied with the provision which he had made for a professorship, that he soon followed up his first donation by a second. At a meeting of the Corporation of Yale College, in New Haven, Sept. 8th, 1824, it was reported by the treasurer, that Mr. Sheldon Clark had deposited with him the sum of 'one thousand dollars for the purpose of establishing a scholarship, or scholarships, in the institution.' It was stipulated, 'that the thousand dollars deposited by said Clark shall be put to interest upon good security, for twenty-four years from the 10th day of June, 1824, and at the expiration of that time the Corporation of the College shall appropriate the sum of four thousand dollars for the purpose of founding a scholarship, or scholarships,' under certain conditions

and regulations. These are stated in detail by the donor; two scholarships are to be created—the first to take effect in the class that shall be graduated in 1848, the second in 1849—the boon to be conferred on the best scholar, as ascertained by examination, or by lot in cases of equal merit, among those who apply; each successful candidate to enjoy the income of two thousand dollars for two years, upon condition of pursuing a prescribed course of study, and to reside in New Haven nine months in each year,—upon failure of candidates, the income is to be appropriated in premiums for the encouragement of English composition, or other branches of learning among the undergraduates of the college. The donor, very wisely, adds a dispensing clause, 'that the Corporation of the College, in whom he reposes special confidence, may, from time to time, make such change in the foregoing regulations as they shall judge best calculated to promote the main purpose for which the donation has been made.' Upon these conditions, the donation was accepted by the corporation, and will of course, when the prescribed term is completed, be carried into effect.

Mr. Clark, from his acquaintance with the officers of the College, took a particular interest in that painful catastrophe—the wreck of the Liverpool packet-ship Albion, at Kinsale, in Ireland, in April, 1822, which deprived the college and the country of a man who, for his early years, left no superior behind him. With the lamented Fisher was lost the large telescope of the college, which he was taking with him to London, to have it put in the best order, for his observations on his return. Mr. Clark, on being informed of this loss, conceived the idea of replacing this valuable instrument with one still better. It was not for him, like a capitalist in a great emporium, simply to will, and then to draw a check for the amount. His contributions (since he did not, in making them, diminish his patrimonial estate derived from his grandfather) were drawn from the results of his own industry and economy, often rendered in small sums as he could obtain payment for his commodities, or collect the dues on outstanding notes.*

Of this donation, nineteen guineas were, by order of the donor, employed in the purchase of a pair of large globes by Carey,

* *Payments by Sheldon Clark to the Treasurer of Yale College for a Telescope.*

February 22d, 1828	$100	November 5th, "	$142
March 7th, "	100	November 11th, "	58
April 16th, "	200	" "	100
May 26th, "	50	December 1st, "	120
October 28th, "	100	August 26th, 1829,	200
			$1,200

(twenty-one inches in diameter,) one celestial and the other terrestrial, elegantly mounted and covered. The telescope was ordered of Dollond. Captain Basil Hall happened to be at the college at the time, and kindly volunteered to give his personal attention, with the maker, to the execution and arrangement of the instrument. Mr. Clark limited a period of two years, within which it was to be done or the money given by him was to be returned. It arrived in November, 1829, and was pronounced by Dollond to be 'perfect, and such an instrument as he was pleased to send as a specimen of his powers.' In a letter of September 3, 1835, Prof. Olmsted announces to Mr. Clark the discovery by his telescope of Halley's comet—the first observation of this comet that had been been made in this country, although astronomers in various parts of the United States had been on the lookout, without success; this discovery was justly regarded, 'as proof that the instrument was a fine one for observations of this sort.'

Will of Sheldon Clark.

The Will of Sheldon Clark was made and executed in March, 1823, two months before his proposition to found a professorship in Oxford College was announced to the Corporation.

Knowing the uncertainty of life—thinking that we must always be prepared to die—feeling that it is our duty to do all the good in our power, and believing that part of my property will do more good if given to encourage literature than it would to descend according to law, I Sheldon Clark, of Oxford, am voluntarily, and of my own accord, disposed to make the following will:

I wish to be buried in a decent manner, and to have decent grave-stones at the discretion of my executors. It is my will, that my just debts and my funeral expenses be paid out of my movable estate. I give and bequeath to the Corporation of Yale College in New Haven, all my homestead farm where I now live, with its buildings and appurtenances—also, all the land that was given to me by my grandfather, Thomas Clark, Esq., on the east side of the road that runs north and south of Mr. Samuel Tucker, with its buildings and appurtenances—also, all my land that lies north of the road that runs by where George Drake now lives—also, my meadow that lies a few rods west of Rimmon school-house, and also, all my Red Oak farm, &c.

Funds being so liable to be lost by bad security, it is my will, that the lands I have given to said Corporation shall never be sold, but that they shall be let or rented, in such way and manner, as the President and Fellows of said Yale College and their successors, forever, shall judge to be for the best interest of said institution. It is my will, that the annual income of said lands shall be annually appropriated for the advancement of literature in said Yale College, in such a manner as its President and Fellows, and their successors forever, shall deem the best and most beneficial for said institution; but no part of said donation or income shall ever be appropriated to erect or repair buildings.

I also give and bequeath to the Corporation of Yale College in New Haven, all the money I shall have on hand and all the notes I shall have due me at the time of my decease, (except three hundred and thirty-four dollars for Chestnut-tree Hill school district,) to be appropriated for the benefit of said Yale College, as its President and Fellows, and their successors forever, shall think shall be for its best good, and the most conducive to its prosperity and honor.

Prof. Silliman adds: This will he brought to my house early in the spring of 1823, when he read it to me, and requested me to keep it *sacred and secure.* The lady of the house was also intrusted with this confidence, that the will might be found, if I were gone; by his direction I sealed it, in his presence, and wrote upon the envelope, 'the last Will of Sheldon Clark, to be delivered to no one but himself in person, or in the case of his death, to be opened by the President of Yale College.'

His last visit at my house was in the evening of October 8, 1839, and when he was on the door-step taking his leave, I reminded him of the important document, which, sixteen years before, he had confided to me, and offered to surrender it to him, provided his purpose was changed. He replied, 'No, I do not wish to make any alteration,' and these (with a warm shake of the hand) were to me his words of farewell. I never saw him more, until I beheld him in his coffin on the 11th of April, 1840.

A neat marble slab records his name as 'a distinguished benefactor of Yale College.' Such indeed he was. His benefactions to the institution, including the funded interest that had accumulated to the time of his death, amounted to full thirty thousand dollars —three times as much as any other individual ever gave.*

He kept his money always at work—loaned all the cash he did not need, (and his personal wants were few)—required his interest and payments at the day—but was exactly just in his dealings—prompt to give his advice when desired, and kind in his treatment of all. His hoarding was not for himself; wife and children he had none, and he laid by his thousands—the results not of traffic or speculation, but of laborious thrifty industry—to furnish the means of a superior education to the children of others, and to generations yet unborn.

In a letter to a committee of the Senior Class of Yale, thanking him for the opportunity enjoyed by that class from the first time of observing the heavens through the Clark Telescope, he expresses his views as follows:—

OXFORD, Nov. 29th, 1832.

RESPECTED FRIENDS—Man is a child of circumstances. While some are born to ease and plenty, seldom meet with disappointments, are surrounded by benevolent friends, always ready to assist, to comfort, and to afford them the most ample means of enjoying the highest degree of mental culture; others are born to poverty and servitude, unassisted, even by their nearest relatives, and denied the privilege of obtaining a good common school education, and are often dispirited by disappointments.

* Only one individual, the late Dr. Alfred Perkins of Norwich, gave $10,000 as a library fund, and there are a few living men who have given from $5,000 to $8,000 each.

It was my destiny to belong to the latter class. Early in life I had a tender father, who was in possession of a large amount of property. He intended, and often promised, that I should have a liberal education—but, alas, before I was old enough to prepare to enter College, he died, and the *estate proved to be insolvent.*

Thus all my fond hopes of having a liberal education were frustrated, and I was left fatherless and penniless in a hard, unfeeling, selfish world, to provide, by my own industry, to satisfy those positive wants congenial to poor human nature. It fell to my lot to live, till I was of age, with my grandfather, a hard working, parsimonious farmer, but I was allowed the privilege of reading occasionally, on Sundays, stormy days, and in the long nights of winter. From these opportunities of reading, I was soon convinced that the power, the honor, and glory of nations, consisted in, and depended upon, their great men. What has Greece, or Rome, or any nation of antiquity transmitted to posterity, worthy of esteem and admiration, but the achievements of their heroes, and the productions of their artists, poets, and philosophers? And what else can we transmit to succeeding ages, to distinguish us from the unlettered savages that roamed at large in the uncultivated wilds of America when discovered by our fathers? Full of this idea, and animated with an ardent desire to promote the honor and happiness of my own native country, I felt determined to do all I could to patronize and encourage literature and science, to provide the means of affording our literary and scientific genius a finished education.

Oft when toiling with ceaseless assiduity to accomplish that object, I have been pointed at, by my fellow-citizens, with the finger of scorn, and taunted by the tongue of ridicule. But for all this I felt a reward in the anticipation of promoting the honor, and glory, and happiness of my beloved country. I never dreamed of personally receiving the grateful acknowledgments of one of the most respectable collegiate classes in the world. This, I assure you, my dear friends, is a full, a rich compensation for all the labor, the hardships and privations I have suffered.

As honor, and glory, and happiness, are the only objects worthy of the attention of wise and intelligent beings, I have no doubt that they will be the chief objects of your pursuit. From the sentiments expressed in your kind and interesting letter, I presume that some of you are highly gratified with the study of the 'sublime science.'

In the year 1846, in anticipation of the accumulation of Mr. Clark's original gifts of $5,000 to the sum of $20,000, which would take place in 1847, the corporation constituted the Clark Professorship of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics, and elected as the first professor, Rev. Noah Porter,—elected in 1871, president. He entered upon his duties Jan. 1st, 1847, and has discharged them till the present time. This was the first fully endowed professorship which was established in the college, and for this reason, as on account of the history of the founder, this endowment is a memorable event in its history. It is interesting to trace its beginnings to the singular liberality and forecast of this imperfectly educated farmer, in 1823. This Professorship fund is $20,000.

The amount of the Clark Scholarship fund is $4,000. The first scholars upon this foundation were designated in 1848, according to the suggestions accompanying the gift. The failure of candidates to present themselves for examination, or of elected scholars to comply with the conditions of residence and study, has furnished the college from time to time with funds to distribute as premiums for excellence in literary composition or in scientific research.

The real estate bequeathed by Mr. Clark to the college was valued at $14,477.12, the income of which was restricted to no particular use. By the will, the corporation was forbidden to sell the land, but was required to let or rent them according to their discretion. These farms and tenements were of such a character that this restriction has proved to be very unfortunate for the interest of the college, and the income has been scanty and uncertain.

DONATIONS TO YALE COLLEGE.

CATALOGUE OF THE PRINCIPAL DECEASED BENEFACTORS TO THE ACADEMICAL DEPARTMENT OF YALE COLLEGE.

In this list the names of donors whose gifts are less than $1000 are not mentioned, excepting a few of the earliest. We omit also the names of donors to the Theological and Medical Departments; likewise the names of benefactors still living, several of whom are unwilling that their gifts should be publicly announced. We pass by also the large donations to the Scientific School, nearly all of which are due to the characteristic munificence of a gentleman of New Haven.

The various donations by the Colony and State of Connecticut, amounting in the aggregate to about $70,000, scattered over a period of 160 years, are not recited here, because they have been fully enumerated in our number for September, 1858.

Date.		Dollars.
1700.	The ten clergymen who founded the College by a gift of 40 volumes of books, valued at £30 sterling.	
1701.	Major James Fitch, of Norwich, Conn., 637 acres of land in Killingly; besides, glass and nails for a college house.	
1714.	Jeremy Dummer, agent at London for the Colony of Connecticut, who rendered important service by collecting a library of 600 volumes in London, besides his own gift of 120 volumes.	
1716.	Elihu Yale, of London, 300 volumes of books, worth . . .	£100 sterl.
	Goods, in the years 1718 and 1721, valued	£400 "
1733.	Rev. Dr. George Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, 96 acres of land, near Newport, R. I., for founding three Graduate Scholarships; rented now at $140 per annum. 1000 volumes of books, valued at	£400 "
1787.	Rev. Richard Salter, D. D., of Mansfield, Conn., about 200 acres of land in that town, for the encouragement of the study of Hebrew and other Oriental languages. Land valued at . .	1,666 67
	Dr. Daniel Lathrop, Norwich, Conn., a legacy, ...	1,666 67
1791.	Rev. Samuel Lockwood, D. D., Andover, Conn., legacy for a fund for the increase of the Library, ...	1,122 33
1807.	Hon. Oliver Wolcott, afterwards Governor of Connecticut, a fund for the increase of the Library, ...	2,000 00
1813.	Isaac Beers, New Haven, by will, 1,900 acres of land in Holland, Vt.	
1817.	Noah Linsly, Wheeling, Va., legacy, ...	3,000 00
1823.	David C. DeForest, New Haven, to found Scholarships, . .	5,000 00
	Sheldon Clark, Oxford, to found a Professorship of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics, ...	5,000 00
	Also in 1824, to found two Scholarships, ...	1,000 00
	Do. 1828–9, to purchase telescope and globes, . . .	1,200 00
	Do. 1840, by will, money, notes, and land, ...	14,332 00
1825.	Citizens of New Haven, to aid in purchasing the Gibbs Mineral Cabinet, ...	10,000 00
	Citizens of New York, for the same object, ...	3,500 00
	Alumni of the College, residing in South Carolina, . . .	800 00
	Thomas Day, Hartford, to found Scholarships, on certain conditions, ...	2,000 00
1832.	A fund of $100,000, in sums varying from $10 to $5,000, was subscribed and paid by the Alumni and friends of the College. A catalogue of the donors, with the amount of their subscriptions, is printed in the Appendix to the reissue of Baldwin's "*Annals of Yale College.*" Among the donors are those below named, viz.:—	
	Oliver D. Cooke, Hartford, ...	1,000 00
	Timothy Cowles, Farmington, ...	1,000 00
	David Daggett, New Haven, ...	1,000 00
	Jeremiah Day, New Haven, ...	1,000 00
	Edward C. Delavan, Albany, N. Y., ...	1,000 00
	Chauncey A. Goodrich, New Haven, ...	1,000 00
	Hall, Townsend, Knevals & Co., New Haven, ...	1,000 00
	Joseph Hurlbut, New London, ...	3,000 00
	William Leffingwell, New Haven, ...	1,000 00
	C. A. & G. R. Lewis, New London, ...	3,000 00
	S. E. & R. C. Morse, New York, ...	1,100 00
	Israel Munson, Boston, ...	5,000 00
	Elias Perkins, New London, ...	1,000 00
	Benjamin Silliman, New Haven, ...	1,000 00
	E. Goodrich Smith, New Haven, ...	1,000 00

	Benjamin Tallmadge, Litchfield,	1,000 00
	Isaac Townsend, New Haven,	1,000 00
	Stephen Van Rensselaer & Sons, Albany, N. Y.,	6,000 00
	Daniel Wadsworth, Hartford,	1,000 00
	Thomas S. Williams, Hartford,	1,000 00
	William W. Woolsey, New York,	2,250 00
1835.	Solomon Langdon, Farmington, for a fund for Scholarships for indigent students preparing for Gospel Ministry,	4,000 00
1837.	Alfred E. Perkins, M. D., Norwich, legacy for a fund for increase of Library,	10,000 00
1840.	Ithiel Town, New Haven, for Gratuity Fund,	2,000 00
1842.	Donations toward the cost of the Library Building,	17,585 00
1843.	Isaac H. Townsend, New Haven, for a fund for founding 5 premiums for English Composition,	1,000 00
	Donations toward the cost of the Lederer Cabinet of American Minerals,	2,200 00
1844.	Israel Munson, Boston, Mass., legacy,	15,000 00
1846.	Addin Lewis, New Haven, legacy for fund for increase of Library,	5,000 00
1849.	Mrs. Roger M. Sherman, Fairfield, legacy charged with an annuity,	4,000 00
1856.	Joseph Otis, Norwich, legacy,	4,000 00
1857.	Asa Bacon, New Haven, subscription and legacy,	10,000 00
1858.	Thomas Harmer Johns, Canandaigua, N. Y., legacy for the Harmer Foundation of Scholarships,	10,000 00
	William A. Macy, legacy,	3,500 00

In 1853 was undertaken a subscription for a new fund for the further endowment of the College. The amount subscribed was about $122,000, including $14,000 from Messrs. Bacon & Otis, of which the sum of about $111,000 has been settled. Of this total, the sum of about $73,000 is left unrestricted for the Academical Department, and the sum of $11,000 is appropriated for scholarship and prize funds.

Among the benefactors of the College may be named the late Col. John Trumbull, (deceased in New York city, Nov. 10, 1843, aged 87,) who, in 1831, gave to the College a collection of historical and other paintings executed by his own hand, on condition of receiving an annuity of $1,000 during the remainder of his life. This precious collection contains eight original paintings of subjects from the American Revolution, and numerous portraits of persons distinguished in American history.

HENRY FARNAM, AND FARNAM HALL.

MEMOIR.

Henry Farnam, whose name is borne by the Hall which his liberality erected in the grounds of Yale College, the first of the kind by individual liberality for the residence of undergraduate students, was born November 9, 1803, in Scipio, Cayuga county, New York; his father, Jeffrey Amherst Farnam, being a native of Killingly, Conn., and his mother, Mercy Tracy, of Norwich, of the same State. His childhood and early youth were spent in his father's home—laboring on the farm in summer, and attending the district school in winter—and improving every opportunity to read such books as a little library in the neighborhood contained, and pursuing the study of mathematics into trigonometry and surveying, and algebra, by himself, with such occasional help as the town surveyor, Mr. Davis Hurd, and the county surveyor, David Thomas, could render, on friendly visits to the family. In 1820, he served as 'rod man' to Mr. Thomas, who run out the lines of the Erie Canal west of Rochester; and in 1821, as assistant under Mr. Hurd—teaching school in the winter, and engineering in the summer till the spring of 1825.

From the spring of 1825 to 1827, Mr. Farnam was engaged as assistant with Mr. Hurd on the Farmington Canal, and in 1827 succeeded the latter as engineer and superintendent until the Canal was finished to Northampton, and the Canal itself converted into a Railroad, and extended to Williamsburg, thirteen miles beyond, enjoying the confidence and friendship of Hon. James Hillhouse, the projector of the Canal, and of Joseph E. Sheffield, who in 1840, became a large proprietor and the President of the company. After the leasing of the Railroad to the New York and New Haven Railroad company in 1856, Mr. Farnam resigned his position as engineer and superintendent, and on the suggestion of Mr. Sheffield, and the invitation of Mr. William B. Ogden, he visited Chicago, then a city of 20,000 inhabitants, the natural center of a system of railway connections, radiating south, west, and north, and eastward to the great commercial ports on the Atlantic. The possibilities

of these connections were seen by a few sagacious citizens—to take emigrants to lands yet unappropriated, and in time convey the products which their labor would create to ready markets. At that time not a railway from the east was finished to Chicago, and only one to the west, the Galena and Chicago Union, was finished as far as Elgin, 42 miles in all. Mr. Sheffield and Mr. Farnam were so impressed by a visit to Rock Island, Illinois, and to Davenport, Iowa, of the feasibility of a route, connecting Lake Michigan with the Mississippi, that they contracted to survey, grade, construct, and equip a railway within five years. The work was done within three years (Feb., 1854) at a cost of over $5,000,000, met by the stock and bonds of the company, which were brought up and kept beyond par, by the promptitude and the thoroughness with which the work was completed. Within a year, Mr. Farnam constructed the railway bridge across the Mississippi at Rock Island, and had contracted for the construction of a railroad across Iowa, from Davenport to Council Bluffs. The road to Iowa City was completed in 1856. In 1860, he conveyed his privilege to build to a new company, and in 1863 resigned all active connection with railway construction and management—rich enough to secure for himself and his family all reasonable comforts of residence, education, hospitality, and travel, and enable him to aid numerous public objects of a literary and religious character.

Mr. Farnam was married to Miss Ann S. Whitman in 1839 (Dec. 1), when he established his residence at New Haven—removing to Chicago in 1852—and returning to New Haven in 1868, after spending several years in Europe.

FARNAM HALL AND OTHER BENEFACTIONS.

In 1863, he gave $30,000 to Yale College to aid in erecting a dormitory on an improved plan; and in 1870, added $30,000 more to complete the same. The building cost $126,634.79, to which Mr. Farnam's contributions, with accumulating interest amounted to $72,143.47.

Mr. Farnam has contributed liberally to every movement to extend any department of the College, as well as to meet the wants of public institutions in New Haven. Among his subscriptions, we notice $6,000 to the Sheffield Scientific School; $10,000 to the Theological Seminary; $1,900 to the College Library; $900 to the Art School; and $5,000 to the City Hospital.

SAMUEL WILDERSPIN AND INFANT SCHOOLS.

MEMOIR.

ALTHOUGH to James Buchanan belongs the credit of organizing and conducting the two earliest 'asylums,' instituted for very young children—children younger than usually attended the dame school—* the name of Samuel Wilderspin, by his greater activity and ubiquity, by his longer service and formal publications on the subject, in which something like, or at least a so-called Infant School system is presented for study, will always be associated with the efforts to establish this class of educational institutions in Great Britain. Out of his earnest efforts, from 1820 to 1836, and the better informed and more philosophical efforts from 1825, of the Mayors —father and daughter, which were based on the principles and methods of Pestalozzi, and his assistants and pupils, started the Normal and Model Schools of the Home and Colonial Infant School Society in London, and the manifold improvements which have been introduced into the youngest classes of the Elementary Schools of England, Scotland and Ireland—making the Infant School department a characteristic feature and excellence of the National School systems of Great Britain.†

SAMUEL WILDERSPIN was born in London, about 1792, and entered on the work of infant school management in 1819, without any previous study of education as a science, or any special qualification or training beyond a fondness for children, and considerable ingenuity in devising ways and means of keeping them amused and

* For a brief notice of the earliest attempt to amuse and train very young children to habits of cleanliness, order, and observation at New Lanark, near Glasgow, by James Buchanan and Mary Young, in 1815, in the employment of Robert Owen, *see* Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, Vol. xxvi, p. 411. The efforts of Louise Scheffter in the same direction, at an earlier date, at Walbach, under Oberlin, are described in the memoir of Oberlin in the same Journal, Vol. xxvii, p. 186. At an earlier date than either, Pestalozzi had shown in his Orphan House that very young children could be trained by object lessons, and other methods adapted to their years, Vol. vii.

† See Young's *Infant School Manual* for the National Schools of Ireland; Stowe's *Gallery Lessons* in the Normal School of Glasgow; and Currie's *Principles and Practice of Early and Infant School Education*, Edinburgh, in Barnard's American Journal of Education, Vol. viii–ix, and in his *Object Lessons, and other Methods of Primary Instruction, in the Elementary Schools of Great Britain.*

occupied. With slight opportunities of observation in the Infant School of Buchanan, in Westminster, Mr. Wilderspin and his wife undertook the management of a similar school provided for by Joseph Wilson, in Quaker Street, Spitalfield, in 1820. Out of the noise and confusion of a crowd of little children, from three to six years of age, without their mothers or elder brothers and sisters, he succeeded in evoking silence and order by displaying at the end of a pole his wife's gaudily adorned cap. Then by marching and counter marching his little companies, as fast as he could arrange the same, with frequent recourse to singing and clapping of hands, he began his first Infant School; and by tentative methods in presenting real objects, or visible illustrations, and a good deal of book work, he evolved something like a system, or rather a routine of infant instruction, which is embodied in his *Infant System*, (first printed in 1824, and which passed to a seventh edition in 1840); *Education of the Young;* and *Early Discipline Illustrated.*

In the management of the school in Spitalfield, and in other model schools organized by him, Mrs. Wilderspin was his chief reliance, but her health broke down prematurely under her anxious and excessive labors, and she was buried amid the tears of a thousand parents and children, who crowded around to pay respect to her memory.

Mr. Wilderspin was from the start brought into communication

* Mr. Wilderspin thus tells the story of his first day's experience in Spitalfield, in his *Early Discipline Illustrated:*

'When the mothers had left, a few of the children, who had been previously at a dame school, sat quietly; but the rest, missing their parents, crowded about the door. One little fellow, finding he could not open it, set up a loud cry of 'Mamma, mamma!' and in raising this *delightful* sound, all the rest simultaneously joined. My wife, who, though reluctant at first, had determined, on my accepting the situation, to give me her utmost aid, tried with myself to calm the tumult; but our efforts were utterly in vain. The paroxysm of sorrow increased instead of subsiding, and so intolerable did it become, that she could endure it no longer, and left the room; and at length, exhausted by effort, anxiety, and noise, I was compelled to follow her example, leaving my unfortunate pupils in one dense mass, crying, yelling, and kicking against the door.'

'I will not attempt to describe my feelings; but, ruminating on what I then considered egregious folly in supposing that any two persons could manage so large a number of infants, I was struck by the sight of a cap of my wife's, adorned with colored ribbon, lying on the table; and observing from the window a clothes-prop, it occurred to me that I might put the cap upon it, return to the school, and try the effect. The confusion when I entered was tremendous; but on raising the pole surmounted by the cap, all the children, to my great satisfaction, were instantly silent, and when any hapless wight seemed disposed to renew the noise, a few shakes of the prop restored tranquillity, and perhaps produced a laugh. The same thing, however, will not do long; the charms of this *wonderful* instrument, therefore, soon vanished, and there would have been a sad relapse, but for the marchings, gambols, and antics, I found it necessary to adopt, and which at last brought the hour of twelve, to my greater joy than can easily be conceived.'

'Revolving these circumstances I felt that that memorable morning had not passed in vain. I had, in fact, found the clue. It was now evident that the senses of the children must be engaged, that the great secret of training them was to descend to their level, and become a child; and that the error had been to expect in infancy what is only the product of after years.'

with the advanced educators of the day, with Brougham, Simpson, Combe, Stow, the Mayors, and others, and thus while he imparted to others his own enthusiasm for infant training, he at the same time received suggestions as to principles and methods of education, which he applied in his own lectures, schools, and publications, and thus contributed largely to their dissemination.

In 1824, he was active in the establishment of the London Infant School Society, and from that date, for fifteen years his services were in constant requisition to lecture, and assist in founding infant schools in the chief towns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, of which amusing narratives appear in his *Early Discipline Illustrated.*

Labors in Scotland.

Wilderspin visited Scotland on the invitation of David Stow, the founder of the training system, and the picturing-out method, so called by himself. He made the journey from London to Glasgow on horseback,—preaching the doctrine of infant education by the way, as opportunity presented, in the eight days which the journey consumed. He labored for several weeks in getting the Drygate School, the first infant school in this city, into order, and relates how nearly the use of the ball frame had brought both himself and the school into disrepute. A fond mother happened to ask her child on his returning home, 'Weel, Sandy, what hae ye been at?' to which Sandy as naturally replied, 'Eh, mither, we've been countin' the beads.' The mother's native horror of popery was aroused, the alarm spread like fire, and, but for opportune explanation, the school would have been entirely deserted.

At the end of a month, these 'little ragamuffins' were publicly examined in the Gaelic Chapel, at the west end of the city, and about a mile from the Drygate. The children, who were from eighteen months to six years of age, and were unable to walk so far, were conveyed in carts, adorned with green boughs, guarded on each side by the Glasgow police, and followed by crowds of people. Inside of the church the audience numbered about 1,000, and, in their presence, questions on 'form, size, and position' were put and answered. A gentleman asked whether the chandelier was suspended or supported, and on a correct answer being made, he asked them to tell him the difference, whereupon a little boy took from his pocket a piece of string, at the end of which was a button; placing the button on the palm of his hand, he answered, 'That is supported,' and holding the end of the string, so as to let

* For a cotemporaneous account of the early movement in Infant Schools, see Christian Observer for (London.)

the button fall, he said, 'That is suspended.' (If Mr. Stow was present, he must have been delighted at the juvenile example of 'picturing out.') The interrogator, after various questions, wished the children to mention something, not previously named, which was perpendicular, when, after a brief pause, a little black-eyed boy, whose head had been resting on his hand, shouted out, 'Ye're ane yersel.' The effect of this was so ludicrous, as to disconcert the questioner for a little, but soon rallying, he said, 'Suppose I were to strike Mr. Wilderspin, and knock him down, would he be perpendicular *then?*'—'No, he'd be horizontal,' was the prompt reply.

Mr. Wilderspin assisted in organizing the first infant schools in Glasgow, Dundee, Paisley, and Edinburgh, and afterward similar schools in Belfast and Dublin.

Mr. Simpson in his *Popular Education*, printed in 1837, pays the following tribute to Wilderspin: 'I feel it not only a duty but a delight to devote a note to this singularly meritorious individual, whom it concerns the public to know, before they are called upon, as they *must* be, to approve of his receiving a national tribute for the benefits he has conferred on his fellow-men, the toils he has cheerfully endured, the pittance he has generally conditioned as bare livelihood, and last, but not least, the obstructions and persecutions with which his enlightened and benevolent labors have been met. If an infant school is to be organized in the extreme north of Scotland, Mr. Wilderspin will come from Cheltenham where he resides, for the humblest traveling expenses and means of subsistence, and devote six weeks to the training of the pupils and teachers, while by his lectures and zeal he never fails to give such an impetus to the whole region which he visits, as often gives him several schools to set a-going before he is called elsewhere; he is ready for any infant educational enterprise to the sacrifice of every selfish consideration, and once offered himself to go to the West Indies to organize schools for the children of the negroes, if he should perish in the attempt.'

Samuel Wilderspin died in 1867—outliving the memory of the generation which he had diligently served as the organizer in chief of a class of schools, in Great Britain, which after many tentative expedients, and the more philosophical treatment of later educators, is likely to become a useful and permanent link between the home and school—the principal agency of the mother in developing the senses, moral biases, and physical habits of young children, and in preparing them by apt methods and real objects, for the proper use of books in the Primary School.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT—1876.

ANALYSIS BY REV. HENRY ROE.

THE following analysis of the English Education Act of 1870—composed of 58 sections and four schedules, presents in one comprehensive view simple summaries of the duties imposed and the rights conferred by the new Act on each of these ten several classes of persons or corporate bodies—namely, 1, Parents; 2, Employers; 3, School Managers generally; 4, School Boards; 5, Town Councils and Boards of Guardians; 6, Other Local or Corporate Authorities; 7, the newly constituted 'School Attendance' and 'Local' Committees; 8, Parishes and their Overseers; 9, Managers of Industrial Schools; and 10, Courts of Summary Jurisdiction.

I.—*Parents.*

1. It is now declared the law of the land that parents are in duty bound to educate their children, and that failing to do so, they make themselves liable to certain legal orders and penalties (sec. 4).

2. A parent is to see (1) that each of his children, between five and ten years of age, makes at least 250 attendances a year (sec. 5) in not more than two 'certified efficient schools' each year (sched. 1), and (2) that each such child at ten years old shall pass the examination of the fourth standard (sched. 1); the forfeit for failing in BOTH of these duties, with respect to any individual child, being that that child will be prohibited from *full* employment till he is fourteen years of age (sec. 5). To make the change somewhat gradual from the past to the future state of things, (1) the examination to be passed in 1877 and in 1878 will be that of the second standard, and in 1879 and 1880 that of the third standard instead of the fourth standard; (2) the previous due attendance at school in 1877 and 1878 is to be 250 attandances in each of two years, in 1879 the same for three years, and in 1880 the same for four years (sched. 1); and (3) the lowest age for going to work in 1877 is to be nine instead of ten (sec. 51).

3. Where a parent habitually neglects to send his child to school, or the child is found habitually wandering about, the parent will (1) first be warned of his duty, (2) then, if he is still negligent, a court of summary jurisdiction will order him to send his child to school (he himself, if he so pleases, making choice of the school), and (3) if he disobeys this 'order,' and can not plead any valid excuse, such as (*a*) the sickness of his child, (*b*) no school within two miles, or (*c*) other 'unavoidable cause' (sec. 11), then upon a second complaint (i.) he may be fined five shillings if he is himself at fault, or (ii.) if the child is at fault, it may be sent under an 'attendance order' by the Court to an industrial school, and the parent be made to contribute toward the expense there of its maintenance and training (sec. 12).

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4. The amount to be paid by the parent to the managers of an industrial school (1) is determined by the Industrial Schools Act, 1866, when his child is sent there by an 'attendance order' (sec. 12), and (2) is fixed at not less than 1*s.* a week when sent voluntarily by the parent, (3) and at not more than 2*s.* a week when sent under any other summary order (sec. 16).

5. A parent, not being a pauper, but yet too poor to pay the school fees for his child (1) may have the fees (not exceeding 3*d.* a week) paid for him by the guardians, (2) may himself choose the school for his child, and (3) will not in consequence lose any franchise which he possesses (sec. 10). An out door pauper may claim additional parish relief whilst his child (from not having passed the third standard examination, or from any other cause under this act) is compulsorily attending school, and he has the further right to make choice of the school (sec. 40).

6. When a child under eleven gains certain specified certificates, then for the next three years, the school fees (up to 6*d.* a week) will be paid for him by the Education Department (sec. 18 and sched. 1). The certificates must show that the child (1) has passed the fourth or a higher standard, and (2) has made 350 or more attendances (in not more than two schools a year) for each of the previous five years (sched. 1). This privilege will be forfeited if, in either of the following three years, the child (*a*) fails to make 350 attendances, or (*b*) does not pass the prescribed examinations (sched. 1); and the scheme will expire on 31st December, 1881, unless otherwise determined by an Order in Council (sec. 18). In 1877 and 1878 the attendance certificate will be demanded only for two previous years, in 1879 for three, and in 1880 for four previous years (sched. 1). These conditions may at any time be altered or revoked by the Education Department, and it is provided that at any annual examination of a school not more than 10 per cent. of the scholars examined may obtain the required certificates—the preference, where more are found duly qualified, being given to those children who have made the greatest number of school attendances in the previous years (sched. 1).

7. No child under fourteen is allowed to work full time unless furnished with a properly authorized 'labor certificate' (sec. 5, &c.). These certificates will be granted free of cost (sec. 24); but a parent who makes a false representation, or who forges or aids in forging a false certificate, may be fined 40*s.* (sec. 39).

8. A parent who himself makes use of his child's labor in his own trade, or for the purposes of gain, is considered to be an employer within the meaning of the act (sec. 47).

II.—*Employers.*

1. No person may take into his employ (1) a child under ten years old, or (2) a child between ten and fourteen, without the proper certificate, either of previous due attendance at school, or of prescribed proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic (sec. 5). The penalty for neglecting this rule is 40*s.* (sec. 6).

2. The exemptions to the rule just stated are—(1) in 1877, a child nine years old will count as if he were ten (sec. 51); (2), a child eleven years old in 1876, or (3) one in lawful employ on 1st January, 1877 (sec. 51), or (4) a child living two or more miles by the nearest road from a school (sec. 9) will not come under the act; (5) during school holidays, or out of school hours (when not interfering with efficient instruction), a child may be employed in work; (6) for not more than six weeks in any one year any child above eight (if permitted by the local

authority) may assist in the 'necessary operations of husbandry and the ingathering of the crops' (sec. 9); and (7) a child between ten and fourteen, without a 'labor certificate,' may be employed as a half-timer (sec. 5).

3. A properly authorized officer, armed with a justice's order, may enter any premises where it is suspected that children are illegally employed (sec. 29), the penalty for obstruction being 20*l.* (sec. 29).

4. Any agent of an employer who contravenes this act will be proceeded against as if he were the employer, and if it be proved that the real employer is ignorant of his agent's proceedings, or that in all good faith he believed any false representations, and received any forged certificates as being true and genuine, no action will lie against him under this act (sec. 39).

III.—*School Managers Generally.*

1. The Government grant, if earned (1), may amount to 17*s.* 6*d.* a head in average attendance, subject to no conditions as to the amount of the expenditure, or as to other sources of income; and (2) it may exceed that sum per head without specified limit, provided that the whole Government grant is met by an equal income derived from rates or subscriptions, school fees, endowments, &c. (sec. 19).

2. School fees, paid by the Education Department on behalf of duly certificated children over ten years old, are to count as ordinary school fees and not as part of the Government grant (sec. 18); but no school can claim such payments where the ordinary school fee exceeds 6*d.* a week (sched. 1).

3. In any authorized school district, with a population less than 300, an extra Government grant may be claimed of 10*l.* a year, if the population is above 200, and of 15*l.* if it be below 200. The same rule will apply for any scattered population of the like numbers within a circular area bounded by a circumference no where less than two miles by the nearest road from the school. This extra grant is to count among the school fees and subscriptions, &c., and not as part of the regular Government grant; but it is to be a condition of any school claiming it, that there is 'no other public elementary school recognized by the Education Department available for the children' in the district of such school (sec. 19).

4. In all cases it is made a condition of receiving Government grants that the school income is applied 'only for the purpose of public elementary schools' (sec. 20).

5. Any elementary school (1) which is not conducted for private profit, (2) which is open at all reasonable times for Government inspection, (3) which is certified as efficient by the Education Department (and is therefore under a duly certificated teacher), and (4) in which the same attendance is required from the scholars, and the same registers of that attendance are kept as, for the time being, may be required in the case of any ordinary public elementary school, is to count as a 'certified efficient school,' satisfying the act, although it does not claim and enjoy any Parliamentary grant (sec. 48).

6. The provisions enumerated above, as applying to school managers in general, apply with equal force to all school boards.

IV.—*School Boards.*

1. Every school board, 'as soon as may be,' must publish the provisions of the act, and enforce the same in its own district; and it is invested with all the

powers the act confers on the school attendance committee constituted by the act (sec. 7).

2. All powers and expenses of a school board under this act are to be counted as if under the act of 1870 (sec. 30).

3. Casual vacancies in a school board are to be filled up by the remaining members (if a quorum) at a special meeting to be called for the purpose (sched. 3).

4. When permitted by the Education Department, a school board may build or acquire an office in the same way as that in which it is empowered to provide school accommodation (sec. 42).

5. School boards are to furnish returns required under this act, just as in the case of the act of 1870 (sec. 43).

6. No school board officer is to commence legal proceedings in respect of negligent school attendance, until authorized by at least two members of the board (sec. 38).

7. A school board possessing neither school nor school site may be dissolved if (1), after proceedings analogous to those required for establishing a school board, the proposed dissolution is carried by a majority of two-thirds of all the votes given; (2) there is sufficient school accommodation in the district, and no order has been sent from the Education Department to supply more; and (3) the Education Department think the education of the district will not be prejudicially affected by such dissolution. The application for such dissolution must be made during the last six months of the time for which the board was elected. The property of a dissolved school board is to be disposed of by the Education Department, and their liabilities will be a charge on the rates of the district. After such dissolution a school board (under the act of 1870) may (*a*) be constituted again in the district, or (*b*) for just cause be imposed upon it by the Education Department, just as if no order for dissolution had ever been issued (sec. 41).

N.B.—For further powers and duties of a school board, see Section VII., headed 'The School Attendance Committee and the Local Committee.'

V.—*Town Councils and Boards of Guardians.*

1. Councils in boroughs and boards of guardians in unions are each of them to appoint annually a committee of from six to twelve members of their own body, to be called the 'School Attendance Committee.' The *first* such committee should be appointed, 'as soon as may be,' (sec. 7), and each subsequent one at the first meeting of the council or the board of guardians after the annual election of the same, or at a time fixed with the approval of the Local Government Board (sched. 2). Casual vacancies are to be filled up by the council or the board of guardians as they occur (sched. 2), and the number of members in the committee may at any time be altered by the electing body, provided that the committee consist of not less than six nor more than twelve members (sec. 32). In a school attendance committee, elected by a board of guardians, one-third at least (if possible) of the members must be *ex officio* guardians (sec. 7).

2. It rests with the town council or the board of guardians to authorize the school attendance committee, appointed by them, to incur expense or to employ any officer; and the expenses so incurred are to be met in a borough by a borough rate or fund, and in a union by a poor rate levied by the guardians upon the several parishes (proportionately to the ratable value of each) in which the school attendance committee acts (sec. 31).

3. Boards of guardians are to pay the school fee for the child of an indigent but not pauper parent to the amount of 3*d.* a week (sec. 10), the same to be a charge on the rates of the parish in which the parent resides (sec. 35). Similarly all expenses incurred under sec. 20 Elementary Education Act, 1873, are to be charged to the parish in respect of which they are incurred (sec. 34).

4. When a child is sent to an industrial school other than by an 'attendance order,' and the parent is too poor to pay any or all the sum demanded of him by the managers of such industrial school, the guardians are to make up the amount and to charge the same on the parish in which the parent resides (sec. 16).

5. Relief given by the guardians to out door paupers to enable them to send their children to school, is to be a charge on the common fund of the union (and in London a charge on the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund). Only the ordinary fee charged at the school, where such children attend, is to be thus paid by the guardians; and the other out door relief received by such pauper parents will be withheld if their children fail in their attendance at school (sec. 40).

6. The clerk to a board of guardians is to be the clerk of their school attendance committee; and all proceedings under this act of the board, the school attendance committee, or the clerk, are to be regarded as if they were proceedings under the ordinary Poor Laws (sec. 34).

VI.—*Other Local or Corporate Authorities.*

1. Where the Factory Acts are in force, the inspectors and sub-inspectors, acting under the authority of those acts, are to inforce the provisions of this act in the place of the school board, or the school attendance committee, having jurisdiction in the district. But in doing so, such inspectors and sub-inspectors are to receive the assistance of the said school board, or school attendance committee, in their attempts to gain information and otherwise (sec. 7).

2. Children employed in workshops under the Workshop Regulation Act, 1867, and all children employed in factories not subject to the Factory Act, 1874, are now to be subject to secs. 31, 38, 39 Factory Act, 1844, and to secs. 12, 15 Factory Act, 1874, and to be dealt with by the authorized inspectors, or sub-inspectors, as the present act directs. But sec. 12 Factory Act, 1874, will not apply to any child who is eleven years old in 1876 (sec. 8).

3. In an urban sanitary district (1) with a population not below 5,000, if the district (2) is not and does not comprise a borough, and (3) consists of one or more whole parishes not under a school board, the urban sanitary authority of that district, if permitted by the Education Department, may act as the council of a borough, and appoint a school attendance committee, having full power over the district to the entire exclusion of the school attendance committee appointed by the guardians of the union in which the district is situated. The expenses incurred under this act, by such urban sanitary authority, must be met out of the poor rates levied on the parish or parishes in their district (according to the ratable value of each parish); and for this purpose, the urban sanitary authority are to have all the powers of a board of guardians (sec. 33).

4. When an urban sanitary district (1) is not (and does not comprise) a borough, and is not (2) wholly within the jurisdiction of any school board, and (3) has a less population than 5,000, and (4) does not embrace one or more whole parishes, the Education Department may authorize the sanitary authority of such

a district to appoint one, two, or three of their own members to serve upon, and be part of, the school attendance committee of the union comprising such district (sec. 33).

5. If after 1st January, 1877, a school board is appointed for any parish which is a part of, or which comprises the whole or part of any urban sanitary district in which the urban sanitary authority have, under this act, appointed a school attendance committee, such committee will cease to act for the district within two months after the election of the school board; but by-laws, enacted by the school attendance committee, will remain in force till altered or revoked by the school board (sec. 33).

VII.—*School Attendance Committee (S.A.C.) and Local Committee (L.C.)*

1. The school attendance committee (hereinafter denoted S A C.), 'as soon as may be' after their appointment, must publish the provisions of the act within their jurisdiction (sec. 7).

2. Then in the case of a parent whose child, over five years old, is habitually absent from school, or habitually wandering about, the S A.C. must (1) first warn the parent of his duty; (2) if this warning is unheeded, complain of the parent to a court of summary jurisdiction, and obtain from the court an 'attendance order,' directing the parent to send the child to some school (sec. 11); (3) if this order is disobeyed, repeat the complaint, with the view of having the parent fined, or the child sent to an industrial school; and (4) if the parent is still in default, at the end of a fortnight again repeat the complaint, and so on till they succeed in bringing the child under regular instruction (sec. 12). The S.A.C. are to receive information respecting defaulting parents, and unless considered by them to be inexpedient, they are bound upon this information to set the law in motion against such parents (sec. 13).

3. When a child has been sent to an industrial school without an 'attendance order,' the S.A.C. must obtain the order for and enforce payment (not exceeding 2s. a week) from the parent. Under certain conditions, the S.A.C. may join the parent in a request for the admission of his child to such an industrial school (sec. 16).

4. It is an especial duty of the S.A.C. to report to the Education Department any infractions, or complaints of infractions, of sec. 7 Elementary Education Act, 1870, (sec. 7).

5. The S.A.C. have full control over the exemptions from school attendance of children over eight years old, for six weeks a year, whilst harvest or other necessary agricultural work is going on. The S.A.C. must (1) issue public notice of the period of exemption, (2) send a copy of such notice to the Education Department, (3) supply with a similar copy the overseers of every parish under their control, and (4) otherwise further advertise the same for the information of the public (sec. 9).

6. In a borough, the S.A C. may make by-laws for compulsory attendance, with all the powers of a school board (sec. 21), but they have no authority to remit or to pay any school fees (sec. 23).

7. In a union any parish may make requisition to the S.A.C. having jurisdiction in the parish, and it will then be the duty of that S.A.C. to make by-laws for the parish with the force of school board by-laws (sec. 21). The 'requisition' may be accompanied by suggestions from the parish as to the nature

of the by-laws desired, and both the S.A.C. and the Education Department are bound to pay due regard to these suggestions (sec. 22). In inforcing such by-laws, the S.A.C. will be invested with all the powers of a school board under the act of 1870, except that they may neither remit nor pay school fees (sec. 23).

8. In a borough with the consent of the council, and in a union with the consent of the guardians and the sanction of the Local Government Board (sec. 31), the S.A.C. may appoint one or more officers to act for them, and may pay the same a salary (sec. 28); and any such officer, armed with a justice's order, may inspect premises where it is suspected children are being illegally employed (sec. 29).

9. A certificate of birth may be obtained by any person for purposes of this act from the registrar, on the payment of not more than a shilling (sec. 25); and the S.A.C. may obtain returns of births and deaths from any registrar at 2*d.* an entry (sec. 26).

10. No S.A.C., without the sanction of the council in a borough, or of the guardians (and the Local Government Board) in a union, may appoint any officer or incur any expense (sec. 31).

11. In the case of a defaulting S.A.C., the Education Department may appoint any persons to form a new S.A.C.. Such new S.A.C. will (1) supersede the defaulting S.A.C., will (2) have all the powers of the same, may (3) continue in office for not more than two years, and (4) will be independent of all control exercised over the district by the council or the board of guardians. All expenses incurred by such new S.A.C. are to be paid by the council or the guardians. At the end of the period for which such new S.A.C. were appointed, the ordinary S.A.C. will come again into power; but they may, in like manner, be superseded when, and as often as, they may again be in default (sec. 27).

12. Whilst the S.A.C. have to act for every parish in the union (or borough), they may appoint for any individual parish, or for any other specified area, a local committee (denoted afterward L.C.) to give them aid and information, but *not* to make by-laws or to proceed in the courts. The L.C. may consist of not less than three councilors or guardians, but other persons are eligible to serve with the same (sec. 32). The S.A.C. may increase, diminish, change, or dissolve the L.C. at any time; and they have to fill up casual vacancies in the L.C. as they occur. Ordinarily the L.C. will continue in office till the first meeting of the newly appointed S.A.C. for the year (and afterward until a new L.C. have been appointed) unless otherwise determined by the retiring S.A.C. The procedure of the S.A.C. and of the L.C. is (with certain provisos) to be that of managers under a school board provided for in the third schedule of the act of 1870.

13. The S.A.C. will continue in office till the first meeting of the newly elected council or board of guardians, and afterward until another S.A.C. have been duly appointed (sched. 2).

14. The S.A.C. are required to furnish all returns asked for by the Education Department, in the same way that school boards have to do under the act of 1870 (sec. 43).

15. No legal proceedings with respect to school attendance can be commenced until it has been authorized by at least two members of the S.A.C. (sec. 38).

16. Where, after 1st January, 1877, a school board is appointed for any school district, the S.A.C., or other local authority having, under this act, control over the same, shall cease to act in respect to it at the end of two months

from the election of the school board. But any by-laws then in force in the district will remain in force until altered or canceled (sec. 36).

VIII.—*Parishes and their Overseers.*

1. The overseers of a parish have to receive all notices of exemption from school attendance, and to affix the same to all church and chapel doors in their parish (sec. 9).

2. Any parish may make requisition to the S.A.C, in whose jurisdiction it is situated, to enact by-laws for compulsory attendance in that parish (sec. 21). This requisition is to be made by resolution in the same way as for forming a school board in a parish, and it may be accompanied by suggestions as to the nature of those by-laws. All expenses in connection with making this requisition are to be made a charge on the rates of the parish (sec. 22).

3. Each parish is to be answerable for the school fees paid by the guardians for the children of any of its non-pauper parishioners (sec. 35).

4. Where, under the Education Acts of 1870 and 1873, a part of a parish has been constituted a separate school district; (1) such district will be regarded as a separate parish, (2) the overseers of the entire parish will act as the overseers of the school district, and (3) they will levy a rate upon the area of the school district to provide for the educational expenses of that district in the same manner as they would do if the school district formed a legally constitnted separate parish (sec. 49).

IX.—*Managers of Industrial Schools.*

1. The managers of an industrial school, of which a child has been an inmate for one month or more, may license such child to live without the school upon the condition of its attending regularly at some specified elementary school (sec. 14).

2. An ordinary industrial school, or a day industrial school, can only be established with the consent of a principal Secretary of State; and the cost of the building may be defrayed by a loan, to be repaid in fifty years (sec. 15).

3. A day industrial school providing (1) industrial training, (2) elementary education, and (3) one or more meals a day, but (4) no lodging may, if certified by a Secretary of State, receive any children sent under the Industrial Schools Act, 1866, to an ordinary industrial school, as well as other children expressly provided for by this act (sec. 16).

4. In the case of any child sent to a day industrial school otherwise than by an 'attendance order,' a Parliamentary grant, not exceeding *one shilling* a week, will be paid to the managers, together with a sum not exceeding *two shillings* a week from the parent of the child, or, if the parent be too poor to pay, then from the guardian of the parish in which the parent resides (sec. 16).

5. When at the request of the parent and of the S.A.C. of the district (either with or without an 'attendance order') a child is admitted to a day industrial school, the parent must pay the managers not less than *one shilling* a week, in addition to which there will be contributed from the Parliamentary grant a sum not exceeding sixpence a week (sec. 16).

6. The scholars in a day industrial school are to be examined as in other elementary schools; but the rate at which the grant will be awarded is to be subject to conditions determined on by the Secretary of State (sec. 17).

7. Orders in council may be made, varied, or revoked, applying the Industrial Schools Act. 1866, to day industrial schools. The form of orders for admission

to a day industrial school may be revoked or varied, and any such school may be abolished by a Secretary of State (sec. 16).

X.—*Courts of Summary Jurisdiction.*

1. These courts have (1) to hear complaints made by the S.A.C. as to the neglect of a child's education, (2) to order the attendance of any such child at school, (3) if the parent fails to choose the school, to do so for him (sec. 11), (4) to hear a second complaint if the 'order' is disobeyed, (5) to inflict a fine (not exceeding 5*s.*, inclusive of costs) upon the parent if it is the parent's fault, or (6) to send the child to a day or other industrial school if it is the child's fault, and (7) to repeat the infliction of these penalties as often as the offense is repeated and proved (sec. 12).

2. It is in the power of the Court to commit a child to the day industrial school in place of the ordinary industrial school (sec. 16).

3. A justice of the peace may grant to the officer of any S.A.C. an order empowering him to search premises where it is suspected a child is illegally employed, and the Court may inflict a fine, not exceeding 20*l.*, on any person who obstructs the officer in his execution of such order (sec. 29).

4. Sections 23, 24, 25 of the Elementary Education Act, 1873, will apply to offenses under the act, and any person making fraudulent representations, with the view of obtaining an order for the payment of school fees, may be sentenced by the Court to imprisonment for fourteen days. Offenses against the Elementary Education Act, 1876, will be treated as if they were offenses against the Elementary Education Act, 1873, (sec. 37).

Appendix.

The following matters are specially reserved for the sanction (if considered necessary) of the Houses of Parliament:—

1. All orders determining, varying, or revoking the rules with respect to day industrial schools (sec. 16).

2. The reasons for abolishing a day industrial school (sec. 16).

3. The conditions of grants to day industrial schools (sec. 17).

4. All regulations made, varied, or revoked by the Education Department with respect to the form, conditions, &c., of granting 'labor certificates' (sec. 24).

5. All proceedings taken to supersede a defaulting S.A.C. (sec. 27).

6. The reasons for assenting to the dissolution of a school board (sec. 41).

RECOMMENDATIONS IN 1870.

The following recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1870, have reference to the better attendance of children at school:—

That all children should either pay themselves or be paid for out of a public rate.

That it would be inexpedient to pass any law compelling attendance at school in rural districts.

That in towns it is desirable that provision be made for the education at the expense of the parents, if possible, or if not, at the expense of the community, of all children who are of school age and are not actually at work.

We hope that the payment by results in the modified form in which we have advised its adoption will make the teachers more keenly anxious for the progress of the children, and that the wholesome rivalry of the schools in the same district will produce, both in managers and in teachers, active exertion to secure more regular and more beneficial attendance. With respect to this latter point, we recommend:—

That no child should be considered as having made an attendance, who has not been present in the school during the four hours of secular instruction, which are prescribed by the Board's Rule, Part I., IV. 17.

The roll is called twice a day in schools in England, and as there is often a break in the school attendance in the middle of the day in schools in Ireland, it would tend to secure attendance for the full time, if the roll were called twice a day instead of once.

It will be observed that the Commissioners here indorse the principle of the much discussed 25th section of the English Act—namely, that the school fees of children whose parents are unable to pay, should be paid out of a public rate; and they consider a compulsory law of attendance inexpedient for Ireland.

On the whole, it is evident that the National system has done its work well. But, as we have seen in our review of its existence of close on forty years, it has undeniably grave defects. That its working has not been more seriously impeded, nay more, that its existence has not been imperiled, by those defects, is due, first, to the vigilance of the Catholic clergy, and indeed of some of the clergy of other denominations; and, secondly, to the obvious fact, that the tendency of the country is strongly denominational. In an unmixed Protestant school, with Protestant teachers, or in an unmixed Catholic school, with Catholic teachers, there is little danger that any system, no matter what its inherent defects, can become, or be changed into 'an engine of proselytism.'

But, as we have seen, there are several *mixed* schools, especially in the province of Ulster; and here it is that the National system works badly. No less unsatisfactory is its operation in all the Model Schools. Hence, their gradual discontinuance is recommended.

The Commissioners further suggest, as we have seen, that the Model Schools should be replaced by Denominational Training

Schools; and that the establishment of these should be encouraged and their maintenance liberally aided by the State.

But they go still further in favor of Denominational Education; and it is clear they could not have been led to any other conclusion by the evidence contained in their able and voluminous report. They say, that, while they are of opinion that in all places where there is only one school which can reasonably expect support from the State, that school should be strictly undenominational, with full protection to the creed of the minority of the pupils,* they think, that, where there are several schools reasonably accessible to children of different denominations, such schools may be recognized as denominational schools, if they have been established a sufficient time to show that there is a fair prospect of their continuance, and that the managers are really in earnest in their endeavors to provide a complete education. They recommend—

I. That in places where there is only one school, religious instruction shall be confined to fixed hours.

(*a.*) No child registered as a Protestant shall be present when religious instruction is given by a Roman Catholic.

No child registered as a Roman Catholic shall be present when religious instruction is given by a person who is not a Roman Catholic.

(*b.*) No child shall be allowed to join in, or to be present at any religious observances to which the child's parents or guardians may object.

(*c.*) The school books shall be such as have been allowed by the Commissioners of National Education for use in a mixed school.

(*d.*) No religious emblems should be exhibited during school hours.

II. That the Inspector shall not examine into the religious teaching or instruction in any school, but he shall ascertain whether the rules in Section I. are duly observed.

III. That when there have been in operation in any school district, or within any City or Town, for three years, two or more schools, of which one is under Protestant, and one under Roman Catholic management, having an average attendance of not less than twenty-five children, the National Board may, upon application from the Patron or Manager, adopt any such school, and award aid without requiring any regulation as to religion other than the following:—

1. Such schools, recognized as separate schools for a particular religious denomination, shall be subject to the prohibitions *a* and *b* of Section I.
2. The recognition shall be terminable upon a twelve month's notice.

That applications from schools to be placed on the list of Denominational Schools, aided by the National Board, shall be considered at a meeting of the Board at which the major part of the Commissioners shall be present; and when the applications are approved they shall be scheduled and laid before both Houses of Parliament, as it is proposed should be done in the case of change of Rules.

They further recommend—

That schools may, if the Managers petition for it, be admitted to the benefit of inspection, without receiving any subsidy.

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* Such protection 'as that every child in the place can have the benefit of secular instruction without any danger of his receiving religious instruction to which his parents may conscientiously object.' 'We think it reasonable,' they add, 'that in a mixed school the teacher, or, if there be more than one, the principal teacher, should be of the same religion as the majority of the pupils, and that the assistant, where employed, should be of the religion of the minority.'

That in all cases (under Section I.) the minority being free to retire, and the teachers being bound to put them out when religious instruction is given to the majority, the managers shall be bound to provide proper shelter for the children who are of a different religious denomination from the teacher.

The labors of this commission are evidently the prelude to fresh legislation; and the conclusions at which it has arrived will, no doubt, have great weight in the decision of the Legislature. Whatever that decision, one thing is certain—that the present system does not enjoy the full confidence of the several denominations, essential to complete success.*

Irish Convent Primary Schools.

Mr. James Stuart Laurie, Assistant Commissioner in the Royal Commission of Inquiry, in his Report for 1870, says:—

Before leaving this section of my subject I feel constrained to make some reference, however brief, to convent schools, of which I had the pleasure of seeing six samples. These are, of course, confined to girls' and infants' departments; they are held within the convent walls, and they are managed by the Roman Catholic Sisterhood exclusively. Having accepted the Board principle of separatism, in regard to the religious instruction, they are virtually National schools, and a signboard outside (not always in the most conspicuous place) publishes the fact. Referring to those visited by me, viz., St. Mary's and Presentation Convents of Limerick city, Adare, Newcastle West, Ennis, and Rathkeale—I may state that they are not made use of by Protestants; but, inasmuch as they are limited to towns, this is a matter of no moment. The Sisterhood, being a self-supporting institution, and, for excellent reasons, strictly unmercenary, the Board grants are awarded, as a help toward the school expenses, in accordance with a fixed scale of per centage on the average attendance. I may here state, once for all, that, notwithstanding their special character, these schools are doing a good work, and amply justifying the Board's concession in their favor. The general character of the premises, the management, the prevailing tone of the pupils, the self-sacrificing and well-directed zeal of the Sisterhood, and the aggregate results of instruction—all gave me the utmost satisfaction. Even supposing I had all the required data at hand, I should probably decline to institute any comparison, in respect of technical proficiency, between these and other more general schools. I will merely record that they are free from the blemishes of the ordinary National school, to which I have already adverted. The points of superiority—which is, after all, a proof of *culture* on the part of the managing staff—are: manners and discipline, organization, cleanliness, ventilation, sprightliness, and cheerfulness. All branches of hand work, such as sewing, drawing, penmanship, and, particularly, exercise books, &c., are carried out with the most gratifying proficiency.

* 'The great instrument of conversion, however,' says the Archbishop, 'is the diffusion of Scriptural Education. Archbishop Murray and I agreed in desiring large portions of the Bible to be read in our National Schools; but we agreed in this, because we disagreed as to its probable results. He believed that they would be favorable to Romanism. I believed that they would be favorable to Protestantism; and I feel confident that I was right.'

'For twenty years, large extracts from the New Testament have been read in the majority of the National Schools far more diligently than that book is read in ordinary Protestant places of education.'

'The education supplied by the National Board is gradually undermining the vast fabric of the Irish Roman Catholic Church.'

'I believe, as I said the other day, that mixed education is gradually enlightening the mass of the people, and that, if we give it up, we give up the only hope of weaning the Irish from the abuses of Popery. But I can not venture openly to profess this opinion, I can not openly support the Education Board as an instrument of conversion. I have to fight its battle with one hand, and that my best, tied behind me.'

DEPENDENT AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN.

INSTITUTIONS IN NEW YORK IN 1877.

BY W. P. LETCHWORTH.

ORPHAN ASYLUMS.

THERE was a time in the history of New York State when an incorporated orphan asylum did not exist. When at length, through the noble efforts of Mrs. Isabelle Graham and other ladies of New York city, it came into being in 1807, under the name of the Orphan Asylum Society of the city of New York, its benefactions were restricted to the orphan class only. Soon the word *orphan* became expanded in its significations to include half-orphans, and later, to embrace destitute children having both parents living, many of whom were in a condition yet more unfortunate than orphanage.

In 1817, a work in the interest of Roman Catholic children of this class was begun under the auspices of what was then known as the Roman Catholic Benevolent Society, which has since attained considerable magnitude, and is at present conducted in three different asylums by the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society in the city of New York. An additional branch has within the past few years been established by this society on the Boland farm, at Peekskill, for the older boys.

In 1826, a similar project was undertaken in Brooklyn, under like auspices, which now includes the large establishments for both sexes in that city under direction of the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society.

The work thus inaugurated was taken up later in other parts of the State by ladies imbued with an earnest missionary spirit. As early as 1830, Mrs. Sophia D. Bagg of Utica made efforts in this direction, which culminated in the Utica Orphan Asylum; and Mrs. Orissa Healy, in Albany, projected a similar work, out of which was established the Albany Orphan Asylum, in 1831.

In 1833, the Troy Orphan Asylum was organized, and two years later the Protestant Orphan Asylum of Brooklyn. In the same year the Asylum for the Relief of Half-Orphan and Destitute Children in the city of New York commenced operations, since which time an extension of this same work has taken place, resulting in the establishment of the following institutions: The Buffalo Orphan Asylum at Buffalo, in 1836; the Rochester Orphan Asylum, in 1837; the Onondaga County Orphan Asylum at Syracuse, in 1841; the Leak and Watts Orphan House at New York, in 1843; the Hudson Orphan Relief Association in the same

year; the Society for the Relief of Destitute Children of Seamen at West New Brighton, Staten Island, in 1846; the Orphan Home and Asylum of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the city of New York, in 1851; the Oswego Orphan Asylum at Oswego, and the Cayuga Asylum for Destitute Children at Auburn, in 1852; the Poughkeepsie Orphan House and Home for the Friendless at Poughkeepsie, in 1857; the Jefferson County Orphan Asylum at Watertown, in 1859; the Union Home and School for the Benefit of the Children of Volunteers at New York, in 1861; the Newburg Home for the Friendless at Newburg, and the Ontario County Orphan Asylum at Canandaigua, in 1862; the Davenport Institution for Female Orphan Children at Bath, in 1836; the Sheltering Arms, on the family system, at New York, in 1864, and the Southern Tier Orphan Home at Elmira in the same year.

In 1869, a work of great efficiency, though on a small scale, was inaugurated at Cooperstown, Otsego County, by Miss Susan Fenimore Cooper, by the establishment, in the interests of neglected and dependent children, of the Orphan House of the Holy Saviour. In the same year the Susquehanna Valley Home was established at Binghamton, for the special purpose of accommodating the dependent children of Broome and several adjoining counties, by means of which the system of keeping children in the poor-houses of the several counties was done away with.

In 1870, the Madison County Orphan Asylum was established, the late Gerrit Smith having donated a site and building to this object. A work on a small scale for children of this class is conducted by the Lockport Home of the Friendless, and the Plattsburg Home of the Friendless.

A separate endeavor was made on behalf of destitute German children, by the establishment, under Roman Catholic auspices, of the German Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum in Buffalo, in 1852, the St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum in New York, in 1858, and the St. Joseph's Asylum in Rochester, in 1862. A like work was undertaken by the German Lutheran Church, resulting in the establishment of the Evangelical Lutheran St. John's Orphan Home at Buffalo, in 1864, which now comprises two departments, one for boys on a large farm at Sulphur Springs, near the city, and one for girls in the city. In 1866, the Wartburg farm school was established for German children at Mount Vernon, Westchester County, also under the auspices of the Lutheran Church.

As early as 1836, the Association for the Benefit of Colored Orphans was formed in the city of New York, and in 1868, the Howard Colored Orphan Asylum was organized in Brooklyn.

In 1855 a work growing out of the missionary labor among the Indians on the Cattaraugus Indian reservation, one which strongly appeals to the sympathy of the benevolent, and based on the principle of justice, was begun under the name of the Thomas Asylum for Orphan and Destitute Indian Children.

In addition to the work already mentioned in New York and Brooklyn for the welfare of Roman Catholic children, in which should be included

that of the Sisters of Mercy in Brooklyn, organized in 1855, and the Orphan Asylum of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, founded in 1861, and, in New York, the House of Mercy, and the St. Stephen's Home for Children; the latter established in 1868, an extensive enterprise has been carried on, mainly by sisterhoods of the Roman Catholic Church in other parts of the State. Under their zealous labors, institutions now in prosperous operation, were established in the sequence here shown: At Utica, the St. John's Female Orphan Asylum, in 1834; at Rochester, the St. Patrick's Female Orphan Asylum, in 1842; at Albany, the St. Vincent's Female Orphan Asylum, in 1845; at Buffalo, the St. Vincent's Female Orphan Asylum, and the St. Joseph's Male Orphan Asylum, in 1849; at Troy, the St. Vincent's Female Orphan Asylum, in 1850; at Syracuse, the St. Vincent's Female Orphan Asylum, in 1852; at Dunkirk, the St. Mary's Orphan Asylum, in 1857; and at Rochester, the St. Mary's Boys' Orphan Asylum, in 1864. The Troy Catholic Orphan Asylum for Boys was established in 1850, and the St. Vincent's Male Orphan Asylum at Albany was founded in 1854. Both are managed by the Roman Catholic Order of Christian Brothers.

In connection with the charitable labors of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Brooklyn, Utica, Rochester, and Buffalo, a large work on behalf of unfortunate and destitute children is being conducted by the church charity foundations and church homes in these places. An important work, under the auspices of the same church, based on the family system, was established in St. Johnland, Long Island, by the late Reverend Doctor Muhlenberg. The House of the Good Shepherd, in Rockland County, is another fine illustration of this feature of the work of the Protestant Episcopal Church. A work for destitute children under similar auspices is also conducted on a limited scale in Albany.

The sisterhoods of this church are likewise variously engaged in New York in an extensive work for children, in connection with the relieving of general distress. Among the institutions under their charge may be mentioned the Shelter for Respectable Girls, the Babies' Shelter, and the St. Barnabas House. A work of a similar character is conducted by ladies of Brooklyn under the name of the Association for the Aid of Friendless Women and Children. The Sheltering Arms and the Brooklyn Nursery are doing a beneficent work in caring for infants.

In 1860, a grant of property was obtained from the city of New York by the Hebrew Benevolent Society, and a work on behalf of children of Hebrew parentage was successfully undertaken.

INSTITUTION FOR DEAF MUTE CHILDREN.

In 1818 the attention of the benevolent was directed to the education of the deaf and dumb, and an institution for their instruction was established in New York, called the New York Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb. From 1818 to 1857 this was the only organization in the State devoted to this object. In 1857, the Roman Catholic order of the Sisters of Charity opened an institution at Buffalo, for the

same class, called the Le Couteulx St. Mary's. Since this time the work has been carried on in several other places on a smaller scale, in New York city, in Rome, in Rochester, and at Fordham.

INSTITUTION FOR BLIND CHILDREN.

The New York Institution for the Blind, was begun in 1832, originated in the benevolent efforts of individuals in the city of New York, but receives from the State a stipulated sum for each pupil. The State Institution for the same class, located in Batavia was established in 1865, and is under a board of Trustees appointed by the Government, and is supported entirely by the State.

REFORMATORIES FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENTS.

The New York House of Refuge was established in 1814 by the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents, in the city of New York, and was removed to Randall's Island, in 1836.

In 1844, the Western House of Refuge was established at Rochester, for boys, but now have a department devoted to girls. In 1851, the New York Juvenile Asylum was established; in 1862, the New York Catholic Protectory was begun in Westchester, and in 1864 a similar institution in Buffalo. In 1869, the ship Mercury was purchased by the municipal authorities and converted into a Training School for refractory boys, but the enterprise was abandoned in 1875.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS AND LODGING-HOUSES.

In 1835, the American Female Reform and Guardian Society was established in New York, which was reorganized under the name of the American Female Guardian Society, in 1849, which in 1853 under special powers, established industrial schools for their subjects.

In 1847, the Children's Aid Society was formed for the establishment of Lodging Houses and Night Schools in the west section of the city. In connection with these, for the benefit of homeless children, a system of transplanting was inaugurated, by which means, up to 1875, there were placed in homes, mainly at the West, nearly forty thousand children. This society has also established twenty-one day industrial schools and thirteen night schools, in which an incalculable benefit has accrued to poor street children, who have been partly fed, clothed, and instructed. A peculiar feature of the work of this society, also, is its girls' lodging-house, in which homeless girls are taught to use the sewing-machine, and are helped in various ways to recover the lost threads of a better destiny. About the time that the work of the Children's Aid Society was inaugurated in New York, an undertaking was begun by the ladies of Brooklyn, which led to the organization of the Brooklyn Industrial School Association, under which some four industrial schools, in different parts of Brooklyn, have been established, as also an orphan house, or temporary asylum. In 1866, an association of public-spirited gentlemen established in that city the Children's Aid Society, which comprises two lodging-houses and two industrial schools.

A correspondingly laudable endeavor to save neglected youth of this class, though on a smaller scale, has been put forth by Roman Catholic citizens of Brooklyn and New York; lodging-houses in each city being conducted by the societies of St. Vincent de Paul.

The work of gathering into industrial schools the wretched children from populous centers, washing them, attiring them when needed, instructing them in the elementary branches, giving them a dinner, teaching them sewing, and sending them to their homes at night, with such moral instruction as faithful teachers may impart, has not been confined to the cities of New York and Brooklyn, but it has also been carried on in Williamsburg, Albany, Troy, and Rochester. In New York, too, the Ladies' Home Missionary Society, the Five Points House of Industry, the Wilson's Industrial School, the Howard Mission for Little Wanderers, and others, are engaged in this work.

ASYLUMS FOR INFANTS AND FOUNDLINGS.

In 1852, the St. Mary's Asylum for Widows and Foundlings was organized in Buffalo, by the Sisters of Charity, a benevolent citizen having donated land for that purpose. This was followed by the establishment of the Nursery and Child's Hospital in New York city, in 1854; in 1865, by the New York Infant Asylum, and in 1869 by the extensive Foundling Asylum of the Sisters of Charity in New York City. The Nursery and Child's Hospital has a large country branch at West New Brighton. The Infant Asylum conducts its work in two different localities in New York city, and has likewise a country branch at Flushing.

INSTITUTIONS FOR THE CARE OF IDIOTS.

New York was the second State in the Union to make provision for the instruction of teachable idiots. A private school was opened in 1848, in Massachusetts. This State began the work in 1851, at Albany. The New York State Institution was incorporated and placed under the charge of Dr. H. B. Wilbur, the founder of the private school at Barre, Massachusetts. It was removed in 1855 to Syracuse, its present location. A large school for the instruction of idiots was subsequently opened on Randall's Island.

INDUSTRIAL HOMES FOR GIRLS.

These homes are mainly conducted by Roman Catholic sisterhoods. The first was established in New York city, in 1856, by the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, where young girls were taught plain sewing, embroidery, dress and cloak-making, the use of the different sewing-machines, and domestic duties. A like institution was established in Rochester, in 1867, by the Sisters of Mercy, and another in the same place in 1873, by Sister Hieronyma, who took up this work after founding the St. Mary's Hospital in that city. An Industrial Home is also in operation at Albany and at Brooklyn, both managed by the Sisters of Charity, and also the St. Joseph's Industrial School of New York, a branch of the Institution of Mercy.

HOSPITALS FOR CHILDREN.

St. Luke's Hospital, of New York city, has a department specially devoted to children, under the charge of the Sisters of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The hospital has been in operation since 1850, and many little sufferers have been the recipients of loving care within its walls. In 1862, the New York Society for the Relief of the Ruptured and Crippled was established, and through its medium, thousands of children and adults have been saved from complete dependency. Its beneficent operations not only relieve suffering, but restore to usefulness the crippled and deformed. The sisterhoods of the Protestant Episcopal Church have inaugurated a hospital work distinctively for children, though pursuing somewhat different methods. St. Mary's Free Hospital for children, in New York city, and the Child's Hospital in Albany, are institutions to which children are directed by humane physicians and ladies under circumstances where they can not in their homes receive the care necessary to their recovery. Numbers of children in these hospitals have, by the superior care afforded them, and the skillful treatment of physicians, serving without pay, been saved from blindness and life-long incapacity in other ways.

Besides the dependent children gathered into the institution thus briefly described, the Report of the Board of State Charity, for 1875, shows that there were 2,126 children of this class in the county and city Poor Houses and Alms Houses, and that the best good of the children and the State call for their removal at the earliest practicable moment into special Asylums.

Statistical Results.

A special report made by the State Board of Charity for 1875, showed that the number of children in the institutions referred to, exclusive of those in industrial schools, day homes, and lodging-houses, was 17,791; of these, 9,404 were boys and 8,387 were girls. The proportion of orphans was 3,889, and of half-orphans, 7,610. There were 3,110 about whom it could not be ascertained whether their parents were living or not. The amount expended on behalf of these children for that year, as nearly as it could be ascertained, was, $2,689,500.

NEED OF INTERMEDIATE REFORMATORIES.

The institutions which now receive this class,—the New York Juvenile Asylum, New York Catholic Protectory, St. John's Catholic Protectory, Buffalo, and the Truant Home in Brooklyn,—being merely local in their scope, afford only partial relief in this direction, and to-day, in a large portion of the State, no provision whatever for this class exists. In our orphan asylums, it has been found that a class of children float into them who need a restraint and discipline that can not be enforced in such institutions. The presence in orphan asylums of children who are uncontrollable under ordinary rules, exercises an injurious effect upon the other children. It is often so great that the utmost watchfulness on

the part of the teachers can not counteract it. The interest, both of an ungovernable child and of the institution itself, requires its removal.

To place such a child in a house of refuge, among incorrigible and hardened offenders, many of them mature in years and crime, is evidently unwise, and must result in an influence being exerted on him proportionately as injurious as his influence was injurious upon the children in the institution from which he was removed.

There are also, in every county throughout the State, considerable numbers of children who have broken loose from parental control, who need some kind of reformatory training, and whom, to send to houses of refuge, would be impolitic and unjust.

It is believed that, at the present time, there are, in these prison-like institutions, numbers of inmates of the vagrant and truant class, who, by their contact with criminal associations, are endangered, and become worse instead of better. In these institutions, as at present constituted, proper classification is not practicable. Hence the need of other provisions for those who are endangered by being committed there.

Whatever methods may be adopted, it is safe to say that the following principles should be recognized:—

First. The work should be under the control and direction of disinterested benevolence.

Second. Its expense should be defrayed in part by private charity, in order to keep alive Christian interest and sympathy with its aims and objects.

Third. The personal influence of those who engage in the work from philanthropic motives should be brought to bear upon each child, which, it is now generally conceded, can be best done under the family system.

Fourth. The co-operation of women of elevated character is necessary to the attainment of the highest success.

Fifth. The inculcation of moral and religious principles, the awakening of hope, and the building up of self-respect, are so obviously essential as to hardly need mention.

Sixth. Reformatory means and appliances should be adjusted to the child's disposition. A knowledge of its antecedents is therefore necessary to the reformer. The delinquent child should be regarded as diseased, and a diagnosis of its moral condition held essential to its cure.

Seventh. In small institutions, located in the country, where out-door employment, especially such as farming and gardening, is succeeded by in-door industries during the winter, thus drawing the wayward from city life by teaching them country avocations, good results may be looked for.

Eighth. Parents able to do so, should be made to contribute to the support of their children while under reformatory treatment.

Ninth. As far as possible, reformed children should be transplanted away from the vicious associations by which they were led astray.

Tenth. Interest in the children should be maintained, following them with watchful care and wise counsel till they reach maturity.

Schedule 3—Needle-Work.

Infants' Department.—First Standard.—3 to 5 (probable age).—Position drill, hemming, simple, on strips, beginning with black cotton, rising to red, and going on to blue. Hemming, simple and counter. To show any garment which can be made entirely by these—*e. g.*, a child's common pinafore.

Second Standard.—5 to 7 (probable age).—Threading needles; hemming; seaming; felling; pleating. Any garment which can be entirely completed with the above stitches only—*e. g.*, a child's plain shift. *Knitting.*—Two needles. A strip 3 inches by 18 inches with cotton. Every infant school should have two standards. The first standard graded in four divisions—viz., position drill, strips, threading, garments.

Girls' Department.—First Standard.—Composed strictly of children who have *not* passed the two standards in infants' department. *Hemming and Fixing.*—Strips in colored cotton, as in infants' department. Hemming, simple and counter, with white cotton. Any garment which can be entirely completed by the above—*e. g.*, a child's simple shift and night-gown or pinafore. *Knitting.*—Two needles. A strip as above. This standard should be subdivided into two divisions—viz., strips, garments.

Second Standard.—Composed strictly of those children who have not passed the second standard in infants' department. Hemming; seaming; felling; pleating. Fixing all the above. Any garment which can be entirely made with the above stitches only—*e. g.*, a plain shift pleated into band. *Knitting.*—Two needles. Plain and purled rows alternately. A strip as above, four needles, wristlets or muffatees.

Third Standard.—The junction of the two departments, girls and infants. Hemming; seaming; felling; pleating; stitching; sewing on strings. Fixing the above. Any garment which can be entirely finished by the above stitches only—*e. g.*, a shift pleated into stitched band with strings to tie up the sleeves on the shoulders. *Herring boning.*—A flannel garment to show this stitch—*e. g.*, a petticoat. *Knitting.*—Four needles. Plain and purled alternately—*e. g.*, socks. *Darning* and *simple marking* on coarse material.

Fourth Standard.—Hemming; seaming; felling; stitching; gathering; stroking; setting in; marking on a finer material; button-holing; sewing on buttons. Fixing all the above. Any garment which can be fully finished by all the above stitches only—*e. g.*, a plain night-shirt. *Herring-boning.*—Any garment which will show this stitch—*e. g.*, a baby's flannel square. *Cutting Out.*—Any plain garment such as the children can make up to this standard. *Plain Darning and Mending.*—Stockings; garments; patching garments. *Knitting.*—Four needles—*e. g.*, a full-sized youth's sock, with at least three decreasings in the leg.

Fifth Standard.—Hemming; seaming; felling; stitching; button-holing; sewing on buttons; gathering; stroking; setting in gathers; marking; a tuck run; whipping; setting on frills. Fixing the above. Any garment which can be completely finished by the above stitches—*e. g.*, a plain night-dress. *Herring-boning.*—Any garment which will show this stitch—*e. g.*, a baby's night flannel. *Knitting.*—Four needles. A full-sized boy's "knickerbocker" stocking. *Darning.*—Plain and Swiss darning; stockings. Patching and darning garments in calico and flannel. *Cutting Out.*—Any garment such as the children can make up to this standard.

Sixth Standard.—Hemming; seaming; felling; stitching; sewing on strings; button-holing; sewing on buttons; gathering; stroking; setting in; marking; a tuck run; whipping; setting on frill; knotting; feather stitch. Fixing all the above. *Herring-boning.*—Any garment which will show this stitch and feather stitch—*e. g.*, a baby's head shawl with one corner rounded. *Knitting.*—Four needles. A long full-sized stocking with heels thickened. *Darning.*—Plain and Swiss darning and grafting stockings. Patching and darning garments in calico, flannel, and linen. *Cutting Out.*—Every kind of ordinary garment required in a large family.

N. B.—In connection with this schedule, see *Plain Needle-work in Six Standards*, and *Plain Knitting and Mending*, published by Griffith & Farran, St. Paul's Church-yard, London.

[The demands of the above schedule on the Infants' Department seem to us unreasonable for girls from three to five years of age, and even for those who have passed their seventh year. It is very certain that good housewives cannot complain of the modern popular school, if the conditions of this schedule are complied with. Teachers cannot supervise, even, much less give such practical instruction, without having had practical training in needlework.]

PROGRAMME OF LECTURES FOR WINTER TERM, 1825–6.

I. ORDINIS THEOLOGICI. 1. *Professorum ordinariorum.*

P. MARHEINECKE, Dr.—Privatim 1) *Encyclopaediam theologicam cum historia disciplinarum theologicarum* docebit quinquies p. hebd. hor. IV–V. 2) *Theologiam dogmaticam ecclesiae Christianae* quinquies p. hebd. h. V–VI.

A. NEANDER, Dr.—I. Publice) *Aevi apostolici imaginem* adumbrare *apostolorumque historiam* illustrare conabitur bin. p. hebd. hor. die Sat. hor. XII–II. 2) In lectionibus *de insignibus ecclesiae doctoribus* perget bin. p. hebd. dieb. Iovis et Ven. h. XI–XII. II. Privatim 1) *Historiam posteriorum ecclesiae saeculorum* enarrabit quinquies per hebd. h. XII–I. 2) *Epistolas ad Corinthios* et *unam alteramve ex minoribus D. Pauli epistolis* interpretabitur quinquies p. hebd. hor. I–II.

F. SCHLEIERMACHER, Dr.—Privatim 1) *Historiae ecclesiasticae compendium* uno absolvendum semestri tradet quinquies p. hebd. hor. VIII–IX. 2) *Acta apostolorum* interpretabitur quinquies p. hebd. hor. IX–X.

F. STRAUSS, Dr.—I. Publice 1) *Historiam rerum homileticarum* enarrabit d. Merc. hor. XII–I. 2) *Exercitationes homileticas* moderari perget d. Lun. et. Mart. hor. VI–VIII. II. Privatim *homileticen* docebit quater p. hebd. hor. XII–I.

2. *Professorum extraordinariorum.*

I. I. BELLEMANN, Dr.—Privatim *Psalmos quinquaginta priores* explicabit dieb. Merc. et Sat. hor. XI–XII.

F. BLEEK, Lic.—I. Publice *evangeliorum Matthaei, Marci, Lucae* partem posteriorem explicabit horis constituendis. II. Privatim 1) *Historiam criticam liborum Novi Test.* tradet quater p. hebd. h. XI–XII. 2) *Librum Iesaiae* explicabit quinquies p. hebd. h. X–XI.

A. THOLUCK, Lic.—I. Publice *historiam theologiae saeculi XVIII.* tradet et *principia Supranaturalismi et Rationalismi* explicabit. II. Privatim 1) *Dogmaticen Christianam* quater p. hebd. docebit. 2) *Locos prophetarum Messianos* explicabit quater p. hebd.

3. *Privatim docentium.*

G. BÖHL, Lic.—I. Gratis *epistolas de Pauli ad Ephesios et Philippenses* d. Merc. et Sat. hor. X–XI. interpretabitur. II. Privatim tradet *explicationem historicam dogmatum eorum, quae in libris symbolicis ecclesiae evangelicae Lutheranae et Reformatae proposita sunt,* quater p. hebd. h. X–XI.

G. BÖHMER, Lic.—I. Gratis *historiam sex priorum ecclesiae Christianae saeculorum* enarrabit d. Merc. hor. IX–X. et Sat. hor. IX–XI. II. Privatim *evangelium D. Lucae* explicabit quater p. hebd. h. IX–X.

E. G. HENGSTENBERG, Lic.—Privatim 1) *Historiam Hebraeorum* tradet inde a primis temporibus usque ad Hierosolymorum excidium quater p. hebd. h. IX–X. 2) *Psalmos* explicabit quinquies per hebd h. X–XI.

F. UHLEMANN, Lic.—I. Gratis 1) *Introductionem historicam criticam in Vet. Test. libros* tradet d. Merc. et Sat. hor. III–IV. 2) *Christologiam Vet. Test.* enarrabit et *prophetarum vaticinia de Messia* explicabit d. Lun. et Iov. hor. III–IV. 3) *Elementa linguae Syriacae* docebit duce libro suo (*Elementarlehre der Syrischen Sprache, Berlin b. Enslin*) hora adhuc constituenda. II. Privatim *institutiones linguae Hebraicae grammaticas* tradet d. Merc. et Sat. h. II–III.

II. ORDINIS IURIDICI. 1. *Professorum ordinariorum.*

F. A. BIENER, Dr.—Privatim 1) *Encyclopaediam iuris positivi* duce Schmalzio quinquies per hebd. hor. XI–XII. 2) *Ius criminale* duce Feuerbachio quinquies p. hebd. h. XII–I. proponet.

A. BETHMANN-HOLLWEG, Dr.—I. Publice de *processu concursus creditorum* die Sat. hor. XI–XII. disseret. II. Privatim 1) *Institutiones iuris Romani* quater per hebd. hor. IX–X et X–XI. 2) *Processum civilem* quinquies p. hebd. hor. XI–XII. explicabit.

C. G. DE LANCIZOLLE, Dr.—I. Publice *constitutionem imperii Romano-Germanici* die Vener. h. I–II. exponet. II. Privatim 1) *Historiam imperii et iuris Ger-*

manici sexies p. hebd. hor. VIII–IX. 2) *Ius publicam Germaniae* quinquies per hebd. h. XII–I. docebit.

F. C. DE SAVIGNY, Dr.—Privatim *ius Pandectarum* hor. IX–X et X–XI. tradet.

TH. SCHMALZ, Dr.—I. Privatim 1) *Ius Germanicum privatum* quinquies p. hebd. h. XI–XII. 2) *Ius naturae* quater p. hebd. h. XII–I. 3) *Ius publicum Germaniae* sexies p. hebd. h. V–VI. 4) *Disciplinas camerales* h. IV–V. docebit, libris suis usurus. II. Privatissime offert *lectiones in processum civilem cum practicis exercitationibus coniunctas.*

M. SPRICKMANN, Dr.—Privatim *ius feudale* quinquies p. hebd. III–IV. duce Paetzio tradet.

E. G. LIB. BAR. A REIBNITZ, Dr. prof. hon.—I. Publice *ius feudale* horis adhuc indicandis secundum librum suum tradet. II. Privatim *processum Borussicum civilem* explicabit ac cum processu communi Germanico et Gallico comparabit, practicasque exercitationes instituet, dieb. Mart. Iov. Sat. h. IV–VI.

2. *Professorum extraordinariorum.*

C. G. HOMEYER, Dr.—I. Publice de *iure rusticorum* disseret die Sat. h. VIII–IX. II. Privatim 1) *Ius Germanicum privatum* quinquies p. hebd. h. VIII–IX. 2) *Ius feudale* quater p. hebd. h. IV–V. docebit.

C. A. C. KLENZE, Dr.—I. Publice *Ciceronis libros de republica* interpretabitur bis p. hebd. h. VIII–IX. II. Privatim 1) Gaio duce *institutiones iuris Romani* tradet sexies p. hebd. h. XII–I. 2) *Historiam populi Romani usque ad Iustinianum* quater p. hebd. h. VIII–IX. docebit, iuris potissimum historiam spectaturus.

3. *Privatim docentium.*

F. G. E. BACKE, Dr.—Privatim *institutiones iuris Romani* docebit quotidie hor. IX–X. et dieb. Merc. et Sat. h. X–XI.

E. A. LASPEYRES, Dr.—Privatim 1) *Ius canonicum* duce G. L. Böhmer quinquies p. hebd h. XI–XII. 2) *Ius feudale* duce Paetzio quater p. hebd. h. X–XI. explicabit.

C. G. G. M. ROSSBERGER, Dr.—I. Privatim 1) *Ius Pandectarum* duce Mackeldey quinquies p. hebd. hor. IX–X et X–XI. 2) *Ius hereditarium* duce Mackeldey quarter p. hebd. h. VIII–IX. 3) *Ius canonicum* ad Schmalzii compendium quarter p. hebd. h. III–IV. tradet. II. Privatissime offert *examinatoria* et *repetitoria* tum de universo iure tum de singulis partibus.

A. A. F. RUDORFF, Dr.—I. Gratis *Ulpiana fragmenta* interpretabitur hora adhuc indicanda. II. Privatim *ius hereditarium* quinquies p. hebd. h. VIII–IX. exponet.

C. I. L. STELTZER, Dr.—Privatim 1) *Ius hereditarium* duce Mackeldey quinquies p. hebd. h. VIII–IX. 2) *Ius canonicum* duce Wiese sexies p. hebd. h. III–IV. 3) *Ius criminale* secundum Feuerbachii librum horis adhuc indicandis sexies p. hebd. docebit.

III. ORDINIS MEDICI. 1 *Professorum ordinariorum.*

C. A. G. BERENDS, Dr.—I. Publice *Hippocratis aphorismos* d. Sat. h. X–XI. Latino sermone illustrare purget. II. Privatim 1) *Therapiam febrium specialem* quinquies p. hebd. hor. X–XI. docebit. 2) *Ad clinicen medicam* in nosocomio regio medicinae studiosorum gratiam condito h. XI–I. auditores quotidie instituet.

C. F. GRAEFE, Dr.—Privatim 1) *Acturgiam* sive cursum omnium operationum chirurgicarum hor. III–IV. dieb. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. tradet. 2) *Clinicen chirurgicam et opthalmiatricam* in nosocomio regio chirurgico h. II–III. more consueto moderari purget.

I. HORKEL, Dr.—I. Publice de *monstris* disseret diebus Lun. et Mart. h. XII–I. II. Privatim *physiologiam generalem* dieb reliquis ead. hora docebit.

E. HORN, Dr.—I. Publice de *cognoscendis et curandis morbis syphiliticis* dieb. Merc. et Sat. h. VIII–IX. disseret. II. Privatim *therapiam specialem* dieb. Lun. M rt. Iov. Ven. h. VIII–IX. tradet.

C. W. HUFELAND, Dr.—Publice 1) *Therapiam generalem* s. institutionum practicarum partem secundam tradet h. XII–I. d. Lun. Mart. Ven. 2) *Exercita-*

tiones clinicas medicas chirurgicas in instituto regio policlinico una cum Osanno et Bussio h. I–II. quotidie regere perget.

C. Knape, Dr.—I. Publice *Syndesmologiam* d. Iov. et Vener. h. X–XI. offert. II. Privatim 1) *Osteologiam* dieb. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. hor. XII–I. 2) *Splanchnologiam* iisdem dieb. hor. IV–V. 3) *Anthropologiam* s. *medicinam forensem* d. Lun. Mart. Merc. h. vespert VI–VII. docebit. 4) *Exercitationes anatomicas* senis p. hebd. dieb. una cum Rudolphio moderabitur.

H. F. Link, Dr.—I. Publice de *Plantis cryptogamis* d. Merc. et Sat. h. XII–I. disseret. II. Privatim *pharmacologiam* sexies p. hebd. h. VIII–IX. docebit.

C. A. Rudolphi, Dr.—I. Publice *anatomiam organorum sensuum et fetus humani* d. Merc. et Sat. h. IX–X. tradet. II. Privatim 1) *Anatomiam corporis humani* sexies p. hebd. h. II–III. 2) *Anatomiam pathologicam* d. Lun. Mart. Iov. VEN. h. III–IV. docebit. 3) *Exercitationes anatomicas* una cum Knapio moderabitur.

I. N. Rust, Dr.—I. Publice *aciurgiae selecta quaedam capita* d. Iov. h. XII–II. proponet et operationes chirurgicas perficiendi rationem et viam in corpore mortuo ipse demonstrabit. II. Privatim 1) *Chirurgiam universalem et specialem* sexies p. hebd. h. VII–VIII. matut. tradet simulque de *morbis syphiliticis et oculorum* disseret. 2) *Exercitationes clinicas* in instituto clinico nosocomii Caritatis chirurgico et opthalmiatrico quater per hebdom. h. IX¼–X¾ moderari perget.

A. E. de Siebold, Dr.—I. Publice *artis obstetriciae partem theoreticam* duce compendio suo ed. iv. d. Merc. et Sat. h. VIII–IX. proponet. II. Privatim 1) *Iis, qui in machina phantome dicta exerceri voluerint*, non decrit d. Lun. Iov. Ven. h. VIII–IX. 2) *Exercitationes clinicas obstetricias* in instituto regio obstetricio et in policlinico cum hoc coniuncto quater p. hebd. h. IV–V. moderabitur.

C. C. Wolfart, Dr.—I. Publice *semiotocen nosologicam et therapeuticam* sententiis Hippocraticis illustratam duce compendio suo (*Grundzüge der Semiotik* etc. Berol. 1817.) d. Lun. et Iov. hor. vespert VI–VII. exponent. II. Privatim 1) *Nosologiam et therapiam specialem* ex suis schedis ad dictata quinquies p. hebd. h. V–VI. docebit. 2) *Ad praxin medicam* auditores instituere perget.

2. *Professorum extraordinariorum.*

I. L. Casper, Dr.—I. Publice *propaedeuticen medicam* d. Sat. h. IX–X. docebit. II. Privatim 1) *Formulare exercitationibus pharmaceuticis illustratum* dieb. Merc. h. V–VI. et d. Iov. Ven. Sat. h. VI–VII. 2) *Medicinam forensem* et *politiam medicam* d. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven h. V–VI. tradet.

I. F. C. Hecker, Dr.—I. Publice *Celsi libros de medicina* interpretabitur bis p. hebd. II. Privatim 1) *Pathologiam generalem* exponet binis p. hebd. horis. 2) *Historiam medicinae recentiorem* quater p. hebd. enarrabit.

F. Hufeland, Dr.—I. Publice *semioticen* dieb. Merc. et Sat. h. X–XI. docebit. II. Privatim 1) *Pathologiam* dieb. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. hor. IV–V. 2) *Therapiae specialis partem alteram* sexies p. hebd. hor. I–II. tradet.

C. Jungken, Dr.—I. Publice de *cognoscendis et curanis oculorum morbis* quinquies p. hebd. hor. IV–V. disseret. II. Privatim *Aciurgiam* s. cursum omnium operationum chirurgicarum quinquies per hebd. h. V–VI. tradet. Demonstrationes et exercitationes in corpore mortuo seorsim instituentur. III. Nec iis deerit, qui in *acologia* s. *doctrina de fasciis et vincturis chirurgicis*, in *operationibis ophtalmiatricis* atque in *singulis artis medicae et chirurgicae doctrinis* privatissime instituti voluerint.

C. A. F. Kluge, Dr.—I. Publice *elementa artis obstetriciae* d. Merc. et Sat. h. XI–XII. proponet. II. Privatim 1) *Artis obstetriciae partem theoreticam* et *practicam* d. Lun. 2) *Doctrinam de ossibus fractis et luxatis* d. Mart. 3) *Chirurgiam generalem* d. Iov. et Ven. h. X–XII. docebit. 4) *Clinicen morborum syphiliticorum* in nosocomio Caritatis d. Merc. et Sat. h. VIII–X. moderabitur. Demonstrationes et exercitationes scholis obstertriciis adiungendae binis p. hebd. horis seorsim fient.

F. Osann, Dr.—I. Publice *doctrinam de usu medico aquarum mineralium Germaniae* bis p. hebd. hor. adhuc indicandis tradet. II. Privatim 1) *Materiam*

Medicam quinquies p. hebd. h. V–VI. tradet. 2) *Exercitationes clinicas* in instituto policlinico una cum Hufelandio moderari perget.

G. CH. REICH, Dr.—I. Publice de *morbis exanthematicis* d. Sat. h. I–II. disseret. II. Privatim 1) *Pathologiam specialem* h. VIII–IX. sexies p. hebd. 2) *Therapiam generalem* quater p. hebd. h. I–II. offert.

E. L. SCHUBARTH, Dr.—I. Publice *pharmacopoeiam Borussicam* explicare perget d. Iov. et Sat. h. IX–X. II. Privatim 1) *Chemiam tam universam quam pharmaceuticam* duce compendio suo (Berol. 1824. ed. 2.) senis scholis h. VII–VIII. mat. tradet. 2) *Enamina chemica et pharmaceutica* more solito habere perget dieb. Lun. Mart. Ven. h. IX–X.

C. H. SCHULTZ, Dr.—I. Publice *Plantarum officinalium historiam naturalem et medicam* ter. p. hebd. h. XI–XII. II. Privatim 1) *Physiologiam experimentis illustrandam* sexies per hebdom. hor. XII–I. docebit. 2) Neque iis deerit, qui de *singulis medicinae et scientiae naturalis partibus* interesse disputatoriis voluerint.

W. WAGNER, Dr.—I. Publice *medicinam forensem* h. III–IV. dieb. Lun. Merc. Ven. docebit. II. Privatim *materiam medicam* quinis p. hebd. horis tradet.

3. *Privatim docentium.*

FR. BAREZ, Dr.—Privatim *medicinam forensem* d. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. h. V–VI. tradet.

C. E. BOEHR, Dr.—Gratis *consultationes medicas* sexies p. hebd. h. VII–IX. instituet.

TH. G. ECK, Dr.—Privatim 1) *Physiologiam generalem* et *specialem* sexies p. hebd. hor. VIII–IX. docebit. 2) *Doctrinarum medicarum et chirurgicarum scholas repetitorias* offert.

F. FRIEDLANDER, Dr.—Privatim 1) *Artis obstetriciae* partem theoreticam dieb. Lun. Merc. Sat. hor. II–III. tradet. 2) De *mulierum et infantium morbis* d. Mart. et Iovis iisd. horis disseret. 3) *Clinicen obstetriciam* d. Lun. Merc. Iov. Sat. h. III–IV. moderabitur.

C. OPPERT, Dr.—I. Gratis de *cognoscendis et curandis morbis syphiliticis* d. Mart. et Ven. hor. IX–X. disseret. II. Privatim *therapiam generalem* d. Lun. Merc. Sat. iisdem horis tradet.

I. D. RECKLEBEN, Dr.—Privatim 1) *Artem veterinarium* in usum rei oeconomicae studiosorum d. Lun. Merc. Sat. hor. III–IV. docebit. 2) *Morbos animalium domesticorum contagiosos et epizooticos* et *medicinam veterinariam forensem* ternis p. hebd. horis exponet.

F. SCHLEMM, Dr.—Privatim *anatomiae universalis corporis humani sani repetitiones* d. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. h. III–IV. instituet.

IV. ORDINIS PHILOSOPHICI. 1. *Professorum ordinariorum.*

I. BEKKER, Dr.—I. Publice *Thucydidem* enarrare perget d. Lun. Merc. Ven. hor. XII–I. II. Privatissime *elementa linguae Graecae* tradet.

A. BOECKH, Dr.—Privatim 1) *Antiquitates Graecas et maxime politicam Graecorum doctrinam una cum iure Attico* explicabit quinquies p. hebd. hor. XI–XII. 2) *Sophoclis Antigonam et Oedipum Coloneum* interpretabitur quater p. hebd. h. X–XI.

F. BOPP, Dr.—Ex itinere redux lectiones indicabit.

E. H. DIRKSEN, Dr.—I. Publice de *calculi integralis applicatione ad geometriam* semel per hebd. hor. IV–V. disseret. II. Privatim 1) *Calculum differentialem* ter per hebd. hor. IV–V. 2) *Astronomiam sphaericam* ter per hebd. h. V–VI. docebit. 3) In *dynamice* explicanda perget ter per hebd. h. III–IV. 4) *Staticen analyticam* tradet ter p. hebd.

P. ERMAN, Dr.—Privatim 1) *Physicen universalem* ter p. hebd. d. Lun. Merc. Ven. h. II–III. docebit. 2) De *magnetismo et electricitate* ter p. hebd. d. Mart. Iov. Ven. h. X–XI. aget.

F. H. V. D. HAGEN, Dr.—I. Publice docebit *mythologiam veterum Germanorum reliquorumque septentrionalium populorum* binis dieb. h. IV–V. II. Privatim 1) *Historiam litterariam medii et recentioris aevi* enarrabit quater per hebd. h. IV–V. 2) Interpretabitur *poëma equestre Gotfridi Argentoratensis: Tristan et Isolt*, secundum editionem suam novissimam (*Gottfrieds von Strassburg Werke*, Vratisl. 1823.) quater p. hebd. h. V–VI.

G. W. F. HEGEL, Dr.—Privatim 1) *Historium philosophiae* enarrabit quinis p. hebd. scholis h. XII–I. 2) *Philosophiam naturae* sive physicen rationalem duce libro suo (*Encyclopaedie der philosophischen Wissenchaften* II. P.) quater p. hebd. hor. V–VI. dieb. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. docebit.

S. F. HERMBSTEADT, Dr.—I. Publice *introductionem in chemiam theoreticam medicinae et phamaciae applicatam* dare perget dieb. Merc. et Iov. hor. XI–XII. II. Privatim 1) *Chemiam universam* secundum experientiam et observationes recentissimas ad. compend. suum (*Grundlinien d. theor. u. experiment. Chemie*) et Berzelii (*Lehrbuch d. Chemie*) dieb. Lun. Mart. Merc. Iov. Ven. hor. vespert. V–VI. docebit et experimentis illustrabit. 2) *Chemiam agronomicam* opificiis oeconomicis et saltuar. applicatam duce libro suo (*Grundsätze der Kameralchemie*) dieb. Lun. Mart. Merc. Iov. Ven. hor. matut. VIII–IX. explicabit et experimentis illustrabit. 3) *Physicen experimentalem* dieb. Lun. Mart. Merc. Iov. Ven. h. IX–X. offert.

A. HIRT, Dr.—I. Publice *theoram architecturae* ad principia veterum bis p. hebd. dieb. Lun. et Ven. h. XII–I. II. Privatim *historiam artium medii aevi* horis indicandis docebit.

I. G. HOFFMAN, Dr.—I. Publice *arithmetices politicae elementa* d. Merc. et Sat. h. VIII–IX. docebit. II. Privatim 1) *Redituum publicorum rationem et administrationem* d. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. h. VIII–IX. explicabit. 2) *Statisticam regni Borussici* iisdem diebus hor. IX–X. tradet.

L. IDELER, Dr.—Privatim 1) *Sectiones conicas una cum primis elementis calculi infinitesimalis* quinquies p. hebd. hor. XI–XII. tradet. 2) *Exercitationes in calculum litteralem, logarithmos æquationes primi et secundi ordinis et trigonometriam planam* habebit quinis p. hebd. dieb. h. XII–I.

M. H. C. LICHTENSTEIN, Dr.—I. Publice *historiam naturalem ruminantium* dieb. Merc. et Ven. h. VI–VII. II. Privatim *zoologiam universam* sexies p. hebd. h. I–II. tradet.

E. MITSCHERLICH, Dr.—I. Publice *introductionem chemiam experimentalem* d. Sat. h. XI–XII. tradet. II. Privatim *chemiam experimentalem*, Berzelio Duce (*Lehrbuch der Chemie*, 3*te Aufl. Dresden*, 1815.) h. XI–XII. d. Lun. Mart. Merc. Iov. Ven. explicabit et experimentis illustrabit.

I. OLTMANNS, Dr.—I. Publice aget de *longitudinis et latitudinis geographicae determinatione ex observationibus caelestibus* semel p. hebd. II. Privatim docebit 1) *Geometriam practicam* binis p. hebd. diebus. 2) *Geographiam mathematicam* binis p. hebd. diebus.

F. DE RAUMER, Dr.—I. Publice tradet *historiam turbarum, ex quibus res novae in civitatibus natae sunt, potissimarum* d. Merc. h. XII–I. II. Privatim 1) *Ius publicum et politicam cum historia constitutionum et administrationis civitatum praecipuarum coniunctam* quater p. hebd. h. XI–XII. 2) *Historiam recentioris aevi, imprimis saeculi XVIII.* quater p. hebd. h. XII–I. explicabit.

C. RITTER, Dr.—I. Publice *historiam geographiae et itinerum* tradet d. Merc. h. XII–I. II. Privatim *geographiam universalem* quinquies p. hebd. h. V–VI. docebit.

E. H. TOELKEN, Dr.—I. Publice de *pictura veterum* disseret d. Merc. h. XII–I. II. Privatim docebit 1) *Aestheticen* quater hor. IV–V. 2) *Historiam architecturae antiquae usque ad tempora Iustiniani* quator hor. V–VI.

C. S. WEISS, Dr.—Privatim 1) *Mineralogiam* docebit senis p. hebd. dieb. h. XII–I. 2) *Crystallonomiam* dieb. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. hor. X–XI. 3) *Soli cognitionem* tradet *quantum ad rem saltuariam* (*Bodenkunde für den Forstmann*), eiusque partem posteriorem d. Merc. et Sat. hor. X–XI.

F. WILKEN, Dr.—Ex itinere redux lectiones indicabit.

2. *Professorum extraordinariorum.*

G. BERNHARDY, Dr.—I. Publice *Quintiliani de I. O. librum X.* explicabit bis p. hebd. h. XI–XII. dieb. Mart. et Iov. II. Privatim 1) *Graecae linguae syntaxin* quaternis scholis exponet h. III–IV. 2) *Aristophanas Ranas et Nubes* quater vel quinquies p. hebd. h. IV–V. interpretabitur. Idem *exercitationes privatissimas* offert.

E. G. FISCHER, Dr.—Privatim *priorem physices mechanicae partem* dieb. Merc. et Sat. hor. III–V. tradet.

I. P. Gruson, Dr.—Privatim 1) *Trigonometriam analyticam planam et sphaericam*, adiuncta *praxi*, quater p. hebd. dieb. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. hor. IV–V. 2) *Sectiones conicas*, geometrice atque algebraice tractandas, quater, p. hebd. iisdem dieb. h. V–VI. docebit.

F. G. Hayne, Dr.—Privatim *Physiologiam vegetabilium, praecipue arborum fruticumque, cum terminologiae coniunctam* tradet d. Lun. Mart. Ven. h. XI–XII.

L. a b Henning, Dr.—I. Publice 1) *Propaedeuticen philosophicam* seu introductionem in studium philosophiae speculativae dieb. Lun. et Iov. hor. XII–I. tradet. 2) Scholas aliquot *de iuris diversis rationibus et fontibus* lectionibus privatis de iure naturae praemittet. II. Privatim 1) *Logicen et metapysicen* quinquies p. hebd. h. IV–V. 2 *Ius naturae* s. philosophiam iuris, Hegellii librum: *Grundlinen der Philosophie des Rechts*, secuturus, quinquies p. hebd. h. XI–XII. exponet.

F. Klug, Dr.—Publice *entomologiam* bis. p. hebd. docebit.

C. Lachmann, Dr.—I. Publice *disputationes de argumentis philologicis* institutendas reget binis diebus hora constituenda. II. Privatim 1) *Poëma Theotiscum, der Nibelungen Died*, interpretabitur ex editionis suae exemplaribus, quinis dieb. hor. IV–V. 2) *Horatii epistolas cum arte poetica* explicabit quaternis diebus h. V–VI.

M. Ohm, Dr.—I. Publice *geometriam Euclideam* docebit d. Ven. h. II–III. II. Privatim 1) *Mathesin puram elementarem* ter p. hebd. h. III–II. 2) *Geometriae superioris elementa*, in specie vero *theoriam sectionum conicarum*, ter p. hebd. h. I–II. 3) *Calculum differentialem* ter p. hebd, h. I–II. 4) *Trigonometriam* (planam et sphaericam) et *steoremetriam* dieb. Merc. et Sat. hor. II–IV. tradet.

G. Pfeil, Dr.—I. Privatim 1) *Encyclopaediam saltuariam* quater p. hebd. hor. VIII–IX. dieb. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. docebit. 2) *Oeconomiam saltuariam et aestimationem silvarum* ter p. hebd. Lun. Mart. Iov. h. IX–X. explicabit. 3) *De rei saltuariae scientia ad oeconiam politicam applicata* et de *silvarum administratione* ter p. hebd. dieb. Merc. Iov. Sat. hor. VII–IX. disseret. II. Privatissime *examinatoria* et *repetitoria* de universa scientia saltuaria offert senis horis p. hebd.

L. Ranke, Dr.—I. Publice *exercitationes historicas* moderabitur semel p. hebd. II. Privatim *historiae universalis partem priorem* a rerum primordiis usque ad gentis Hohenstaufenae excessum tradet quaternis scholis hor. III–IV.

H. Ritter, Dr.—I. Publice *doctrinam de anima rationali* tradet bis p. hebd. hor. VI–VII. vesp. dieb. Merc. et Iov. II. Privatim *logicen* duce compendio suo docebit quinquies p. hebd. hor. VIII–IX.

H. Rose, Dr.—I. Publice *chemiam praeparatorum pharmaceuticorum anorganicorum* d. Sat. h. IX–X. II. Privatim 1) *Chemiam orgnicam*, praecipue ratione pharmaciae habita, dieb. Lun. Mart. Merc. h. I–II. 2) *Chemiam analyticam practicam* dieb. Iov. et Ven. h. XII–II. docebit.

F. G. V. Schmidt, Dr.—Publice *Calderonis tragoediam Magico prodigioso* ex Cygneensi editione interpretabitur, et origines linguarum, quae ex Latino sermone deductae sunt, explicabit dieb. Merc. et Sat. hor. XI–XII. Lectiones privatim habendas tempestive indicabit.

C. D. Turte, Dr.—Privatim 1) *Physicen experimentalem* quaternis p. hebd. h. dieb. Mart. et Iov. h. III–V. explicabit. 2) *Artis saltuariae elementa physica* experimentis illustrabit ternis. p. hebd. horis die Mart. hor. X–XI. et die Iovis hor. X–XII.

A. Zeune, Dr.—Privatim lectiones de *lingua Gothica* duce libro suo (*Gothische Sprachformen und Sprachproben, Berl.* 1825. 4.) d. Merc. et Sat. hor. IV–V. habebit.

I. Th. Radlof, Dr.—Gratis 1) *Historiam Germanorum vetustissimi aevi eorumque linguae* quater p. hebd. 2) *Notitiam linguarum populorumque universalem* bis p. hebd. ex schedis suis tradet.

3. *Academiae regiae scientiarum sodalium.*

G. Uhden, Dr.—Publice *Dantis Aligherii, poetae Florentini Comoediam divinam* illustrabit d. Merc. et Sat. hor. XII–II.

4. *Privatim docentium.*

G. L. BLUM, Dr.—I. Gratis de *historiae Romanae origine et progressu* disseret d. Merc. h. XI–XII. II. Privatim *historiam antiquam* quat. p. hebd. dieb. h. III–IV. tradet.

E. G. HENGSTENBERG, Dr.—I. Gratis *institutiones linguae Chaldaicae* tradet bis. p. hebd. h. IV–V. II. Privatissime *Haririi consessus* explicabit bis p. hebd. h. IV–V.

C. G. I. IACOBI, Dr.—Publice docebit *applicationem analysis superioris ad theoriam generalem superficierum et linearum duplicitur curvarum una cum theoria speciali superficierum secundi gradus.* d. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. h. IX–IX.

H. DE KEYSERLINGK, Dr.—I. Gratis exponet *logicien* et *dialecticen* quater p. hebd. h. XI–XII. II. Privatim 1) *Fichtii* librum, *der geschlossenne Handelsstaat*, ter p. hebd. h. II–III. critice examinabit. 2) *Pyschologiam* quinquies p. hebd. h. X–XI. tractabit.

E. LANGE, Dr.—I. Gratis *Homeri Iliadis libros XX–XXIV.* quater p. hebd. hor. II–III. interpretabitur. II. Privatim *Orationes Lycurgi contra Leocratem et Demosthenis Midianam* quater p. hebd. hor. III–IV. exponet.

H. LEO, Dr.—I. Publice *historiam Italiae* enarrabit *a conditio Longobardorum regno ad novissima usque tempora*, quater p. hebd. II. Privatim tradet 1) *Historiam Germanicam* quater p. hebd. hor. IV–V. adhibito compendio Eichhorniano (*Deutsche Staats-und Rechtsgeschichte.*). 2) *Historiam antiquam* exponet duce Heerenio (*Handbuch der Geschichte der Staaten des Alterthums*) quater p. hebd. h. VI–VII.

S. F. LUBBE, M.—Privatissime *theoriam superficierum curvarum* docebit.

G. ROSE, Dr.—Privatim *Mineralogiam* docebit dieb. Lun. Merc. Sat. hor. X–XI. et die Iovis h. XI–X.

C. G. D. STEIN, Dr.—Privatim *statisticam civitatum Germaniae* dieb. Merc. et Sat. hor. XII–II. tradet.

P. F. STUHR, Dr.—I. Gratis *respublicae quibus modis constituantur*, docebit. II. Privatim *historiam generalem dogmatum populorum ethnicorum de diis et heroibus* tradet quater p. hebd. hor. IV–V.

RECENIORUM LINGUARUM DOCTRINA ARTIUMQUE EXERCITATIO.

C. F. FRANCESON, Lect.—I. Gratis in *Ariosto* explicando perget bis hebd. horis indicandis. II. Privatim *cursum linguae Francogallicae* instituet, quo et grammaticam docebit secundum editionem novissimam libri sui, *Neue Französische Sprachlehre*, et historiam litterarum apud Francogallos sermone Gallico enarrabit exemplisque e scriptoribus sumptis illustrabit, ter p. hebd. h. IV–V.

C. A. E. DE SEYMOUR, Dr. Lect.—Gratis *Shakspearium* explicare et de *pronunciatione Anglica* disseret bis p. hebd. hora indicanda. Idem *linguae Anglicae* scholas offert.

L. HELLWIG.—Gratis *artem canendi* quater per hebd. docebit. *Arma tractandi* et *in equum insiliendi artem* docebit FELMY. *Equitandi* modos discere cupientibus copiam faciet HIPPODROMUS REGIUS.

PUBLICA DOCTRINAE SUBSIDIA.

Bibliotheca regia iis, qui libros in quovis genere optimos evolvere voluerint, quotidie patebit. *Observatorium, hortus botanicus, museum anatomicum, zootomicum, zoologicum, mineralogicum, instrumenta chirurgica, imagines gypsae variaque artium opera*, etc. tum in lectionum usum adhibebuntur, tum aditus ad haec dabitur suo loco petentibus.

Seminarii theologici exercitationes exegeticas moderabuntur BLEEK et BOHMER; *historicis*, hoc est ad historiam ecclesiae et dogmatum Christianorum pertinentibus, praeerunt MARHEINECKE et NEANDER.

In Seminario philologico Euripidis Iphigeniam in Aulide sodalibus interpretandam proponet BOECKH dieb. Merc. et Saturni hor. X–XI ceterisque Seminarii exercitationibus more solito praeerit. Eosdem in *Iuvenalis Satiris* interpretandis exercebit P. BUTTMANN, Dr. Arcad. reg. sod., d. Merc. et Sat. h. IX–X.

HARPERS' NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE for March, 1878, contains an interesting illustrated article by Prof. Thwing, on *Summer Schools.*

On several occasions previous to the summer of 1873, when the Penikese School was opened, Professor Agassiz and his colleague Professor Shaler made expeditions with a small number of students for the purpose of scientific study and investigation. As early as the summer of 1869 a dozen professors and students, chiefly from the scientific school of Harvard University, made a trip to Colorado, where they achieved scientific results of considerable value. In the first four years of the present decade parties of students, under the charge of Professor Marsh and other Yale professors, made several expeditions to the region of the Rocky Mountains. The collections they secured were large and valuable, and are now deposited in the Museum of Natural History of New Haven. It was the custom of Professor Orton, of Vassar College, to spend a couple of weeks of his spring or summer vacation with a company of his enthusiastic students in the coal regions of Pennsylvania, the Helderberg Mountains of New York, or some other region equally rich in geological interest.

Object.

While the teacher has been absorbed in his school-room work, science has not only vastly enlarged its boundaries, but it has also simplified its principles to the understanding of children. By the simplicity of these principles, and by the constantly recurring illustrations which they receive from the every-day phenomena of nature, science has become a study peculiarly adapted to the student in the high-school and the academy. But this knowledge the teacher can not gain with satisfaction from the ordinary text-books; for nature, like a tenth-century manuscript, must be studied in its various phenomena at first hand. The daily work of the school-room, also, usually prevents a teacher from attempting voyages of discovery into new departments of learning; and he is, moreover, seldom able, for pecuniary or other reasons, to establish a laboratory, which is necessary to the pursuit of scientific studies. To furnish teachers, therefore, with instruction in the various departments of natural science is the primary design of the establishment of the numerous schools which are held each summer.

As the courses of instruction in our colleges are enlarged by means of elective studies, the student finds he is able to avail himself of hardly a tithe of the privileges his college offers. He finds that four years are too short for him to gain a liberal education in all the departments of knowledge. If he wishes to make a careful study of either the classics, mathematics, or philosophy, he is compelled to neglect the physical sciences. But the summer school provides him with a royal road to either chemistry, zoölogy, botany, or geology. By its advantages he is able in the course of six weeks to gain a comprehensive knowledge of a single department of science, and also to lay up an amount of mental energy sufficient to meet the drafts of his next year's work.

Salem Summer School.

A summer school of biology, of zoölogy, and of botany was established by the Peabody Academy of Science in 1876, at Salem, Massachusetts. The attendance and the pecuniary results of the first two sessions indicate that it may be as permanent an annual as certain species of the flowers which its students analyze. Intended primarily for the teachers of Essex County, it has attracted by its distinguished corps of instructors students from several States and from several colleges. Among the twenty students of the last session, Virginia and Louisiana were represented, and of our colleges, Vassar, Wellesley, Cornell, and Williams sent either professors, graduates, or students.

During the session of the Salem school held last summer, the instruction comprised some ten lectures a week upon zoölogy and botany, by. Dr. Packard, Mr. John Robinson, and other distinguished scientists. The principal work, however, of the students consisted of laboratory practice in the dissecting and drawing of specimens. The clam alone occupied the attention of a part of the students for a week, and to the grasshopper an equal amount of time was allowed. In addition to the regular biological studies, Mr. Charles S. Minot gave a course of six lectures and practical demonstrations in histiology; and the Rev. E. C. Bolles, one of our most distinguished microscopists, gave instruction in the use of that necessary instrument of scientific investigation.

EDUCATIONAL LAND POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES.

LAND GRANTS FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES WITHIN THE STATE OF OHIO.

I. ORIGINAL TITLES TO LANDS IN OHIO.

In addition to the possessory rights of the Indians, Virginia and Connecticut claimed, at the peace of 1783, in whole or in part, the lands now held by the people of Ohio. Their charters, granted at a time when the geography of North America was comparatively unknown, apparently extended their limits to the Pacific ocean. After the independence of the States was established by the act of 1776, and the war of the Revolution, Congress recognized the land rights of Virginia and Connecticut. It became necessary, both to the right of property and civil jurisdiction, to cede the titles over western lands to the United States government. This was done by the several States, *reserving*, however, certain prior interests and certain districts of land, necessary to satisfy claims held by the soldiers of the Revolution and such proprietary grants as seemed equitable. Accordingly, in March, 1784, the State of Virginia ceded the right of soil and jurisdiction to the district of country embraced in her charter situated to the northwest of the river Ohio. This was called subsequently the Northwestern Territory. In September, 1786, the State of Connecticut also ceded her claim of soil and jurisdiction to the district of country within the limits of her charter, *reserving* to herself all that part of Ohio north of the forty-first degree of north latitude and extending west of the Pennsylvania line one hundred and twenty miles. This is called the *Western Reserve*. On the 30th of May, 1801, Connecticut ceded all her jurisdictional claims to this reserved territory. By the treaties of Fort Stanwix, 1784; of Fort McIntosh, 1785; of Greenville, 1795; of Fort Industry, 1805, and of treaties subsequent to the war of 1812, the possessory title of the Indians to lands in Ohio was extinguished. Thus the whole original titles to lands in Ohio became vested in the United States government, *reserving* to certain States and individuals their proprietary rights of property.

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* Prepared by E. D. Mansfield, LL. D., Superintendent of Statistical Bureau, Columbus, Ohio.

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II. SPECIFIC TITLES AND RESERVATIONS.

In consequence of the reservations of Connecticut and Virginia, and the claims of certain individuals and companies, there came to be several classes of specific titles, which it is necessary briefly to notice in order to understand the general and specific grants for educational purposes. They are these:

1. *Congress lands.*—These are all the lands in Ohio not included in the specific reservations described below. They were sold directly by the officers of the United States government. They were surveyed into townships of *six miles square*, containing *thirty-six sections* of one mile square, or 640 acres of land. These sections are numbered from 1 to 36, inclusive. The grants of school lands were made, as we shall see, of certain specific sections.

2. *United States military lands.*—These were so called because they were appropriated by act of Congress, in 1796, to satisfy certain claims of the officers and soldiers of the revolutionary army. They included a tract in the north centre of the State of 4,000 square miles; 2,560,000 acres of land. These lands were surveyed into townships of *five miles square;* these were divided into quarter townships of 4,000 acres each, and subsequently into tracts of 100 acres, in order to suit private soldiers having 100 acre claims.

3. *Western Reserve.*—This was formerly called New Connecticut, and was the Connecticut reservation—120 miles in length west of the Pennsylvania line, and north of the forty-first degree of latitude, being the northeast corner of the State. This reservation was appropriated by the State of Connecticut to two purposes: the payment of the sufferers by fire in the Revolution, and the endowment of the Connecticut school fund, both of which purposes were fully accomplished. The whole amount of land thus appropriated by Connecticut was about 3,800,000 acres. Connecticut realized $1,200,000 out of the sale of the lands reserved to the use of the State, and appropriated that sum as a perpetual fund for the support of common schools. In 1867 the capital of the fund had been increased over $2,000,000; and the annual income from 1800 to 1867 distributed to the schools exceeded $6,000,000. It was surveyed by that State into townships of *five miles square*, these corresponding with the survey of the military lands. The Fire lands were divided into quarter townships, and these into such tracts as the proprietors chose.

4. *The Virginia military district.*—The State of Virginia in the revolutionary war had two kinds of troops, *State* and *Continental*,

to each of which she promised bounties in land. For this purpose the lands in the present State of Kentucky between Green and Tennessee rivers were reserved, but they were found insufficient. When, therefore, Virginia ceded her territory northwest of the Ohio, she did it on *condition* that the lands in the present State of Ohio between the Scioto river and the Little Miami should be applied to satisfying these bounties. This is the Virginia military district. It was not surveyed as the Congress lands, in six-mile-square townships, nor as the Western Reserve, in five-mile-square townships, but warrants were issued for so many acres, (from 1,000 to 5,000 acres each,) and the grantee *located* these warrants as he chose, had the location surveyed, and recorded the plat in the Virginia office. This caused great irregularities, and no provision was made by Virginia for schools. That, as we shall see, was done afterwards.

5. *Ohio Company's purchase.*—This was a tract purchased by the Ohio Company for settlement on the Ohio river, near and mainly below the mouth of the Muskingum. The quantity ultimately patented was 964,285 acres. On this tract the first white settlement of Ohio was made at Marietta. In this tract were express reservations of school, ministerial, and university lands.

6. *Symmes purchase.*—This was a tract of land purchased by John Cleve Symmes, and patented in 1794. It lies between the Great and Little Miami rivers, and contains 311,682 acres. In this tract every sixteenth section was reserved for the use of schools.

7. *The Rupee tract* consisted of 100,000 acres laid off east of the Scioto river, and granted to certain individuals who left the British provinces to espouse the cause of freedom.

8. *Other tracts granted.*—Besides the large tracts described above, there were several small pieces of land granted for various purposes. The *Moravians* had granted to them by the old Continental Congress several tracts of 4,000 acres each for the use of Christian Indians. These were on the Muskingum, and called respectively Schrombon, Gnadenhutten, and Salem. The *Trent grant*, made to persons who lost lands near Gillipolis because of invalid titles, consisted of 25,200 acres on the Ohio river. *Dohmrore's grant* of a township (23,040 acres) was made to a Portuguese merchant for revolutionary services. *Zane's tracts* were six sections—three to Ebenezer Zane, where the town of Zanesville now is, and three to Isaac Zane. The *Maumee lands* were a tract two miles broad, on the Maumee river, originally granted by the Indians to the United States government for a road, and by the government assigned to the State of Ohio for the same

purpose. The *Turnpike lands*, granted to the Columbus and Sandusky turnpike. In addition to these were the *Ohio canal lands*, granted to the State of Ohio to aid in the construction of the canals.

It will be observed that here are various and numerous grants of land made by the United States government for various objects, some of them dating before the formation of the general government; some of them surveyed by Virginia, Connecticut, companies and individuals, and all of them without any system or unity except those surveyed and sold directly by the government. In some of them were reservations for education, and in others none. We have described them here for the purpose of making clear the legislation which followed in relation to school lands.

III. GRANTS IN OHIO FOR PURPOSES OF EDUCATION.

We come now to consider the grants of land for purposes of education in Ohio, and the mode of their distribution.

1. Grants for public schools.

On the 29th day of May, 1785, "An ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing of lands in the western territory" was perfected by Congress, and one of its provisions was, "that one thirty-sixth part of every township should be reserved for the maintenance of public schools within the said township." This was the foundation of the splendid provisions made by the government in all the new Territories for the education of the people.

In the ordinance of 1787, which became the fundamental law of the Northwestern Territory, (now the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin,) it is declared "that religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." The principle was thus settled by the two great ordinances of 1785 and 1787 that education should be encouraged by the government, and for that purpose grants of land were expressly made. This principle contained three ideas, each of which was of primary importance—the positive support of schools by the public land; the necessity of school associations in order to obtain the benefit of that grant; and the inseparable connection of land titles with the idea of education. This was the beginning of that grand system of popular education which has already received from the government more than fifty millions of acres of land. Ohio, however, received less in proportion than the new States and Territories formed in the last twenty years. This was caused partly by the large reservations made for

Virginia and Connecticut, which claimed title to the Northwestern Territory, and partly because Congress in 1848 adopted a plan of more liberal grants for public schools.

It will be seen from the above statement that these ordinances expressly gave *one thirty-sixth part* of all the lands in Ohio owned by the government, to schools; but it will also be seen that there were large reservations not owned by the government. This deficiency was made up by subsequent acts of Congress.

By the act of April 30, 1802, Congress authorized the organization of the State of Ohio. The Ohio convention called to act upon that proposition accepted the act upon this condition: "*Provided*, The following addition to, and modification of, the said propositions shall be agreed to by the Congress of the United States, namely: that, in addition to the first proposition, securing the said section number sixteen in every township within certain tracts, to the inhabitants thereof, for the use of schools, a like donation equal to the one thirty-sixth part of the amount of the lands in the United States military tract shall be made for the support of schools in that tract, and that the like provision shall be made for the support of schools in the Virginia reservation so far as the unlocated lands in that tract will supply the provision aforesaid after the warrants issued from said State have been satisfied; and also, that a donation of the same kind, or such provision as Congress shall deem expedient, shall be made to the inhabitants of the Connecticut reserve; that of all the lands which may hereafter be purchased of the Indian tribes by the United States, and lying within the State of Ohio, the one thirty-sixth part shall be given as aforesaid for the support of public schools; that all lands before mentioned to be appropriated by the United States for the support of schools, shall be vested in the legislature of said State in trust for said purpose."

Congress, by the act of March 3, 1803, accepted this provision, and Ohio was admitted into the Union. By this act two most important facts in the public school endowment of Ohio were determined: first, the deficiency of land in consequence of prior reservations was made up, as near as possible, to the one thirty-sixth part of the whole surface of the State; secondly, it vested the whole of these lands in the legislature of the State in trust for schools. According to this act Congress proceeded at subsequent periods to appropriate specific tracts to make up the deficiency in the reservations.

By the act of 1803, assenting to the condition required by Ohio, the following grants were made, viz:

1. Eighteen quarter townships in the United States military district

for the use of schools within the same. This really conveyed 72,000 acres, for, as we have mentioned, the townships of the military district were five miles square, and the quarter townships two and a half miles square, or 4,000 acres. This was about one thirty-fourth part of that district.

2. Fourteen quarter townships, (56.000 acres,) also in the military district, for the use of schools, in the tract commonly called the Connecticut reserve. This was of course inadequate, but may have amounted to one thirty-sixth part of the lands on the reserve to which the Indian title was extinguished; but when, by the treaty of Fort Industry, the Indian title on the reserve was obtained, Congress, under the compact of 1803, was bound to grant lands equal to the thirty-sixth part of the whole Western Reserve. By the act of June, 1834, Congress directed the President to reserve from sale public lands in Ohio sufficient, in addition to the grant of 1803, to constitute one thirty-sixth of the area of the Western Reserve for the use of schools. Under this act 37,758 acres were given for schools in the Western Reserve, since which the people there, as we shall see, subsequently decided to sell.

3. The three tracts granted to the Moravians for Christian Indians were subsequently (in 1824) reconveyed to the United States in consideration of certain benefits to the society and the remnant of Indians. By an act of Congress one thirty-sixth part of this tract was vested in the legislature for the use of schools.

4. By the act of March, 1807, Congress appropriated eighteen quarter townships and three sections, to be selected by lot, from lands lying between the United States military tract and the Western Reserve, for the use of schools in the Virginia military reservation. This grant was equal to 103,680 acres. In the mean time, however, (between the act of 1803 and that of 1807,) some locations of school lands had been made in the Virginia military district, so that on the whole the appropriation of school lands for that district was about equal to one thirty-sixth part. It will be observed that in the Ohio company's purchase, and in Symmes's purchase, the thirty-sixth part of the lands, being section sixteen (16) in each township, was expressly reserved for schools. Thus, if we except two or three small tracts, granted, as we have described, to individuals, a thirty-sixth part of the lands of Ohio were vested by Congress in the legislature in trust for the use of schools. As there was a small excess granted to the United States military district, it is probable the deficiency in the private tracts was made up.

The land surface of Ohio is.....	25,576,969 acres.
The thirty sixth part is.....	710,500 acres.
Land grant for schools in 1854.....	704,488 acres.

Some lands have been sold since, which, with the university grants, make up more than the thirty-sixth part which was required by the compact in 1803 with the State of Ohio.

2. Grants to universities.

In the contract made by the Ohio company, in addition to the reservations for school and religious purposes, two townships of land were granted for the endowment of a university. These townships were located at what is now the town of Athens. By an act of the legislature in November, 1800, a board of trustees was incorporated in whom was vested the power to lease lands granted for schools in the Ohio company's purchase. In January, 1802, an act was passed establishing a university in the town of Athens, and styling it the "American Western University," "for the instruction of youth in all the various branches of the liberal arts and sciences; for the promotion of good education, virtue, religion, and morality, and for conferring all the degrees and literary honors granted in similar institutions." Under this act a university was founded whose name was subsequently changed to that of the "Ohio University."

In the grant to Symmes there was a reservation of one township for the support of a university; but under the original ordinance this right only accrued to a tract equal to two millions of acres. Symmes origiually contracted to purchase two millions, but from inability to pay for it the amount was reduced to less than half that quantity. He therefore lost his right to a college township *within* his tract, where it was intended to be located, and where he actually did locate it on the site where Cincinnati now stands. Having lost his right he sold the lands; but Congress, by a subsequent act, renewed the grant of a township *within* Symmes's grant, but no whole township was left unsold. A township was therefore selected, which is now Oxford, Butler county. This township was also vested in a board of trustees for the foundation of a university, now called "Miami University." The grant of land to Ohio University was two townships, comprising 46,080 acres; that to Miami University was one township, 23,040 acres. These lands were early leased, when prices were low, and consequently the endowment fund lost much of what, with less haste and more prudence, it might have had.

IV. MODE AND RESULTS OF DISPOSING OF THE EDUCATIONAL LAND GRANTS.

1. Public schools.

When the various grants we have recited were made for the benefit of education, this great body of land, vested in trust for schools, was a wilderness. The State of Ohio was just beginning its existence; and at the adoption of the constitution in 1803, scarcely any of those lands, perhaps none, had been converted to that use. *How* to dispose of those lands so that schools might be begun and yet not impair the endowment, was a very important question. In the end we shall see there was a partial failure of both purposes. The schools were not effectively endowed till another generation, and the real value of the endowment was much impaired by the manner of disposing of the lands. Probably this could not be avoided, for the rapid increase of population, which increased the value of the lands, increased still more the pressing necessity for schools.

In April, 1803, the legislature passed an act to *lease* the school lands for fifteen years, but this offered no encouragement to the leaseholder to cultivate wild lands, and was therefore wholly ineffective. To remedy this, the legislature passed another act for what it called the "sale" of the school land, but really it was not a sale. It was a lease for ninety-nine years, the lessee paying down only the cost of surveys, deeds, &c., and on the actual purchase money six per cent. interest. This conveyed no fee and was ineffective likewise.

At that time doubts were entertained by the statesmen of Ohio whether the State had a right to sell the fee simple of these trust lands. This doubt, however, seems not to be well founded, for it was a trust for the use of the schools, and if that trust could be but filled by the sale of the lands, they ought to be sold. The legislature, notwithstanding, addressed a memorial to Congress, stating the reasons for the sale, and asking Congress to empower the legislature to sell, if it thought best, the school lands. To this Congress made no reply. The legislature felt the necessity of doing something, and accordingly in January, 1827, passed an act for the sale of the school lands, with such conditions as avoided any question of right as it regards the people for whose benefit the lands were held. It was provided, first, that the sale of section 16, in the original surveys, should be voted on by the people of the township, and the sale made if they decided so; second, the lands were to be appraised and not sold below the appraisement; third, on full payment of the money, a deed in fee

simple was to be made by the State. The same policy was adopted in reference to all the school lands. The sales did not take place at once, but have been gradually going on for the forty years which have passed away since that act. This act was the real foundation for the school fund, important as a permanent foundation, but small in its results compared with the immense sums voluntarily levied by the people. The first school fund was established by the same legislature in 1827. The proceeds of these sales were funded by the State, at an interest of six per cent., and to this was added the net proceeds of the salt lands, and such donations, devises, &c., as might thereafter accrue. This, however, amounted to but little, and it was not till the principle was finally established, that a *tax should be levied on the whole property of the State for the support of common schools.* An act of the legislature, passed in 1825, made it *imperative* to lay such a tax. But even this was inefficient in practice, as the following example in the report on statistics for 1859 may show:

	Property.	School tax.	
In 1825	$59,527,336	$29,763	½ Mill tax.
In 1841	100,851,837	50,425	– Mill tax.

On the supposition that this law was unchanged, it would have raised but $50,000 in 1841, when the State had 1,530,000 inhabitants, or not over *ten cents* to each child or youth entitled to the benefit of the schools.

In the mean time, however, the sales of lands had gone on and the permanent fund was increasing, and the public mind had become convinced that to secure popular education there must be an annual revenue raised. The first great step towards financial success in the support of schools was taken by the legislature of 1838. The main part of this law was the establishment of a permanent school fund, which, although it has since been partially repealed, re-enacted, modified, and greatly enlarged in proportion to the wants of the State, yet, like the act of 1825, settled a principle, and was the *immediate* cause of advancing the common schools into a state of greater activity and usefulness. By the act of 1838, the common school fund was to consist of "the interest on the surplus revenue, at five per cent., the interest on the proceeds of salt lands, the revenue from banks, insurance and bridge companies, and other funds to be *annually provided by the State to the amount of two hundred thousand dollars.*"

This, it will be observed, was in addition to the land fund. What that amounted to, and how distributed, we shall now see:

The proceeds of the sales of land were put into the form of a trust

fund—called the "Irreducible Debt"—and from time to time increased and the interest paid over to the schools. What this is and how distributed among the several funds will appear from the following table, taken from the auditor's reports for 1854 and 1860:

	1854.	1860.
Virginia military school fund	$152,495 54	$157,058 75
United States school fund	120,532 41	120,272 12
Western Reserve school fund	254,027 64	256,133 61
Section sixteen	1,722,241 92	2,064,382 30
Moravian	3,160 58	3,160 58
	2,252,458 09	2,603,007 36

In those six years the land school fund increased $350,000, and there are still school sections unsold, which will probably bring the aggregate land school funds up to *three millions of dollars.*

In reference to their actual value now, and their utility in founding the system of public schools in Ohio, the commissioner of statistics, in his report for 1859, says:

"As Ohio contains (*vide* statistics of 1857) 25,576,960 acres, the government grant for public schools was:

Schools	710,471 acres.
Colleges	69,120 acres.
Aggregate	779,591 acres.

"Looking to the assessed value of property, and to the actual value and locations of these townships, the public land granted to schools in this State, if retained to the present time, would be worth *twenty millions of dollars.* If, however, it had been retained, schools either would not have been established, or have been supported wholly by taxation. The lands also would not have been successfully cultivated; and perhaps the schools of the State have derived as much advantage from the sale of the school lands as would be now derived from them if they were retained at their full value."

It was by the sale and cultivation of lands that a basis was laid for taxation to the amount required for a perfect and complete system of public schools, which Ohio now has, and which is probably equal to that of any State in the world. The *foundation* of this was undoubtedly the land grant; but in time the funds derived from that source became small in comparison with the great amount voluntarily levied

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS—FEB. 24, 1826.*

The Committee on the Public Lands, to whom was referred the resolution of December 21st, 1825, instructing them 'to inquire into the expediency of appropriating a portion of the nett annual proceeds of the sales and entries of the public lands exclusively for the support of Common Schools, and of apportioning the same among the several States, in proportion to the representation of each in the House of Representatives,' report:

THAT the subject referred to the consideration of the committee is manifestly of great interest. It has directly in view the improvement of the minds and morals of the present generation, and of generations to come. It contemplates giving additional stability to the government, and drawing round the republic new and stronger bonds of union. We are, indeed, a peculiar people. None enjoy more freedom than we do; and, though it be the price of blood, yet it is not founded in usurpation, nor sustained by the sword. The most casual observer of human institutions at once perceives that our political, as well as civil condition, in some essential particulars, differs fundamentally from that of every other nation. The constitution under which we live is the only one, beyond the limits of this republic, which secures religious toleration, and leaves the tongue and the conscience free. This was chiefly the result of education. Chastened liberty lives in the voluntary choice of an enlightened people, while arbitrary power depends for its existence upon the slavish fear of an ignorant multitude. Hence, a government like ours, which guarantees equal representation and taxation, trial by jury, the freedom of speech and of the press, of religious opinion and profession, not only depends for its energy and action, but for its very existence on the WILL of the PEOPLE. They, and they only, can alter, or change, or abolish it. And are the rights of mankind, and the obligations of civil society, generally understood or respected by the ignorant? Has property, or reputation, or life, when left to depend upon the wisdom of ignorance, or the forbearance of passion, ever been accounted safe? And where is the human character usually found the most degraded and debased? Is it where schools and the means of education abound, or is it where the light of knowledge never illumined the human intellect? If, then, the habits, notions, and actions of men, which naturally result from the ignorance of letters, from the force of superstition, and the blind impulses of passion, are utterly incompatible with rational liberty, and every way hostile to the political institutions of freedom, how high and imperious is the duty upon us, living under a government the freest of the free, a government whose action and being depend upon popular will, to seek every constitutional means to enlighten, and chasten, and purify that will? How shall we justify it to ourselves, and to the world, if we do not employ the means in our power in order to free it from the severe bondage of ignorance and passion, and place it under the mild control of wisdom and reason? As large as the opportunities of acquiring knowledge are, and as much of common learning as the American people have, there are some, growing into manhood around us, who have neither learning nor the opportunity of acquiring it.

The resolution under consideration proposes to appropriate a portion of the proceeds of the public lands to a new and specific object—to convert it into a permanent fund for the sole use and support of common schools in the several States, and to divide this fund among the several States, in proportion to the representation of each in this House.

Of appropriating a portion of these proceeds to a new and specific object.—A part of the public domain was acquired by the fortune of war, and a part by purchase. The whole constitutes a common fund for the joint benefit of the States and the People. This domain amounted to some hundred millions of

* The author of this Report was Hon. James Strong, a native of Windham, Conn., where he was born in 1783. He graduated at the University of Vermont in 1806, and removed to New York in 1809, where he pursued the practice of law. From 1819 to 1821, and again from 1823 to 1831 he was member of the House of Representatives, and most of the time on the Committee of Public Lands.

acres, and, of it, probably some two hundred millions of acres of good land yet remain unsold. It is true, that the proceeds of these lands, together with those of the internal duties, and the duties on merchandise, and the tonnage of vessels, to the amount of ten millions of dollars annually, are appropriated and pledged to the 'Sinking Fund.' But is this a valid objection to the appropriation of the whole or of any part of the proceeds of these lands to any other proper object? Since the Act of March, 1817, making this appropriation and pledge to the sinking fund, the annual average amount of the public revenue has been about twenty millions of dollars. So long, therefore, as ten millions of dollars are left to the sinking fund, the appropriation is answered and the pledge redeemed; and the surplus revenue, from whatever source derived, not having been appropriated or pledged, remains to be disposed of in such way and for such purposes as the Congress may direct. But, are the public lands a source of revenue upon which a wise and prudent government ought to risk its credit? Will capitalists lend their money upon such vague and uncertain security? The land may be offered for sale, but no man can be compelled to buy. The purchase is wholly voluntary. The promised revenue to be derived from it is altogether contingent. It depends not at all upon the power or the necessities of the government, but upon the will of the purchaser. Besides, the faith of the government does not consist in the intrinsic value of the thing pledged. This is not enough. No prudent man, for example, would lend his money to the government to be reimbursed out of the proceeds which may or may not accrue from the lead mines and salt springs belonging to the United States. The value of the pledge is the credit it secures. And the thing pledged is valued in proportion to its peculiar fitness and proper adaptedness to the end for which it was pledged. So that the faith of the government necessarily depends upon its ability to coerce the possession—to touch and turn the thing pledged into money. This the government can not do with the public lands. They are, indeed, tangible; but neither the wishes, the will, nor the power of the government, can change them into money. They are, therefore, not a proper source of revenue, upon which the faith or the credit of the nation should be hazarded. Congress seems to have considered them so. A township of land has been given to the 'Nation's Guest.' Large portions of land have, from time to time, been given to other individuals, and to public institutions. Now, if it be good faith to give away the lands, from which the revenue pledged to the sinking fund is derived, it can not be bad faith to appropriate a portion at least of their proceeds for the support of common schools.

Of converting it into a permanent fund for the sole use and support of common schools in the several States.—Unless children are taught how to govern themselves, and how to be governed, by law, they will rarely make good citizens. It may be objected that the Constitution does not give to Congress the power to appropriate the proceeds of these lands for the purposes of Education. The question is not whether Congress can superintend and control the private schools in the several States, but whether Congress can appropriate the proceeds of these lands for the use and support of those private schools, to be applied by and under the exclusive authority of the several States. The only clause in the Constitution, which, perhaps, can in any way restrain the general right of appropriating money, is that which declares that the Congress shall have power 'to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.'

Can the proceeds of the public lands, in any sense, be considered a tax, duty, impost, or excise? A tax must be levied, and the obligation to pay it, created by the authority of law. The money derived from the public lands is not levied, nor is the obligation to pay it created by law. Both the purchase and the obligation are voluntary. The Constitution gives Congress the power of disposing of the territory and other property of the United States, but it no where considers the proceeds of these lands as a revenue to be applied as the proceeds of taxes are directed to be applied. The Military Academy at West Point is an invaluable institution. If Congress has the constitutional power (and we believe no one denies it) to establish such a school; to draw money directly from the public treasury for its support; to pay for teaching a boy mathematics and

engineering; it may be difficult to show that Congress has not the power to employ a few acres of the public domain to teach a poor man's son how to read. But did any doubt remain, that doubt would appear to be removed, by referring to the facts, that a portion of these lands has, from the beginning, been set apart for the purposes of common education, and that other portions of them have been given, from time to time, for the use of colleges, and of deaf and dumb asylums, and for the construction of roads and canals.

Of apportioning this fund among the several States.—Equality of rights and privileges, both as it regards citizens and States, is the fundamental principle of our Government. Hence, the People, so far as the integrity and independence of the States will permit, are equally represented in the popular branch of the National legislature. Guided by this rule, the Committee have no doubt that the apportionment should be made among the several States according to the representation of each in the House of Representatives. This will distribute the fund, and dispense the blessings resulting from it, upon the strictest principles of equality. The ordinary disbursement of the public money does not directly benefit all alike. This apparently partial distribution of the money of the nation, depends upon the nature of the objects to which it is applied. An army is stationed where its services are required; a fortress erected where it is wanted; a navy constructed where it can be done the safest and the best; and the money to pay for objects of this sort, necessarily goes to those portions of the country only, in which the services and labor have been performed. These great objects, which enter so largely into the defense of the nation, are local in their character; and hence it is that some of the States, and many portions of the country, receive no direct benefit from the annual expenditure of millions of the public money. But the proposed appropriation for the support of common schools, is for an object general in its nature and benefits. It is an appropriation, in which every American citizen has a deep interest, and by the operation and influence of which, the ignorant and the wise, the rich and the poor, the government and the governed, will receive direct and lasting benefits. The ignorant and the poor will be aided and enlightened; the wise and the rich estimated and protected; and the Government appreciated and defended. Common schools are the nurseries of youth; they are the most universal, as they are the most effectual means of opening the mind; of giving reason the mastery, and of fixing, in habits of sober industry, the rising generations of men. Can, then, a portion of the proceeds of the national domain be expended in any way which will more directly or forcibly come home to the wants and wishes, the business and bosoms, of the People?

The resolution before the committee, does not indicate, in terms, whether the principal, annually apportioned, or the interest of the principal only, shall be paid over to the States. Nor does it point out any mode, in case the interest only is to be applied, of investing the principal. This part of the subject merits some examination. It seems to be manifest, that the more certain and permanent the fund, the greater and more lasting will be the benefits flowing from it. To apportion and pay the principal annually to the several States, will be doing equal and exact justice. But the principal, in that case, would be annually expended. The consequence of this will be, that, as the public domain diminishes by sales, until the whole is sold, the fountain whence the fund is to be drawn, will be gradually and finally exhausted, and the fund and its benefits, of necessity, diminish and cease together. As this domain is not exhaustless, if the principal, set apart for the use of these common schools, be annually expended, its benefits will be chiefly confined to our own time; but, by investing the principal, and dividing the interest only, the fund will accumulate, and its benefits may continue to future ages. The Committee, therefore, propose, that the sum annually appropriated, shall be invested by the United States, in some productive fund, the interest, or other proceeds of which shall be annually apportioned among the several States, according to the representation of each State in the House of Representatives of the United States. This sum may be invested in various ways. It may be invested in Bank, Canal, or United States stock, or a new stock may be created for the purpose, or portions of the redeemed stock of the United States may, from time to time, be set apart by the

Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, uncanceled, and bearing the former, or a new rate of interest, to meet the object. The general investment of the principal by the United States, and the division of the interest in the manner proposed, seems to be the only way by which all the States and all the people can now and hereafter be equally benefited. The annual appropriation should, and may, be so invested, as neither to affect, for the worse, the commercial relations of the country, nor to create artificial distinctions, or moneyed aristocracies. It should, and may, be so invested and applied, as to satisfy the moral and intellectual wants of all, while it will supply the pecuniary wants of none. Should the interest, by any particular mode of investing the principal, become an annual charge upon the United States, still, as the whole matter will, at all times, depend upon the wisdom and pleasure of the States and the People, no man, we believe, can reasonably doubt that they will release this charge the instant its burdens exceed its benefits. Hence, the evils of the measure, if there be any, will be rather negative than positive, and always under the control of the People, who alone are to be benefited or injured by it.

In further discussing this measure, some of its obvious advantages must not be overlooked. It will give some aid to all, in the acquisition of learning. It will give efficient aid to the destitute, without which aid they must be left uneducated and in ignorance. It will diffuse, in the quickest and cheapest way, the greatest amount of useful knowledge among the people. It will tend, as much as any thing else, to make young men and old, respectable, efficient, good citizens. These considerations, it would seem, can not fail to awaken the attention of the State Legislatures. They surely are not now to learn, for the first time, that the success of good government, the independence of the States, and the permanency of their political institutions, are vitally connected with a well educated and sound yeomanry. Besides, the fact of there being a permanent fund, the interest of which is to be applied to the glorious purpose of training up the young mind in the way of knowledge and morals, will, in some degree at least, excite in these guardians of State rights, a just emulation in promoting to every practicable end, the great cause of common education.

It is a singular fact in the history of our species, that, nowhere, has common education made any considerable progress among the people, without the efficient aid and protection of the Government. There is, generally, a prevailing indifference among the illiterate, to the cultivation of the mind; were it not so, the poor man, though learned, can rarely instruct his children, because his time is necessarily occupied in earning their bread; and the ignorant man, though rich, can not do it, because he is himself untaught. In other countries, multitudes of the human race successively live and die as illiterate as they were born; and, in our own favored land, with all the liberal patronage, private and public, which learning receives, we are not wholly exempt from these lamentable examples. Under a government like ours, there should no where be left masses of mind, illiterate and humbled, over which, in an evil hour, some master spirit may exercise a fatal control. Ignorance is the bane of liberty. Ordinarily, conspiracies and treasons are executed by the ignorant. These instruments of unholy ambition, however, are not selected from schools where letters and morals are taught. Are not, then, the National and State Legislatures under the strongest obligations to the people of this country, to provide and apply the means whereby every child may have the opportunity, in these nurseries of the mind, of acquiring some knowledge of letters, and of the various duties he owes to his country and his God?

It will, moreover, bind, by an additional and stronger tie, the People to the States, and the States to the Union. There is something in this tie of mind, affection, and blood. It attaches itself to every father of a family, and to children's children. It successively connects with the present each succeeding generation. Common education can be estimated only in proportion as its necessities and advantages are felt; and as the same number of children, as there are dollars annually distributed from this fund, may receive, with proper management, about six months' common schooling, will not the People, witnessing these moral and intellectual improvements, look with intenser interest to their respective State Legislatures, as the immediate dispensers of these

benefits? And will not the Legislature of each State, viewing the increase of common schools, and the augmented amount of schooling, and perceiving their benign and salutary effects upon the mind, morals, and habits of the rising generation, look with increased steadiness to the Federal Head, whence these blessings flow? Common schools, of themselves, will not multiply, nor learning spread: means and opportunity must be afforded. By affording them, schools will multiply, learning spread, and ignorance, idleness, and vice, gradually give way to intelligence, industry, and virtue. Examples of these cheering results are not wanting. Let any man compare the calendar of profligacy and crimes among a given population where no schools have been kept, with that among an equal population where the means of common education have been abundant, and the great difference in favor of the latter can not fail to convince him of the necessity of these initiatory institutions. The States and the People, perceiving these results, and learning from experience that the influence, respectability, and power, of a State, are in proportion to the intelligence and soundness of its citizens, will cherish the Federal hand that aids them, and cling with stronger affection to the Governments of their choice.

The Committee are not unaware that there is, in this pecuniary connection, a seeming tendency to produce an undue dependence of the States upon the Federal Government. They are persuaded, however, that a little examination will dissipate this cause of alarm. The strength of the tie, and the degree of the dependence, it is fair to presume, will always be in exact proportion to the actual benefits resulting from the proposed fund. If the fund be not beneficial, it can have no influence, good or bad. Suppose great benefits to flow from it, what are they? Shall we hereafter look for them in the increased ignorance and subdued spirits of our fellow citizens? or shall we find and feel them every where in the rapid progress of education, and in the improvement of mind and morals? If it be true, as it unquestionably is, that the safety and success of our political institutions depends absolutely upon the intelligence and virtue of the people; and, if it be true, also, that the direct effect of the proposed fund will be to increase that intelligence and virtue, then it is equally true, that there can be no undue dependence of the people or the States upon the Federal Government. As these benefits increase, so also will increase the ability and means of detecting and resisting the encroachments of power. Although each part of our political system is dependent upon the other, yet there is a wide difference between that dependence which springs from mean or guilty motives, and that which has for its end the union and strength, the happiness and glory, of a generous people. And, whatever other men may be disposed to do, that portion of our People to whom our governments, whether Federal or State, in prosperity or adversity, must look for protection and defense, if intelligent and virtuous, will never do slavish homage, or tamely surrender their liberties to an earthly power.

The proposed measure, the committee are also induced to believe, will have a most salutary effect in respect to the public domain itself, and all the great interests connected with it. There is much apathy in the public mind, in regard to the value and importance of these lands. Strong indications are manifested to reduce their price, and to bring the whole into market as speedily as practicable, and without any reference to the existing demand for them. Should this happen, the consequence will be, to depreciate the fair average value of land, whether cultivated or uncultivated, by putting more into the market than could be occupied perhaps in fifty or a hundred years to come; to fling the best of them into the hands of moneyed men and speculators, by their cheapness and the prospect of gain; and to retard cultivation and population by the high prices at which they would be held. The Committee think the proposed measure will produce a counteracting interest, an interest which, while it guards the public domain from sudden depreciation on the one hand, and from speculation on the other, will induce a more rapid and sounder population.

There is another consideration connected with this subject which the Committee can not pass over in silence. Our government was the first successful effort among men to establish rational liberty. Our fathers instituted and secured, upon the broadest principles of equality, representation, trial by jury,

freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and religious toleration; and, to this hour, it stands a proud example to the world, unsurpassed, unequaled. The young and interesting republics of Spanish America have, perhaps, come as near to it as the condition and habits of their people would permit. Still there is this marked difference: they retain in some degree the old connection of church and state. They have an established religion. Now, if any one proposition in politics or morals be more susceptible of demonstration than another, it would seem to be this, that, where any religion is established by law, there neither the tongue nor the conscience can be free. As ours was the first, so it may be the last hope of civil liberty. No other considerable place remains on the globe where a second effort can be made under like auspices. The continents and the islands of the sea, are mostly inhabited by men, born under governments, and brought up under the influence of principles and habits, with few exceptions, utterly hostile to our notions of freedom. Since this is so, our obligations do not end with ourselves. We owe much to the great cause of liberty. This debt we can discharge the best and the most honorably by securing well the foundation and superstructure of our own liberties; thus giving to the human family the influence of a perfect example of civil freedom. The foundation of our political institutions, it is well known, rests in the will of the People, and the safety of the whole superstructure, its temple and altar, daily and hourly depend upon the discreet exercise of this will. How then is this will to be corrected, chastened, subdued? By education—that education, the first rudiments of which can be acquired only in common schools. How are millions of American citizens to be enabled to compare their government and institutions with those of other countries? to estimate the civil and political privileges and blessings they enjoy? and to decide understandingly, whether they ought or ought not to protect and defend the Constitutions under which they live?—By education. Has the Legislature of each State provided all the means that are wanted to this end? Is there nothing more to be done? Are all sufficiently educated? There are some wealthy men, and many a poor man, in our land, whose family and fireside have never yet been cheered by the light and benefits of common education. Is there then no necessity for the proposed measure? Its advantages must be admitted. That there are heads and hearts among us waiting for instruction, cultivation, improvement, will not be denied. And, that the means are still wanted, (through the inability or indifference of individuals and of the States,) to accomplish this great purpose, can not be doubted. Why then delay? We are at peace with the world. Our burdens are light. We have money to meet all the engagements and exigencies of the Government, and some to spare.

But, if need be, push not so rapidly, nor so far, the costly defenses of the country. The tooth of time will wear away the granite. Our strong fortresses and gallant ships will decay. But the young mind and heart, expanded, enlightened, and disciplined, in common schools, will grow brighter and sounder by age. Besides, our reliance under God for protection is upon the arm of flesh. The impassable rampart to our liberties and institutions must be composed of intelligent heads and sound hearts. Our panoply, in peace or war, must be the heaving bosoms and vigorous arms of enlightened and virtuous freemen. Shall we not then afford to all, especially to the ignorant, the poor, the destitute, the means at our command, the only means perhaps by which they can ever acquire knowledge? Who are the first to be benefited? The children of farmers, mechanics, and manufacturers. Where do we look, and where must we look, for the moral and physical power of the nation? To the agricultural and mechanic interests—to the handicraftsmen of the land. Unsoundness here will be fatal. It is rottenness at the heart. Is knowledge power? Does our power, do our liberties, do all we hold dear, depend upon the WILL of our fellow-men, whether that will be left to the guidance of enlightened reason, or of untempered ignorance? And shall we not provide the means we have at hand of teaching the ignorant and destitute to range themselves beneath the Eagle, and among the defenders of freedon? Or shall we neglect them altogether, and leave them to be schooled and disciplined by the Catilines and Cæsars of the day? Believing, therefore, that a portion of the proceeds of

the public lands may be spared; that the diffusion of common education among the People is demanded by the highest considerations of national glory and safety, and that Congress possesses both the power and the right to appropriate them for this purpose, the Committee submit the following bill:

A bill creating a fund for the support of Common Schools in the several States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, on the first day of January, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven, and annually thereafter, there shall be, and hereby is, appropriated, fifty per centum of the nett proceeds of the moneys accruing from the sales and entries of the public lands, for the support exclusively, of Common Schools in the several States.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the said fifty per centum of moneys aforesaid, shall be annually invested, by the United States, in some productive fund, the interest or other proceeds of which shall be annually apportioned among the several States, according to the established ratio of the representation of each State in the House of Representatives of the United States, at the time every such apportionment shall be made, to be applied to the sole use and benefit of common schools, in such manner as the Legislature of each State may, by law, direct.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That this act, at any time, after ten years, from the passing thereof, may be altered, modified, or repealed.

TABLE II.—*Showing the area of the several States and Territories containing public lands, and the quantity devoted for educational purposes by Congress up to June 30, 1867.*

[Compiled from Report of the Commissioner of the Land Office for 1867.]

States and Territories containing public land.	Areas of States and Territories containing public land.		Donations and grants for schools and universities.		Granted for agricultural colleges, act of July 2, 1862.*		Granted for deaf and dumb asylums.	Remaining unsold and unappropriated June 30, 1867.
			Schools.	Universities.	Selected in place.	Located with scrip.		
	Sq. miles.	*Acres.*	*Acres.*	*Acres.*	*Acres.*	*Acres.*	*Acres.*	*Acres.*
Ohio	39,964	25,576,960	704,488	69,120				500.00
Indiana	33,809	21,637,760	650,317	46,080				2,000.00
Illinois	55,410	35,462,400	985,066	46,080				2,000.00
Missouri	65,350	41,824,000	1,199,139	46,080	244,384.51	147,797.25		1,835,892.71
Alabama	50,722	32,462,080	902,774	46,080			21,942.46	6,915,081.32
Mississippi	47,156	30,179,840	837,584	46,080				4,930,893.56
Louisiana	41,346	26,461,440	786,044	46,080				6,582,841.54
Michigan	56,451	36,128,640	1,067,397	46,080	225,253.88	960,867.59		5,180,640.63
Arkansas	52,198	33,406,720	886,460	46,080			2,097.43	11,757,663.54
Florida	59,268	37,931,520	908,503	92,160			20,924.22	17,540,374.00
Iowa	55,045	35,228,800	905,144	46,080	240,000.96	1,760.00		3,113,464.18
Wisconsin	53,924	34,511,360	958,649	92,160	240,007.73	702,425.07		10,016,700.87
California	188,981	120,947,840	6,719,324	46,080				106,062,392.13
Minnesota	83,531	53,459,840	2,969,990	46,080	119,852.17	488,803.03		36,776,170.89
Oregon	95,274	60,975,360	3,329,706	46,080		1,920.00		52,742,678.96
Kansas	81,318	52,043,520	2,891,306	46,080	90,000.40	411,959.70		43,148,876.44
Nevada	112,090	71,737,741	3,985,430	46,080				67,090,382.62
Nebraska	75,995	48,636,800	2,702,044	46,080		475,989.58		42,593,627.38
Washington Territory	69,994	44,796,160	2,488,675	46,080		1,120.00		44,627,464.39
New Mexico	121,201	77,568,640	4,309,368	46,080				73,005,192.00
Utah	88,056	56,355,635	3,130,869	46,080				81,139,646.00
Dakota	240,597	153,982,080	8,554,560					145,295,284.97
Colorado	104,500	66,880,000	3,715,555					62,870,665.83
Montana	143,776	92,016,640	5,112,035					86,904,605.00
Arizona	113,916	72,906,304	4,050,350					68,855,954.00
Idaho	90,932	58,196,480	3,233,137					54,963,343.00
Indian	68,991	44,154,240						44,154,240.00
American purchase from Russia	577,390	369,529,600						369,529,600.00
Total	2,867,185	1,834,998,400	67,983,914	1,082,880	1,150,499.65	3,192,592.22	44,971.11	1,414,567,574.96

* The whole quantity liable to be issued under the act of July 2, 1862, is 9,600,000 acres.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

President Adams, in his first message to the two Houses of Congress, in 1826, calls attention to a

National University.

Upon the first occasion of addressing the Legislature of the Union, with which I have been honored, in presenting to their view the execution, so far as it has been effected, of the measures sanctioned by them, for promoting the internal improvement of our country, I can not close the communication without recommending to their calm and persevering consideration the general principle in a more enlarged extent. The great object of the institution of civil government, is the improvement of the condition of those who are parties to the social compact. And no government, in whatever form constituted, can accomplish the lawful ends of its institution, but in proportion as it improves the condition of those over whom it is established. Roads and canals, by multiplying and facilitating the communications and intercourse between distant regions, and multitudes of men, are among the most important means of improvement. But moral, political, intellectual improvement, are duties assigned, by the Author of our existence, to social, no less than to individual man. For the fulfillment of these duties, governments are invested with power; and, to the attainment of the end, the progressive improvement of the condition of the governed, the exercise of delegated power, is a duty as sacred and indispensable, as the usurpation of power not granted is criminal and odious. Among the first, perhaps the very first instruments for the improvement of the condition of men, is knowledge; and to the acquisition of much of the knowledge adapted to the wants, the comforts, and enjoyments of human life, public institutions and seminaries of learning are essential. So convinced of this was the first of my predecessors in this office, now first in the memory, as living, he was first in the hearts of our country, that, once and again, in his addresses to the congresses, with whom he co-operated in the public service, he earnestly recommended the establishment of seminaries of learning, to prepare for all the emergencies of peace and war—a national university, and a military academy. With respect to the latter, had he lived to the present day, in turning his eyes to the institution at West Point, he would have enjoyed the gratification of his most earnest wishes. But, surveying the city which has been honored with his name, he would have seen the spot of earth which he had destined to the use and benefit of his country, as the site for an university, still bare and barren.

Astronomical Observatory.

Connected with the establishment of an university, or separate from it, might be undertaken the erection of an astronomical observatory, with provisions for the support of an astronomer, to be in constant attendance of observation upon the phenomena of the heavens; and for the periodical publication of his observations. It is with no feeling of pride, as an American, that the remark may be made, that on the comparatively small territorial surface of Europe, there are existing upwards of one hundred and thirty of these light-houses of the skies; while throughout the whole American hemisphere, there is not one. If we reflect a moment upon the discoveries, which, in the last four centuries, have been made in the physical constitution of the universe, by the means of these buildings, and of observers stationed in them, shall we doubt of their usefulness to every nation? And while scarcely a year passes over our heads without bringing some new astronomical discovery to light, which we must fain receive at second-hand from Europe, are we not cutting ourselves off from the means of returning light for light, while we have neither observatory nor observer upon our half of the globe, and the earth revolves in perpetual darkness to our unsearching eyes?

Naval Academy.

The President touched on the want, in 1826, and in 1827 adds:

Practical seamanship, and the art of navigation, may be acquired upon the cruises of the squadrons, which, from time to time, are dispatched to distant seas; but a complete knowledge, even of the art of ship-building, the higher mathematics and astronomy; the literature which can place our officers on a level of polished education with the officers of other maritime nations; the

knowledge of the laws, municipal and national, which in their intercourse with foreign states and their governments, are continually called into operation; and above all, that acquaintance with the principles of honor and justice, with the higher obligations of morals, and of general laws, human and divine, which constitute the great distinction between the warrior patriot and the licensed robber and pirate; these can be systematically taught and eminently acquired only in a permanent school, stationed upon the shore, and provided with the teachers, the instruments, and the books, adapted to the communication of these principles to the youthful and inquiring mind.

The principles on which the National Government should act, are set forth in the closing paragraphs of his annual message for 1826.

The constitution under which you are assembled is a charter of limited powers; after full and solemn deliberation upon all or any of the objects which, urged by an irresistible sense of my own duty, I have recommended to your attention, should you come to the conclusion, that, however desirable, in themselves, the enactment of laws for effecting them, would transcend the powers committed to you by that venerable instrument which we are all bound to support, let no consideration induce you to assume the exercise of powers not granted to you by the people. But if the power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over the district of Columbia; if the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; if the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes; to fix the standard of weights and measures; to establish post-offices and post-roads; to declare war; to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy; to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying these powers into execution: If these powers, and others enumerated in the constitution, may be effectually brought into action by laws promoting the improvement of agriculture, commerce and manufactures, the cultivation and encouragement of the mechanic and of the elegant arts, the advancement of literature, and the progress of the sciences, ornamental and profound, to refrain from exercising them for the benefit of the people themselves, would be to hide in the earth the talent committed to our charge—would be treachery to the most sacred of trusts.

The spirit of improvement is abroad upon the earth. It stimulates the heart, and sharpens the faculties, not of our fellow-citizens alone, but of the nations of Europe, and of their rulers. While dwelling with pleasing satisfaction upon the superior excellence of our political institutions, let us not be unmindful that liberty is power; that the nation blessed with the largest portion of liberty, must, in proportion to its numbers, be the most powerful nation upon earth; and that the tenure of power by man, is, in the moral purposes of his Creator, upon condition that it shall be exercised to ends of beneficence, to improve the condition of himself and his fellow-men. While foreign nations, less blessed with that freedom which is power, than ourselves, are advancing with gigantic strides in the career of public improvement, were we to slumber in indolence, or fold up our arms and proclaim to the world that we are palsied by the will of our constituents, would it not be to cast away the bounties of Providence, and doom ourselves to perpetual inferiority? In the course of the year now drawing to its close, we have beheld, under the auspices, and at the expense of one state of this union, a new university unfolding its portals to the sons of science, and holding up the torch of human improvement to eyes that seek the light. We have seen, under the persevering and enlightened enterprise of another state, the waters of our western lakes mingled with those of the ocean. If undertakings like these have been accomplished in the compass of a few years, by the authority of single members of our confederation, can we, the representative authorities of the whole union, fall behind our fellow-servants in the exercise of the trust committed to us for the benefit of our common sovereign, by the accomplishment of works important to the whole, and to which neither the authority nor the resources of any one state can be adequate?

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THE

American Journal of Education.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT—1878.

EXTRACT from a letter dated London, Jan. 9, 1878, of Rev. R. H. Quick, recently a teacher in Harrow School, and author of a valuable treatise on '*Educational Reformers*,' republished by R. Clark & Co., Cincinnati, and one of the soundest and most active educators of England—

"The new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* has a sketch of the history of Education, by Oscar Browning, [late of Eton]. I saw the proofs. In the account of authorities the article has the following:

"In English, though we have no investigators of the history of Education, we have a fairly large literature on the subject, but it belongs almost exclusively to the United States. The great work of Henry Barnard, *The American Journal of Education*, in 25 volumes, has valuable papers on almost every part of our subject—many of them translated from the German, but there are also original papers on our old English educational writers with extracts from their works. This is by far the most valuable work in our language on the history of education."

EXTRACT from a letter addressed to Rev. R. H. Quick, London, by the editor and publisher of the American Journal of Education, dated Jan. 24, 1878.

"I thank you for your continued interest in the American Journal and Library of Education. It was begun, and has been continued to supply deficiencies in our American Educational literature; and hence I have drawn largely on the best productions of the foreign press. Forty years ago (1838), I could not find a half dozen volumes on School Systems, or the Principles and Practice of Education, in New York and Boston; and I could not induce a publisher to issue an American edition of Dunn's excellent little work on *Principles of Teaching*, edited by Thomas H. Gallaudet (a friend of Mr. Dunn), until I gave a written guarantee that I would assume all the copies of the publication at the end of two years—and I did take the balance of the edition at that date, and placed them in the School Libraries established by me in Connecticut and Rhode Island. Ten years later (1848), I was puzzled to make up for the first edition of my School Architecture a list of books on education (occupying one octavo page), on schools and school systems for the use of school officers and parents; and on the theory and practice of teaching for the professional instruction of teachers. For a time I ordered from London copies of pamphlets and volumes on educational subjects, and disposed of them to teachers and educators at cost—but this involved trouble, loss, and misunderstanding; and after a pretty wide consultation among the prominent school men, and pledges of co-

operation by pen and purse, I ventured in 1856 on the first number of the American Journal and Library of Education—and there now lies before me the Announcement for 1878, and the Contents, not yet printed, of the first Number of Volume XXVIII.—the third volume of the International Series, and the last, I shall, in all probability, edit. I think I can safely point to the Classified Index to the first sixteen volumes, and to the General Index to the volumes from seventeen to twenty-four, for a range of topics in the history, biography, organization, administration, institutions, and statistics of National Systems, and in the principles and methods of education, not be be found elsewhere in the English language. It falls far short of my own ideal; but the work has been prosecuted without that coöperation from school officers and teachers on which I had calculated, and which I still think the magnitude and practical value of the work justified me in anticipating.

"I intend to make one more effort to bring the enterprise to the attention of my personal friends and of the school men of the country, and to solicit their coöperation in placing a set of the Journal, or of the several treatises made up from the same in the State Library, the Normal School, City and other Superintendents, the College, and other public libraries of each State.

"If I am successful in disposing of enough sets or volumes of the Journal, or of the Special Treatises, to meet the obligations which mature before the first day of May, I shall continue the publication to the close of Volume XXVIII. and a General Index, at least to all the volume indexes will be prepared and bound up with the same.

Preface.

The plan of a series of publications, embracing a periodical to be issued monthly or quarterly, devoted exclusively to the History, Discussion, and Statistics of Systems, Institutions, and Methods of Education, in different countries, with special reference to the condition and wants of our own, was formed by the undersigned in 1842, on the discontinuance of the first series of the Connecticut Common School Journal, commenced by him in August, 1838. In pursuance of this plan, several tracts and treatises on distinct topics connected with the organization, administration, and instruction of schools of different grades, and especially of public elementary schools, were prepared and published, and the material for others was collected by travel, correspondence, purchase, and exchange.

The further prosecution of the work was suspended in consequence of his accepting the office of Commissioner of Public Schools in Rhode Island, but was resumed in 1849, on his resigning the same. In 1850 the plan was brought without success before the American Institute of Instruction, at its annual meeting at Northampton, in connection with an agency for the promotion of education in New England. Having been induced to accept the office of Superintendent of Common Schools in Connecticut, for the purpose of reestablishing the educational policy which had been overthrown in 1842, the undersigned undertook to carry out his plan of publication by preparing a series of reports and documents, each devoted to one important subject, under authority of the Legislature. In this connection "Practical Illustrations of the Principles of School Architecture," "Normal Schools, and other Institutions, and Agencies for the Professional Training and Improvement of Teachers," and "National Education in Europe," were prepared and published. Finding that the anxieties and labors of office, combined with that general correspondence, and special research and reflection which the completion of the series required, were too much for his health, he resigned his office, and addressed himself to the execution of the latter. Failing to enlist either the Smithsonian Institution, or the American Association for the Advancement of Education, in the establishment of a Central Agency, the undersigned undertook, in March, 1855, on his own responsibility, the publication of a Journal and Library of Education. Arrangements were accordingly made in April, to print the first number of the American Journal of Education, in connection with the publication of the proceedings of the Association for 1854, to be issued on or before the first of August, 1855.

After much of the copy of Number One was in type, a conference was held with the Rev. Absalom Peters, D. D., who contemplated the publication of a periodical under the title of the American College Review, and Educational Magazine or Journal. This conference led to the combination of the two periodicals, and a joint editorship of the American Journal of Education and College Review. The first number was published in type, style and matter as prepared by the undersigned with the adoption of the Prospectus already prepared by Dr. Peters for his magazine, modified, so as to merge the prominent feature of the College Review in the more comprehensive title of the American Journal of Education.

In the preparation of the second number, it became evident that two could not walk, or work together, unless they be agreed, and by mutual arrangement, and for mutual convenience, it was determined after the issue of that number, to discontinue the joint publication, leaving each party "the privilege of publishing an Educational Magazine, for which he was entitled to use the first and second number of the American Journal of Education and College Review, as number one and two of his work."

In the spirit and letter of this arrangement, as understood by him, the undersigned resumed the title and plan of his own Journal, and has completed the first volume by the publication of a number for March and for May, with this variation only, that he has given his subscribers more than he originally promised, and in the further prosecution of his work, shall include in the Journal much that he intended for chapters in some of the treatises which were to compose the Library of Education.

Should the Journal be sustained by a liberal subscription list, and should the health of the present editor admit of the requisite labor, it will be continued for a period of five years, or until the issue of ten volumes, conducted substantially on the plan of Volume I.

The editor will studiously avoid the insertion of all topics, or papers foreign to the great subject to which it is devoted, or of a single line or word calculated to injure intentionally the feelings of any faithful laborer in any allotment of the great field of American Education.

HENRY BARNARD.

HARTFORD, CONN.,
MAY 1, 1856.

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THE

American Journal of Education.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT—1878.

EXTRACT from a letter dated London, Jan. 9, 1878, of Rev. R. H. Quick, recently a teacher in Harrow School, and author of a valuable treatise on '*Educational Reformers*,' republished by R. Clark & Co., Cincinnati, and one of the soundest and most active educators of England—

"The new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* has a sketch of the history of Education, by Oscar Browning, [late of Eton]. I saw the proofs. In the account of authorities the article has the following:

"In English, though we have no investigators of the history of Education, we have a fairly large literature on the subject, but it belongs almost exclusively to the United States. The great work of Henry Barnard, *The American Journal of Education*, in 25 volumes, has valuable papers on almost every part of our subject—many of them translated from the German, but there are also original papers on our old English educational writers with extracts from their works. This is by far the most valuable work in our language on the history of education."

EXTRACT from a letter addressed to Rev. R. H. Quick, London, by the editor and publisher of the American Journal of Education, dated Jan. 24, 1878.

"I thank you for your continued interest in the American Journal and Library of Education. It was begun, and has been continued to supply deficiencies in our American Educational literature; and hence I have drawn largely on the best productions of the foreign press. Forty years ago (1838), I could not find a half dozen volumes on School Systems, or the Principles and Practice of Education, in New York and Boston; and I could not induce a publisher to issue an American edition of Dunn's excellent little work on *Principles of Teaching*, edited by Thomas H. Gallaudet (a friend of Mr. Dunn), until I gave a written guarantee that I would assume all the copies of the publication at the end of two years—and I did take the balance of the edition at that date, and placed them in the School Libraries established by me in Connecticut and Rhode Island. Ten years later (1848), I was puzzled to make up for the first edition of my School Architecture a list of books on education (occupying one octavo page), on schools and school systems for the use of school officers and parents; and on the theory and practice of teaching for the professional instruction of teachers. For a time I ordered from London copies of pamphlets and volumes on educational subjects, and disposed of them to teachers and educators at cost—but this involved trouble, loss, and misunderstanding; and after a pretty wide consultation among the prominent school men, and pledges of co-

operation by pen and purse, I ventured in 1856 on the first number of the American Journal and Library of Education—and there now lies before me the Announcement for 1878, and the Contents, not yet printed, of the first Number of Volume XXVIII.—the third volume of the International Series, and the last, I shall, in all probability, edit. I think I can safely point to the Classified Index to the first sixteen volumes, and to the General Index to the volumes from seventeen to twenty-four, for a range of topics in the history, biography, organization, administration, institutions, and statistics of National Systems, and in the principles and methods of education, not be be found elsewhere in the English language. It falls far short of my own ideal; but the work has been prosecuted without that coöperation from school officers and teachers on which I had calculated, and which I still think the magnitude and practical value of the work justified me in anticipating.

"I intend to make one more effort to bring the enterprise to the attention of my personal friends and of the school men of the country, and to solicit their coöperation in placing a set of the Journal, or of the several treatises made up from the same in the State Library, the Normal School, City and other Superintendents, the College, and other public libraries of each State.

"If I am successful in disposing of enough sets or volumes of the Journal, or of the Special Treatises, to meet the obligations which mature before the first day of May, I shall continue the publication to the close of Volume XXVIII. and a General Index, at least to all the volume indexes will be prepared and bound up with the same.

Preface.

The plan of a series of publications, embracing a periodical to be issued monthly or quarterly, devoted exclusively to the History, Discussion, and Statistics of Systems, Institutions, and Methods of Education, in different countries, with special reference to the condition and wants of our own, was formed by the undersigned in 1842, on the discontinuance of the first series of the Connecticut Common School Journal, commenced by him in August, 1838. In pursuance of this plan, several tracts and treatises on distinct topics connected with the organization, administration, and instruction of schools of different grades, and especially of public elementary schools, were prepared and published, and the material for others was collected by travel, correspondence, purchase, and exchange.

The further prosecution of the work was suspended in consequence of his accepting the office of Commissioner of Public Schools in Rhode Island, but was resumed in 1849, on his resigning the same. In 1850 the plan was brought without success before the American Institute of Instruction, at its annual meeting at Northampton, in connection with an agency for the promotion of education in New England. Having been induced to accept the office of Superintendent of Common Schools in Connecticut, for the purpose of reëstablishing the educational policy which had been overthrown in 1842, the undersigned undertook to carry out his plan of publication by preparing a series of reports and documents, each devoted to one important subject, under authority of the Legislature. In this connection "Practical Illustrations of the Principles of School Architecture," "Normal Schools, and other Institutions, and Agencies for the Professional Training and Improvement of Teachers," and "National Education in Europe," were prepared and published. Finding that the anxieties and labors of office, combined with that general correspondence, and special research and reflection which the completion of the series required, were too much for his health, he resigned his office, and addressed himself to the execution of the latter. Failing to enlist either the Smithsonian Institution, or the American Association for the Advancement of Education, in the establishment of a Central Agency, the undersigned undertook, in March, 1855, on his own responsibility, the publication of a Journal and Library of Education. Arrangements were accordingly made in April, to print the first number of the American Journal of Education, in connection with the publication of the proceedings of the Association for 1854, to be issued on or before the first of August, 1855.

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After much of the copy of Number One was in type, a conference was held with the Rev. Absalom Peters, D. D., who contemplated the publication of a periodical under the title of the American College Review, and Educational Magazine or Journal. This conference led to the combination of the two periodicals, and a joint editorship of the American Journal of Education and College Review. The first number was published in type, style and matter as prepared by the undersigned with the adoption of the Prospectus already prepared by Dr. Peters for his magazine, modified, so as to merge the prominent feature of the College Review in the more comprehensive title of the American Journal of Education.

In the preparation of the second number, it became evident that two could not walk, or work together, unless they be agreed, and by mutual arrangement, and for mutual convenience, it was determined after the issue of that number, to discontinue the joint publication, leaving each party "the privilege of publishing an Educational Magazine, for which he was entitled to use the first and second number of the American Journal of Education and College Review, as number one and two of his work."

In the spirit and letter of this arrangement, as understood by him, the undersigned resumed the title and plan of his own Journal, and has completed the first volume by the publication of a number for March and for May, with this variation only, that he has given his subscribers more than he originally promised, and in the further prosecution of his work, shall include in the Journal much that he intended for chapters in some of the treatises which were to compose the Library of Education.

Should the Journal be sustained by a liberal subscription list, and should the health of the present editor admit of the requisite labor, it will be continued for a period of five years, or until the issue of ten volumes, conducted substantially on the plan of Volume I.

The editor will studiously avoid the insertion of all topics, or papers foreign to the great subject to which it is devoted, or of a single line or word calculated to injure intentionally the feelings of any faithful laborer in any allotment of the great field of American Education.

HENRY BARNARD.

HARTFORD, CONN.,
MAY 1, 1856.

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All subscriptions payable in advance. All communications relating to the Journal and other publications of the Editor may be addressed to

HENRY BARNARD,
P. O. BOX U, *Hartford, Conn.*

PROF. QUICK, author of *Educational Reformers*, in an article in the English Monthly Journal of Education for July, 1875, writes:

Those who know the wealth of German paedeutical literature often lament the poverty of our own. But many a man has hunted for his spectacles while they were on his forehead; and many a reader in this country has groped about in the twilight of a foreign language for what he might have seen in the broad daylight of his own. . . Indeed, the history of education and treatises upon everything connected with education may be read without having recourse to any foreign literature whatever. This will no doubt seem very startling; but we can assure our readers that we are not speaking without book, or indeed without the very books we are talking of. . . We have before us the chief educational works that have been published in the United States, and we find that we already have a large educational literature in our own language. A great deal of this literature owes its origin to the energy and educational zeal of one man, the Hon. Henry Barnard, who was the first "Commissioner of Education" in the United States. Many years ago he formed "a plan of a series of publications to be issued monthly or quarterly, and devoted exclusively to the History, Discussion, and Statistics of Systems, Institutions and Methods of Education in different countries." This plan he has carried out on a grand scale, and we now have his "American Journal of Education" in 24 volumes of seven or eight hundred pages each. An index to the whole work will be published shortly, and the title might then very fitly be changed to *Barnard's Cyclopædia of Education.*

This great work, however, can never be generally accessible to the majority of students. The price alone (£20) must exclude it from private libraries. But it may be consulted at public libraries, at the British Museum *e. g.*, and at South Kensington, and it is a mine which may be very profitably worked by the editors of Educational Journals in this country.

But it is now no longer necessary to purchase the whole of the "American Journal" in order to get particular papers in it. Dr. Barnard has lately issued a great number of these papers as separate publications. To show what stores of literature already exist in English we publish the list (600 titles) at the end of this number.

PROF. HODGSON, Edinburgh University, one of the most practical and vigorous educators of the age, in an Address before The Educational Institute of Scotland in September, 1875, spoke of the want of a History of Education in the English Language, but in a prefatory note to the pamphlet edition of the Address adds:

Since this Address was printed, my friend Mr. Quick has called my attention to Dr. Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, which really contains, though not in continuous form, a history, and, it may be said, an encyclopædia of education. Papers extracted from it, to the number of six or seven hundred, may now be purchased separately. A list of these is published at the end of the *Monthly Journal of Education* for July last. [Dr. Barnard, it is understood, will in 1876–7 issue a continuous and comprehensive History of Education, more complete so far as British and American Systems and Institutions are concerned than Raumer, Fritz, Schmid, or Palmer.]

The *North American Review* for January, 1876, in an article devoted to the educational development of the country for the first century, alluding to the deficiency of historical and philosophical discussion of public instruction, and of early official documents, says:

Private enterprise has to a remarkable degree remedied some of the deficiencies of governmental neglect. Dr. Henry Barnard, of Hartford, began in 1856 the publication of an *American Journal of Education*, which, with various changes of form, has been continued to the present time. It now comprises twenty-four octavo volumes, including in all some twenty thousand pages, illustrated by one hundred and twenty-five portraits, and eight hundred cuts representing school buildings. Dr. Hodgson, a distinguished professor in the University of Edinburgh, has recently remarked that this publication "really contains, though not in continuous form, a history, and it may be said an encyclopædia of education." It is the best and only general authority in respect to the progress of American education during the past century. It includes statistical data, personal reminiscences, historical sketches, educational biographies, descriptions of institutions, plans of buildings, reports, speeches, and legislative documents. For the first sixteen volumes an index is published, and for the next eight volumes an index is in preparation. The comprehensiveness of this work and its persistent publication under many adverse circumstances, at great expense, by private and almost unsupported exertions, entitle the editor to the grateful recognition of all investigators of our system of instruction. He has won a European reputation by this Journal, and in our own country will always be an indispensable guide and companion to the historian of education.

The *International Review* for January, 1874, in an article on Universal Education, remarks:

About the same time (1837) in Connecticut, Dr. Henry Barnard was commencing that career of devoted and untiring labor, in the course of which he has rendered such distinguished service to the cause of popular education, [not only as organizer and administrator of systems and institutions, but in contributions by pen and voice to the literature and public knowledge of the subject.] He gave himself to the work with the enthusiasm of an Apostle. Commencing the *Connecticut Common School Journal* in 1838, he entered at once with ability on the fundamental questions pertaining to popular education, and began to publish for the benefit of all educators, and others interested, the most valuable information as to what had been done in Europe, and the aims and methods of the best systems and institutions there. In his repeated visits to the principal countries of the old world, he has examined for himself the experiments in progress, and by personal communication with the most prominent educators of Germany and Switzerland, has possessed himself of their best and broadest views. The results of his observations and thinking, he has, for a long course of years, been carefully digesting and publishing in his *Common School Journal*, and in the invaluable volumes of his *American Journal of Education*. These volumes constitute an Encyclopædia of facts, arguments, and practical methods which no organizer or teacher can afford to be without. Besides the preparation of these works, Dr. Barnard has delivered lectures and addresses on his favorite subject numbered literally by thousands. Probably no one man in the United States has done as much to advance, direct and consolidate the movement for popular education. In looking back to the commencement of his life-long labors, it would seem that he must contemplate with eminent satisfaction the progress of public sentiment and the good results already attained, as well as the brightening prospects for the future. He has done a work for which his country and coming generations ought to thank him and do honor to his name. The late Chancellor Kent, even in the earlier years of Dr. Barnard's labors, characterized him as "the most able, efficient, and best-informed officer that could be engaged perhaps in the service;" and said of the earlier volumes of his [*Connecticut Common School*] *Journal* and other publications, "I can only refer to these documents with the highest opinion of their value." His later volumes are much more complete and valuable than the earlier.

Hon. John D. Philbrick, LL.D., in his Introductory Address as President before the National Teachers' Association in Chicago, 1863, observes:

Of the one hundred thousand teachers in the country, how few are thoroughly versed in the educational literature of the day? How few are there who are receiving higher salaries can boast of a respectable educational library? If proof of this unwelcome truth was needed, it would be sufficient to refer to a single publication,—I mean *Barnard's Journal of Education*, which has now reached its thirteenth volume,—a library in itself. Costing little considering the amount of matter it contains, embracing exhaustive treatises on almost all departments of education; yet I am told that the number of copies sold has not been sufficient to pay for the stereotype plates.

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